

VOLUME V

L-MORISCOS

E. J. BRILL'S
FIRST
ENCYCLOPAEDIA
OF ISLAM
1913-1936

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EDITED BY

AL. TH. HOUEMA, A. J. WENSING,

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 1, read: M. is now a pretty little Arab town with 9,423 inhabitants. To the east of it is the *Blad*, which was formerly separated by a wall, now taken down, from the town which lay to the west of it. The whole area is surrounded by a wall which is pierced on the north by three, in the west by one, and in the south by three gates.
- P. 41^b, article LUR, l. 71, instead of: The clans (*gurūh*), read: The tribes (*gurūh*).
- P. 42^a, l. 28, instead of: *mutaffariqa*, read: *mutafarriqa*; l. 51, instead of: southern, read: northern.
- P. 43^a, l. 48, instead of: village, read: valley.
- P. 43^b, l. 62, instead of: like, read: as well as.
- P. 44^a, l. 11, instead of: Būyid, read: Ziyārid.
- l. 63, instead of: Mākām, read: Mākān.
- P. 62^b, l. 37, instead of: Siyāt, read Siyāt.
- P. 76^a, l. 1 and p. 77^a, l. 6 from below, read Rūmiya, for Rūmiya.
- P. 76^b, add on l. 22 from below: From January to March 1928, L. Waterman conducted excavations in the region of Tell 'Umair for the American Schools of Oriental Research (cf. their *Bulletin*, No. 30, 1928). The mound seems to conceal a *zigguratu* (tower built in successive stages) with a large temple adjoining it which continued to be used in the Graeco-Roman period; a Roman cemetery was laid bare in another part of the ruined area. From inscriptions found here the equation Akshak-Upī (Opis)-Seleucia is made quite certain. For Akshak, cf. also the article by Unger in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, vol. i., Berlin 1928, p. 64—65.
- P. 77^b, read iv. 447, 7 for v. 447, 7.
- P. 79, read al-Lūsfiya for al-Sūsfiya. Al-Lūsfiya is contracted from al-Yūsufiya; cf. Nahr al-Yūsufiya in *Lughat al-'Arab*, iii. 289 6.
- Add to the *Bibliography* of the article AL-MADĀ'IN: Apart from the already mentioned poem of Patchachy, unimportant in matter, in the periodical *Lughat al-'Arab*, Baghdād, iii., 1914, p. 393, cf. especially the articles by F. Djebrān in the same periodical, iii. 136—141 (with corrections by Kāzīm al-Dudjaili, *op. cit.*, p. 292—294) and Kāzīm al-Dudjaili, *op. cit.*, p. 282—294. Djebrān deals particularly with the present settlements of Arab tribes in the region of al-Madā'in, al-Dudjaili also gives an account of the latter and gives interesting information also of the pilgrimages to the tomb of Salmān al-Fārisi, describes the interior of this "sanctuary" and gives notes on various mounds of ruins in the region of al-Madā'in which form a welcome addition to Herzfeld's topography.
- P. 117, add to the *Bibliography* of the art MAHDĪ KHĀN: Geiger & Kuhn, *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 562; Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turc-oriental*, preface; Denison Ross has edited the grammar which serves as introduction to the dictionary *Sanglakhh (Mabāni 'l-loghat, being a grammar of the Turki language in Persian, Bibl. Indica*, new ser., No. 1225, Calcutta 1910, in-8, xxiv., 142 p.; cf. Cl. Huart, in *J.A.*, 1911, xvii., p. 328—330); Edwards, *Cat. Pers. Books Brit. Mus.*, p. 502—504.
- P. 224^a, l. 29 and 33, instead of: Ma'mūnis, read: Ma'mūnids.
- P. 224^b, l. 3, instead of Farighūnis, read: Farighūnids.
- P. 432^b, l. 11 *ab infra*, add: According to Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, i. 314, 375, cf. Yāqūt, iv. 294) Kawādh destituted al-Mundhar b. Mā' al-Samā' because of his refusal to accept Mazdakism and appointed in his place the Kindite al-Hārith b. 'Amr, who had embraced the new faith. Whatever may be the truth, the relations between the king of Persia and the Arab have been influenced by Mazdakism.
- P. 496^b, l. 11, 12 *ab infra*, read: Timur who stayed in Balat (Milet) on his return from Smyrna in the winter after the battle of Angora (1402) (Ducas, p. 76, ed. Bonn, various reading).
- P. 497^b, art. *Milas*, *Bibliography*: A complete discussion of the ruins of Pečin by R. M. Riefstahl will appear in *An archaeological Journey in Southwestern Anatolia* (discussion of the inscriptions by P. Wittek).
- P. 505^b, l. 19, instead of: *Nukāt*, read: *Nuḳāt*.
- P. 514^b, art. MĪRĀTH. To be added to the *Bibliography*: Peltier and Bousquet, *Les successions agnatiques mitigées*, Paris 1935.
- P. 530^b, l. 32, p. 543^a, l. 29, instead of: 828, read: 282.
- P. 640, art. AL-MUHĀDJIRUNA. Add: In modern times the name Muhādjirūn has been applied to those Muḥammadan emigrants who, as a result of the transfer of Muḥammadan territory to the non-Muḥammadan rule left their native land and went to a Muslim country in order not to be impeded in the exercise of their religious duties. For example, towards the end of the xviiith century and in the sixth century large bodies of such emigrants abandoned lands occupied by the Russians and sought a new home in Turkey. A similar phenomenon

- accompanied the liberation of the Balkan peoples from Turkish rule and the rise of the independent Balkan states. The Muḥammadans deported to Turkey from Greek territory after the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) as a result of an agreement with Greece were always called Muḥādjirūn, even in official language. Their affairs were regulated by a "General Office for Nomads and Emigrants (*Ashā'ir we Muḥādjirūn Mūdriyeti* 'umūmīyesi). In modern Turkey the Muḥādjirūn constitute an important domestic and cultural problem. Their settlements which are distributed over the whole of Anatolia are as a rule centres for the advancement of Turkish culture. The word Muḥādjir also plays an important part in place-names in Turkish territory as an element in names, mainly of recent origin.
- P. 673^a, l. 9, 62, p. 674^a, l. 3, instead of: *Rec. Hist. Crois.*, read: *Rec. d. textes rel. à l'hist. d. Seldjoudides*.
- P. 673^b, l. 22, instead of: 1101, read: 1108.
l. 62, instead of: Guhaz, read: Guhar.
- P. 674^b, l. 54, instead of: SA'UD, read: SĀM.
- P. 686^a, l. 45, instead of: Wāqī'ahnigār, read: Wāqī'ā nigār.
- P. 688^a, l. 43, 55, 63, instead of: Mīr, read: Mere.
l. 66, instead of: in May 1624, read: in May 1624.,
- P. 691^b, l. 23, to be added; 13. *Ikū al-djāwhar al-thamīn* (extract in L. Massignon, *Recueil*, p. 171, note 1).
- P. 692^a, l. 29, to be added: He has been burried at the feet of the poet Niyāzī Mīşrī at Kastro (Lemnos), where his tomb was still shown in 1916 (cf. L. Massignon, *Recueil*, p. 164).
- P. 701^a, l. 48, to be added: In an early period Turkish has also known the form *muḥur* (from Sanscrit *mudra*, mong. *motor*, cf. W. Bang and A. von Gabain, *Türk. Turfan-Texte*, v. 53).
- P. 701^b, l. 66, to be added: Signature was something of a privilege. Of the surviving engravers of Istanbul two only possessed it: Yümni, the son of a famous father of that name, and 'Ashīk. The personal seals in Latin characters, made up to this day (1933), are, with a few exceptions, barbarous.
The ethnographic museum at Ankara possesses a curious collection of metal seals provenient from the *shaikhs* of the now dissolved *ṭarīqa* of the Bektashis.
- P. 702^a, *Bibliography* of the art. MUHR. To be added: Cf. *T. B.*, i. 28 sqq. (anecdote of a *mühürdjü* "Siegelmacher"). — On the "Sacred seal of the Prophet", cf. *T.O.E.M.*, vii. 372—377.
- P. 712, art. MUĶĀTIL B. SULAIMĀN. Muĵatil's commentary on the *Qur'ān* as is evident from manuscripts recently found by Ritter and Schacht is called *al-Tafsīr fī mutashābih al-Qur'ān* and deals with the different meanings of single words like *hudā*, *kufr* etc. in different passages of the *Qur'ān*. There are manuscripts in Stambul, Ḥamidiya, N^o. 58, Faizullāh, N^o. 79, Serāy, N^o. 74, 'Umūmī, N^o. 561; cf. Ritter, *Isl.*, xvii. 249, and Schacht, *Aus den Bibliotheken...*, i. 58; also al-Ash'arī *Maḳālāt*, ed. Ritter, index, p. 46. According to Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, p. 520, note 2 the commentary is quoted by Abu 'l-Ḥusain al-Malaṭī, *Tanbih wa-radd* (Pers.) on p. 577. Massignon calls attention to Muĵatil's importance as a source for homonyms in which al-Shāfi' followed him, cf. also p. 703. (M. PLESSNER)
- P. 735^a, *Bibliography* of the art. MURDJITES. To be added: Goldziher, *Irjā'*, in *Z.D.M.G.* xlv. (1891), 161—171.
- P. 756^b, l. 60, instead of: 433 (1042), to be read: 453 (1061).
- P. 764^b, l. 59, instead of: NIZAR, to be read: NIZĀR.
- P. 831^b, l. 12, instead of: Şufrite, to be read: Şufrites.
- P. 946^a, l. 67, instead of: Leipzig, to be read: Upsala and Leipzig.
- P. 927^b, Addition to the *bibliography* of the art NISH: B. Lovrić, *Istorija Niša, prilikom pedesetogodišnjice osloboćenja Konstantinovog i Nemanjinog grada (11 januara 1878—11 januara 1928)*, Nish 1927 (a kind of illustrated monograph).

L

LABBAI (LUBBAY) (Tamil, *ilappai*, said to be a corruption of *‘arabī*), a class of Indian Musalmans, also known as *Djonakas* (Skt. *yavana*, "Greek, western"), supposed to be descended from Arab immigrants who intermarried with native women, but now having nothing to distinguish them from the aboriginal people, except their mode of dress and manner of shaving the head and trimming the beard. In 1911 they numbered 401,703, found chiefly on the E. coast of Southern India. Most of them are Sunnis, of the *Shāfi‘ī madhhab*, and their head-quarters are at Nagore, the burial place of their patron saint, *Shāh al-Hamīd ‘Abd al-Kādir* (ob. 1600), commonly known as *Kādir Walī* or *Mirān Shāhib* (see *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, p. 243). They read the *Kur‘ān* in Tamil translation, written in Arabic characters. They are industrious and enterprising, especially as fishermen and traders.

Bibliography: E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras 1909, iv. 198 sqq.; *Kādir Husain Khān*, *South Indian Muslims*, Madras 1910, p. 29 sqq.; *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Madras 1893, iii. 437. (T. W. ARNOLD)

LABBAIKA. [See **TALBIYA**.]

LABĪD B. RABĪ‘A ABŪ ‘AḲĪL, an Arab poet of the pagan period, who lived into the days of Islām (*muḥadram*), belonged to the family of Banū *Dja‘far*, a branch of the *Kilāb*, who belonged to the Banū ‘*Amir* and therefore to the *Ḳaisi Hawāzin*. According to Ibn Sa‘d, vi. 21, he died in 40 (660/661) in the night on which Mu‘āwīya arrived in al-Nukhaila to conclude peace with Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. Others, like Ibn Hadjar, iii. 657, whom Nöldeke (*Fünf Mo‘allaqāt*, ii. 51) thinks ought to be followed, give 41 A.H., others again 42. He is said to have reached an unusually great age (al-Sidjīstānī, *K. al-Mu‘ammarin*, ed. Goldziher, ch. 61). In fact he makes several allusions to this in his poems. The date of his birth can only be approximately fixed. Even before 600 A.D. he seems to have attained a prominent position in his tribe by his command of language. As quite a young man he is said to have accompanied a deputation from his tribe to the court of king Abū *Kābiṣ Nu‘mān* of al-*Hira* (c. 580–602), and when the latter was incited against the Banū ‘*Amir* by his friend Abū Rabī‘ b. *Ziyād al-‘Absī* (of the tribe to which Labīd’s mother belonged), Labīd succeeded with a satirical *radjās* (*Diwān*, N^o. 33) in so ridiculing him to the king that he restored his favour to the Banū ‘*Amir*. A verse from Nu‘mān’s answer to his courtier who sought to defend himself from the lampoon on him became proverbial (cf. al-Mufaḍḍal, *al-Fākhir*, i. 41 sq.; al-‘Askari, *Amthāl*, on the margin of *Maidānī*, ii. 117, 7–18;

al-Maidānī, ii. 33; *K. al-Aghānī*, xv. 1 94 sqq., 91 sqq., xvi. 2 22 sq., 21 sqq.; ‘*Abd al-Kādir, Khizānat al-Adab*, ii. 79 sqq., iv. 171 sqq.). In his later poems Labīd also often prides himself on having helped his tribe by his eloquence. He remained loyal to his tribe even when a famous poet and scorned the profession of a wandering singer, practised by his contemporary al-‘*Ashā*. But the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad threw him out of the usual groove. We do not know the exact date of his conversion to Islām. As early as *Djumādā II* of the year 8 the chiefs of the tribe of ‘*Amir* b. *Ṣa‘sa‘a*, ‘*Amir* b. *Tufail* and *Arbad* b. *Ḳais*, a stepbrother of Labīd, seem to have negotiated in Medina about the adhesion of their tribe to the new constitution without reaching any result (see Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 90 sqq.). Both men are said to have soon after come to an untimely end, ‘*Amir* from plague and *Arbad* from a lightning stroke; the latter story seems to find confirmation in Labīd’s lament for him (*Diwān*, N^o. 5). The accusation on the other hand that *Arbad* attempted to kill the Prophet is quite incredible; for in that case Labīd could hardly have composed several elegies on him and they would certainly not have been included in his *Diwān*. In the year 9 the tribe again sent a deputation to Medina which included the poet and an agreement was reached. Labīd is said on this occasion to have become a Muslim. He later migrated to *Kūfa* where he died. Of his family only a daughter is mentioned who is said to have inherited his talent (see al-Maidānī, ii. 49, 13 sqq.; al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭālī‘ al-Budūr*, i. 52, 7 sqq.).

Labīd’s poems were very highly esteemed by the Arabs. Al-Nābigha is said to have declared him the greatest poet among the Arabs or at least of his tribal group, the *Hawāzin*, on account of his *Mu‘allaqa*. He himself is said to have claimed third place after *Imru ‘l-Ḳais* and *Ṭarafa*. Al-Djumaḥī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Shu‘arā*, ed. Hell, p. 29 sq.) places him in the third class of pagan poets along with al-Nābigha al-Dja‘dī, Abū *Dhu‘aib* and al-Shammākḥ. Labīd showed himself equally master of the *hidjā*, the *marthiya* and the *ḡaṣida*. One of his *ḡaṣida*’s was adopted into the collection of *mu‘allaqāt*, ii. 51) to be one of the best specimens of Beduin poetry. Labīd uses the traditional pictures from the animal world — wild asses and antelopes fleeing before the hunter and fighting with his dogs — as charmingly as the usual complacencies about drinking bouts. He seems on the other hand to have only cultivated the *nasīb*, because it had been traditional. He deals far less with the subject of woman’s love than with the description of the *Aṭlāl* which he likes to compare with

artistic calligraphy. He is also fond of recalling memories of places of his native district, the palm-groves and irrigation works of which continually move him to charming descriptions; indeed in one such connection he gives the whole itinerary (*Diwān*, N^o. 19, v. 4 *sqq.*) of a journey from central Arabia to the coast of the Persian Gulf (see von Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 12). As his almost contemporary Abū Dhū'ayb is fond of doing, in the *Mu'allaka*, v. 55 *sqq.* he turns however once more to his beloved and thus combines the *nasīb* with the main part of the *ḥaṣida* to an organic whole; but for him this is simply a mode of transition to a new descriptive passage. His poetry is however distinguished from that of other poets of the pagan period by a certain religious feeling which seems to have been not exactly rare among his contemporaries, even before Muhammad's mission. While Zuhair, for example, still expresses his practical wisdom derived from the experience of a long life, in plain though impressive language, Labid on such occasions always strikes a religious note. He certainly did not profess Christianity nor can we see in him a representative of the so called Ḥanifa of the *Sira*, as von Kremer wished to do. In him rather we find the belief in Allāh as the guardian of morality finding particular expression, a belief widely disseminated in Arabia by the preaching of the Christian church. Such passages naturally invited the Muslim traditionalists to increase them. Indeed a later author went so far as to ascribe to him a verse by Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya (frg. 18). But many passages of his *Diwān* seem to owe their inspiration to the Qur'ān. The statement that he wrote no more poetry after his conversion to Islām is obviously an invention (see Ibn Sa'd, vi. 21, 4, repeated later; e.g. by al-Ghūzūlī, *Maḥāṣin*, i. 52 *infra*); it is contradicted by the simple fact that poems 21 and 53 of the *Diwān* were only composed shortly before his death (*K. al-Aghānī*, xvi. 101). The description of Paradise (*Diwān*, N^o. 3, 4) is certainly inspired by the Qur'ān like the idea that precedes it, that a record is kept of the doings of men. Under the influence of Islām in Nos. 39 and 41, verse 11 of which, as Ibn Qutaiba (*K. al-Shi'r*, p. 153, 5) already points out, certainly must be written after his conversion, if it is not to be considered an interpolation, he replaces the *nasīb* by pious admonitions. Thus he creates a new artistic form that of poetical paraenesis on the transitoriness of human life; besides the Qur'ān he may of course have been influenced by Christian preaching. He only follows older models in the connection when he combines admonition with the averting of blame from a woman in N^o. 14, as in Ṭarafa's *Mu'allaka*, verses 56 *sqq.*, 63—65 (cf. Caskel, *Das Schicksal*, p. 9), where this is however only an episode in the *ḥaṣida*.

Labid's *Diwān* was edited, according to the *Fihrist*, p. 158, by several of the greatest Arabic philologists, al-Sukkārī, Abū 'Amir al-Shaibānī, al-Aṣma'i, al-Ṭūsī and Ibn al-Sikkīt. Of these editions only half of that of al-Ṭūsī with a commentary has survived in the manuscript edited by al-Khālidi [see below] of the year 589. All other MSS. are much later, e.g. those in Leiden, Strassburg and that in Cairo not yet edited which also contains the *Diwān* of Abū Dhū'ayb, ed. by J. Hell.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *K. al-Takāṣūt*, v. 120/1; Ibn Qutaiba, *Liber Poesis et Poetarum*,

p. 148—156; Abū 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *K. al-Aghānī*², xiv. 90—98; *Diwān Labid al-ʿAmirī Riwayāt al-Ṭūsī*, al-Ṭab'a al-ūlā bi-Ḥasb al-Nusḥa al-mawḍū'a 'inda Ṭābiḥi al-Shaikh Yūsuf Diyā' al-Dīn al-Khālidi al-Maḥḍisi (Vienna), al-Djawa'ib 1297; A. von Kremer, *Über die Gedichte des Labid*, S. B. Ak. Wien, xcvi., N^o. 2, p. 555—603; *Diwān des Labid, zweiter Teil, nach den Handschriften zu Strassburg und Leiden mit den Fragmenten, Übersetzung und Biographie des Dichters aus dem Nachlass des Dr. A. Huber*, ed. by Carl Brockelmann, Leiden 1891; *Die Gedichte des Labid nach der Wiener Ausgabe übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen aus dem Nachlasse des Dr. A. Huber*, ed. by Carl Brockelmann, Leiden 1891; *Die Mo'allaga Labids übersetzt und erklärt* by Th. Nöldeke in *Fünf Mo'allagāt*, S. B. Ak. Wien, ph. hist. Kl., Bd. cxlii., N^o. v., 1900; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 36; R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 119—121. (C. BROCKELMANN)

LACCADIVES (*Lakṣha divi*, "the hundred thousand isles"), a group of coral atolls lying off the Malabār Coast between 8° and 14° N. and 71° 40' and 74° E. There are thirteen islands in all, but only eight are inhabited, and these are divided into two groups — the northern, including the inhabited islands of Amini, Kardamat, Kiltan and Cetlat, and the southern, including the inhabited islands of Agatti, Kavaratti, Androth and Kalpeni. The northern group, for administrative purposes, forms part of the south Kanara District and the southern, of the Malabār District. To the south of the Laccadives stands the isolated island of Minikoi, belonging physically neither to this group nor to the Maldives, but approaching rather to the latter. The Laccadives were originally colonized by Hindus from Malabār but the inhabitants were converted to Islām in the thirteenth century, according to tradition. They number about 10,000, and in habits and customs resemble the Māppillas of North Malabār, but their women hold a higher position, and are neither veiled nor secluded. Inheritance follows the female line. The people formerly owed allegiance to the Koliturai Rājā, but were virtually independent until, in the sixteenth century the Rājā bestowed them on his admiral, the 'Alī Rājā of Kananor, whose descendants governed them until 1791, when Kananor was conquered by the British, into whose hands they fell.

Bibliography: J. Stanley Gardiner, *The Fauna and Geography of the Maldives and Laccadive Archipelagoes*, Cambridge 1901—1905; *Malabar District Gazetteer*, Madras 1908; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908.

(T. W. HAIG)

LĀDHĪK (LĀDĪK, Greek Λαδίκεια), the name of several towns in Asia Minor.

1. The ancient Λαδίκεια κατανευμένη (*Lādīk Sūkhia*). It probably derived this name from the smelting furnaces which it had around it as the centre of the quicksilver mining area. It was in Karamān north of Kūniya on the great military road which ran through Asia Minor. Ḥādjī Khalifa already knows it by its modern name of Yorgan Lādīk or Lādīkiya in Karamān.

Bibliography: Ḥādjī Khalifa, *Dihān-Numā*, p. 611 *sqq.*; Ibn Bibi, ed. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relat. à l'hist. des Seldjoucides*, iii. 23, 25 = iv. 8, 9; Cramer, *Asia Minor*, ii.

33; Hamilton, *Travels in Asia Minor*; Ramsay, *Class. Review*, xix., p. 367 sqq.; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 25; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 136, 149.

2. Lādhik (Hādjidi Khalifa: Lādhikīya), the ancient Laodicea ad Lycum was in the S. E. part of Djermyān. Al-Battāni calls it, following Greek sources, Lādhikīya Frūdīs (= Φρυγίας while Ptolemy places it in Caria). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa it was a large town with 7 Friday mosques, beautiful gardens, flowing rivers and springs and fine markets. The Greek women there made remarkably beautiful and durable woollen goods, embroidered with gold. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also praises the hospitality of the inhabitants but censures the freedom of their morals. Slave girls were sold and prostitution practised even in the public baths. On the history of the town (now *Eski Hişar*) see DEŖİZLİ.

Bibliography: al-Battāni, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ii. 39; iii. 237 (N^o. 116); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuhfat al-Nuṣṣār* (ed. Paris), ii. 270 sq., 457; Hamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nuḥat al-Kuṭūb*, ed. Bombay, p. 162; 'Alī of Yazd, ed. Calcutta, ii. 448 sq.; Hādjidi Khalifa, *Djihān-Numā*, p. 631 sqq.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 145, 153 sq.; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, Berlin 1896, p. 12.

3. Lādhik, the ancient Λαοδικεία Ποντική south of Amāsiya.

Bibliography: Ibn Bibī, ed. Houtsma, *passim*; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 146. (E. HONIGMANN)

AL-LĀDHİKĪYA, a sea-port in Northern Syria, the ancient Λαοδικεία ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσει. It was founded by Seleucus I, who called it after his mother Laodike, and towards the end of the Seleucid empire it was a member of the alliance of the four most important Syrian cities, the πόλεις ἀδελφαί, Antiocheia, Apameia, Seleuceia and Laodiceia. In the reign of Justinian I it was made the capital of the newly founded province of Theodorias.

When the Arabs under the governor of Hims, 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmī al-Anṣārī, advanced on the town, the inhabitants made a determined resistance. 'Ubāda encamped near Lādhikīya and had deep trenches dug in which even horsemen could advance unobserved. After a pretended retreat he returned in the night and was then able to surprise the inhabitants who had unsuspectingly opened the great gate of the city, and to enter the town. The citadel was then stormed and 'Ubāda proclaimed upon the walls *Allāh akbar*. A section of the Christian inhabitants fled to al-Busaid (Πορδεῖον; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 133, 4 should thus be corrected for *al-Yusaiyid*: Ed. Schwarz in Wellhausen, *Z. D. M. G.*, lx. 246). Their request to be allowed to return to the town was granted them on payment of a fixed sum as *kharāj*. They retained possession of their church, while 'Ubāda had a new mosque built which was later enlarged (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 132 sq.). About 97 (according to al-Balādhuri: 100 A. H.), the Greeks attacked the coast of al-Lādhikīya with a fleet, burned the town and carried off its inhabitants as prisoners (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*; Brooks, *J. H. S.*, 1878, xviii., p. 195). 'Umar had al-Lādhikīya rebuilt, fortified and ransomed the inhabitants from their captors. Yazīd completed the restoration of the city after 'Umar's death and he also

put a garrison in it. According to another story however, Yazīd's services to the town were only the renovation of the defences and the strengthening of the garrison (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī al-Dhabāb*, Paris, viii., p. 281).

Nicephoros Phokas in 968 won the town and the whole of Northern Syria from the Byzantines (Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, ed. Kračkovsky and Vasiliev in *Patrolog. Oriental.*, 1924, xviii., p. 816). In 980, according to Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, who, Rosen thinks, took his statement from a local chronicle of al-Lādhikīya, the emperor Basil II appointed a certain Karmarūk, who had distinguished himself in an expedition against Ṭarābulus which belonged to the Fātimids, to be governor of the town. When it was besieged by the Arabs Nazzāl and Ibn Shākīr, he was captured during a sortie, and beheaded in Cairo (Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv., p. 16 sq., 153 sqq.). Michael Burtzes (*al-Burdjī*) in 992 put down a rising of the Muslims in the town and had them deported to Bilād al-Rūm (Yaḥyā, ed. Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 30, 237). In 1086 al-Lādhikīya belonged to the Banū Munkidh of Shaizar (Derenbourg, *Ousāma*, p. 27 sq.) who had, however, to cede it to the Saldjūk Malik Shāh. In August 1098, the Count of Normandy took the town; it then passed in rapid succession to the Byzantines, to Bohemund of Tarento, to the Byzantines again and finally after 18 months' siege, to Tancred of Anṭākīya (Röhrich, *Gesch. des Kgrs. Jerusalem*, p. 45, note 8). In 1104 we again find the Greeks besieging it by land and sea, and Bohemund promised the Emperor Alexius Comnenos in the treaty of Devol (1108) the cession of this στρατιώτης among other places (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, Bonn, ii., p. 241, 6). Tancred however soon afterwards with the help of a Pisan fleet took the town which in the meanwhile had again passed to the Muslims. The governor of Ḥalab took and sacked it in 1136; in 1157 and 1170 it was visited by two severe earthquakes, in which only the principal Greek church remained intact. On July 23, 1188, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took the town ('Imād al-Dīn, *Faṭḥ*, p. 141; Abū Shāma, *Kiṭāb al-Rawḍatayn*, ed. Cairo 1287/1288, ii., p. 128 = *Hist. Orient. des Crois.*, iv., p. 361). In autumn 1197 Bohemund III succeeded once more in conquering al-Lādhikīya or a part of the town at least. In 1223 the Ḥalabis destroyed the town or its citadel out of fear of the Christians approaching on the Fifth Crusade. But even after this (since 1197), half the city remained in possession of the Franks. Baibars in 1275 demanded that they should hand over this part of it. In 1281 al-Lādhikīya belonged to the emir Sonkor of Dimashk, to whom the Sultān had been forced to surrender it in a treaty (June 24); but after the fall of Sonkor, another emir won it back from Baibars (April 20, 1287); soon afterwards a new earthquake almost completely destroyed several of its strong towers, the pigeon-tower, the light-house and the towers in the sea; great siege engines completed the destruction of the fortifications.

The district of al-Lādhikīya, which had hitherto gone with Ḥalab under the Aiyūbids (Yākut, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv., p. 338; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Bairūt, p. 231), about the end of the xiiith century was placed in the new province of Ṭarābulus ('Umarī, *Tārīf*, p. 182, in R. Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1916, p. 35; Khalīl al-Zāhiri, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 48; *Diwān al-Inshā'*,

Paris MSS. Arab. 4439, fol. 94^v, 152^r, 243^r, in van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, p. 290, note 3; al-Kāshandī, *Subḥ al-Aṣḥā*, iv. 145, transl. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 113 sq.). The Arab geographers and historians mention many ancient buildings that had survived in the town; they also tell of two castles connected with one another on a hill which commanded al-Lādhīkiya (Bahā' al-Dīn, in *Hist. Or. des Crois.*, iii. 110), a great city-gate, which it took a number of men to open (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 132), and the splendid monastery of Dair al-Fārūs (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, viii., p. 281; Dimashki, ed. Mehren, p. 209; Abu 'l-Fida', *Geogr.*, transl. Reinaud-Guyard, II/ii. 35; in Ibn Battūta, i. 183; al-Fārūs) called after Tall Fārūs still the name of the eminence to the north of the town (M. Hartmann, *Z.D.P.V.*, xiv., p. 166 and map). A short description of al-Lādhīkiya is given by Raoul of Caen (*Gesta Tancredi*, ch. 144; Röhrich *Z.D.P.V.*, x. 316 has put together a list of the buildings of the town known from Frankish sources). In spite of the earthquakes and frequent pillaging suffered by the town in course of centuries, it never seems to have been quite desolate and uninhabited. The fine, high houses and the straight streets, paved with marble blocks, noted by Ibn al-Athīr and Abū Shāma (*Hist. Or. des Crois.*, i. 720; iv. 361) and which they say had suffered much when the town was sacked (cf. also Ya'qūbi, ed. de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, vii. 258), recall the description of Laodiceia in Poseidonius as a *καλλίστη ἐκτισμένη πόλις* (Strabo, xvi., p. 753), and of the modern town van Berchem says (*J.A.*, 1902, p. 425; cf. *Voyage*, i., p. 289 sq.): *la ville de Lattakieh a gardé ses rues droites. Il est curieux que ce plan, d'aspect tout moderne, existât au moyen âge; il remonte peut-être à l'antiquité, comme certaines rues droites de Damas et Jérusalem*. The origin of the straight streets and the square plan of the town (cf. Th. Schreiber in the *Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, 1898, p. 335—348) has been ascribed to architects of the Roman empire (A. v. Gerkani, *Griech. Stadtanlagen*, 1924, passim), but more recently Cultrera has shown that they already existed in the early Hellenistic period and had been borrowed as early as by Hippodamos of Miletus (fifth century) from the architecture of the ancient east (*Architettura Ippodamea*, in *Memorie dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, ser. v., vol. xvii., p. 403, 433 sq., 473; Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1916, xix., note 4, 25 sq., 483).

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LAGHUAT, AL-AḤWĀT, a town and oasis in Southern Algeria, 250 miles south of Algiers in 2° 55' East. Lat., 33° 48' N. Lat., at 2,400 feet above sea-level. In 1911 it had 5,598 inhabitants of whom 595 were Europeans. Laghuat which forms part of the "Territoire" of Ghardaia is the capital of a mixed commune and a native commune of 6,650 square miles with 19,810 inhabitants.

The town and the oasis lie on the right bank of the Wēd Mzi, which comes from the Djebel Amūr and finally under the name of Wēd Djedi enters the Shott Melghir in the south of the province of Constantine. The houses lie in terraces on the slopes of two rocky hills, spurs of the Djebel Tisgarine, the European quarter on the north-west slope and the native quarter on the north-east slope. It is defended by a wall and two forts on the summit. The oasis extends in a semi-circle north-west and south-east of the town. The north-west part is the more extensive and contains palmgroves and fields of cereals. A canal led by a dam from the Wēd Mzi called the Wēd Lekhier provides for the irrigation of the gardens. The palm-trees to the number of 30,000 produce dates of mediocre quality, but they supply the food of the inhabitants. The situation of Laghuat between the southern Oran and southern Constantine at the point where roads diverge to the west, to the Ūlād Sidi Shaikh, to the south of the Mzab and to Wargla, to the east to the Ziban and Biskra, makes this place a considerable centre of commerce.

History. In the tenth century A.D. there was already on the banks of the Wēd Mzi a little town, the inhabitants of which, after having recognised the authority of the Fātimids, took part in the rebellion of Abū Yazid. The country round was inhabited by wandering Berbers of the family Maghrāwa. The Hilālī invasion brought other tribes of the same stock into this region, notably the Ksel, driven out of the Zab, who founded a village called Ben Būta. Other Kṣūr (Bu Mendala, Naḍjal, Sidi Mimūn, Badla, Kaṣbat ben Fotūh) were built by other refugees, some of Arab origin (Dawawida, Ūlād bū Zayan), others came from the Mzab. These groups together took the name of al-Aghuat.

We know very little of the history of this town down to the xviiith century. At the end of the

xvth century it paid tribute to the Sultān of Morocco; in 1666 the Kṣūr of Badla and of Kaṣbat Fotūh were abandoned. In 1698 a Marabout originally from Tlemcen, Si al-Hādīdj 'Aissa, settled at Ben Būta, imposed his authority on the people of the three other Kṣūr and on the neighbouring tribe of the Larba. Under his leadership the people of Laghuat defeated the people of Kṣard al-Aṣafia but were forced to pay tribute to the Sultān of Morocco, Mūlāy Ismā'īl, who camped under the walls of the town in 1708. After the death of Si al-Hādīdj 'Aissa (1738 A. D.) the history of Laghuat is reduced to that of the struggle between the two ṣof who disputed control of it, the Ūlād Serghine, of the south-west quarter and the Hallaf who inhabited the north-east quarter. In the middle of these feuds which bathed the oasis in blood, the Turks made their supremacy recognised. In 1727 the Bey of Titteri had imposed an annual tribute on the Kṣūrians. The Mzabis driven from the oasis where they had acquired a part of the gardens, formed with the nomads of the south a confederation, over which the people of Laghuat triumphed with the help of the Larba. Towards the end of the xviii century the Turks reappeared and enforced once more their suzerainty which the Laghuati had been gradually casting off. The Bey of Medea fell in the first expedition (1784), but the Bey of Oran, Muḥammad al Kabir, seized the town and destroyed the quarter of the Ūlād Serghine (1786). His successor 'Oṭhmān then took the field against the Hallaf whom he scattered (1787).

The two enemy factions were not long however in reorganising themselves and civil strife began again until the chief of the Hallaf, Aḥmad b. Sālim, succeeded in making himself master of Laghuat and the neighbouring Kṣūrs (1828). But peace did not last long. The Ūlād Serghine supported by 'Abd al-Kādir regained the upper hand in 1837. Their chief al-Hādīdj al-'Arbi was appointed *khalifa* by the Amīr. He could not hold out and was forced to take refuge in Mzab. His successor 'Abd al-Bāḳi was no more fortunate, although he had 700 regular troops and a cannon. In obedience to the Amīr's orders he tried to imprison the notables but this provoked risings and he had to leave Laghuat (1839). Al-Hādīdj al-'Arbi, again appointed *khalifa*, was defeated by Aḥmad b. Sālim in alliance with the Marabout of 'Ain Mahdī, Tidjāmi, and then taken prisoner. Thus becoming again lord of Laghuat, Aḥmad b. Sālim placed himself under French protection who appointed him their *khalifa* in 1844. A French column under the command of Colonel Marey-Monge on this occasion camped at the very gates of Laghuat. The French came back again in 1847 but did not definitely install themselves till 1852, when the Sharif Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, already lord of Wargla, had gained entrance to the town with the help of a section of the Hallaf. To retake it from him a column was sent under General Péliissier. Laghuat was taken by storm after a desperate fight in which General Bouscarene and Commandant Morand were killed (December 1852). A permanent garrison was then stationed in Laghuat and it became the base of French operations in the south.

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LAHIDJ, a sultanate in South Arabia with its capital of the same name north-west of 'Aden, bounded by the Ḥawshabī territory on the north, the Faḍlī territory on the east, the 'Akrabī land in the south and the Ṣubaiḥī territory in the west. The capital, called Lahidj or el-Hōṭa lies at a height of 350 feet above sea-level between the two arms of the Wādī Tuban, the Wādī Saḡhīr and the Wādī Kabir, in a fertile oasis which, occupying a wide valley, owes its existence to its irrigation by canals led from the mountain streams and wells of excellent water as much as 15 feet deep. The town is surrounded by palmgroves and fields on which cereals are grown, notably *durra* (*holcus sorghum*) and different vegetables; in addition to date-palms there are all kinds of fruit trees, including citrons and cocoa-palms, this being one of the most northerly points in Arabia where the latter are found. The town which was visited in 1503 by Ludovico di Barthema and in 1810 by V. G. von Seetzen and which Niebuhr still calls small, while on Wellsted's visit it had about 400 houses and 800 straw or reed huts with almost 5,000 inhabitants, owes its prosperity to the Russo-Turkish war in the course of which in 1878 England temporarily proclaimed a state of siege in 'Aden and evicted the Arabs and Sōmalis from 'Aden. The latter went to Lahidj where they built themselves thousands of huts close to the town, which now form extensive suburbs and considerably increased the number of inhabitants. The sea of houses is dominated by the palace of the Sultān, built by Indian architects and four to five stories high with extensive subsidiary buildings; it is entirely built of clay and painted white. The palace is surrounded by a clay wall, to the east of which lies the town with its numerous rectangular flat-roofed houses, all built of sun-dried bricks made of a mixture of dung, clay, straw and dried grass and one or two stories high. The monotony of the picture is broken only by the very simple, insignificant mosques which are outlined in white round the roof. To the east of the palace in the shade of beautiful leafy trees and palms is a pleasant looking one-storied bungalow built by the Sultān for foreign guests. Round the town are scattered little groups of low straw huts, made of *durra* stems and surrounded by a hedge which are inhabited by Sōmalis and their families. In addition to these there are also Sawāḥilis settled in Lahidj. The great mass of the inhabitants however are Yemen Arabs, who live in the numerous houses and mud-huts, which form the town with its narrow, winding, dusty streets. A part of the town is reserved for the Jews, who look wretched and are merchants and artisans. There are also a few Muslim Jews who are traders. All types of the population are met with in the bazaar street which is barely six feet wide. Not far from this is the armourers' market where smiths, Arabs and Jews have erected their simple workshops in open booths. The principal weapons made here are the fine *ḡembīyas* while the long cavalry lances, which are used by the Yemen Ḳabilis are made in Dathīna, Anṣāb or Ḥawir and brought for sale to the Lahidj market. In

Wellsted's time there were also 30 silk-weavers here, who got their yarn from India. The oasis is very well watered and the numerous little canals are fed by the perennial stream which passes not far from the town. Laḥīdj which plays an important part in the caravan traffic is connected by a road with 'Aden and in 1907 was to have been linked up by a railway with 'Aden and Ḍālī, part of which was actually surveyed but the plan was abandoned. England took up the scheme again in 1915 during the war and laid a strategic railway of 1 metre gauge for 25 miles to Laḥīdj; in 1921 it was extended a few miles beyond the oasis of Laḥīdj and now reaches Ḥabīl al-Ḥamrā, 8 miles N. W. of al-Ḥōṭā. The continuation of the railway to Ṣan'ā' would open up Southern Yemen and increase the importance of Laḥīdj.

History. The name Laḥīdj (Laḥḍj) which means a damp low lying area intersected by water channels, a place-name that admirably suits Laḥīdj, is connected by the genealogists with the Ḥimyar Laḥḍj b. Wā'il b. al-Ghawṭh b. Ḳatan b. 'Arib b. Zuhair b. Abyan b. al-Humaisa' and is applied by the geographers to a district in Yemen which forms part of the territory of Abyan north-east of 'Aden. Al-Ḥamdānī mentions it among the towns of the Yemen Tihāma and says that in his time the descendants of Aṣḥab b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith *dhī* Aṣḥab b. Mālik b. Zaid b. al-Ghawṭh b. Sa'd b. 'Awf b. 'Adī b. Mālik b. Zaid b. Sadad b. Zur'a Ḥimyar al-Aṣghar were alive. Yāḳūt says the same for the district of Laḥīdj which included the towns and villages. A number of poets, particularly South Arabians, are familiar with the town, e. g. Kais b. Makshūḥ 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib, *Khudaīdj* b. 'Amr, Saiyid al-Ḥimyarī, 'Amr b. al-Sulaimānī and especially the famous 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, who had property there.

After Yemen had been won for Islām, Laḥīdj shared the fortunes of this extensive province of the Arab empire. Laḥīdj thus passed with Yemen to the Umayyads and then to the 'Abbāsids until under al-Ma'mūn the bold 'Alīd Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Dī'far b. Muḥammad, drove his governor Isḥāk b. 'Isā al-'Abbāsī out of Yemen and made himself independent there. In 203 (818/819) the Caliph made a partition of Yemen by which the coast lands from Mecca to 'Aden were put under the governor Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ziyād al-Umawī who founded the town of Zabīd and became the founder of the Ziyādī dynasty which with one interruption (the capture of Zabīd in 293 [905/6] by the Ḳarṣaṭīn 'Alī b. al-Faḍl al-Ḥimyarī al-Khanfarī, d. 303 [915/16]) ruled over Zabīd until 402 (1011/1012). Laḥīdj with 'Aden, Abyan, Ḥaḍramūt and al-Shīhr passed into the hands of the Banū Ma'n in the time of the Abyssinian slaves, who ruled the Ziyādī kingdom when the dynasty died out. In 439 (1047/1048) 'Aden came under the rule of 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī (d. 459 = 1066/1067). Zurai' b. al-'Abbās (d. 485 = 1092/1093) was installed as governor here and ruled in a practically independent fashion. Ibn 'Umar, the ruler of Laḥīdj, al-Shīhr and Ḥaḍramūt, who later seized 'Aden and ruled jointly with his brother Mas'ūd, made an alliance with him. Their successors succeeded in conquering a great part of the Yemen, but internal discords soon weakened them and in 1152 A.D., the caliph al-Manṣūr took 'Aden with the help of treachery

and was able to hold it until the Aiyūbid al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Turān-shāh in 1173 A.D. conquered a great part of Yemen including 'Aden, with whose fate that of Laḥīdj was henceforth linked. Turān-shāh placed a governor in 'Aden, the brother of the Imām of Ṣan'ā', Malik al-Mas'ūd, whose successor Sulṭān Nūr al-Dīn (1233—1249 A.D.) was the founder of the Rasūlīd dynasty of Yemen. He soon conquered the whole of the Yemen and ruled it under the nominal suzerainty of the 'Abbasid caliph, with whom he quarrelled in 1249 so that Sulṭān al-Malik al-Muzaḥfar Shams al-Dīn was sent against him and took 'Aden and Laḥīdj from him. In 1251 al-Muzaḥfar granted Laḥīdj and Abyan to his brothers Mufaddal and Fa'iz as a fief. Laḥīdj again changed its owner when in 1294 Ibrāhīm b. Muzaḥfar took 'Aden and Laḥīdj but had soon to part with them again to Dā'ūd, Muzaḥfar's successor. In 1302 Laḥīdj passed as a fief to the Sharif 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs. In 1307 the town was pillaged by the Dījāḥīl, in 1323 'Umar b. Diwīdān rebelled in Abyan and Laḥīdj and besieged 'Aden as his son again did in 1325. In 1454 'Aden with its hinterland passed to the Ṭāhirids who held it till 1507. The expeditionary force led by Ḥusain al-Mushrif which the Mamlūk Sulṭān Kānsūḥ al-Ghūrī sent at the request of the Ṭāhirid Sulṭān 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb to prevent the encroachment of the Portuguese in the Red Sea and which conquered a great part of the Yemen, only paved the way for the Turks. In 1538 the Turkish governor of Kulzum, Sulaimān Paṣha, set out with a fleet and took 'Aden which belonged to the Turkish empire until in 1635 the Turks had to leave the Yemen, which again became independent under the Imāms of Ṣan'ā'. Quarrels among the claimants to the imāmate however soon shattered the kingdom and in 1728 the 'Abd'alī leader Faḍl b. 'Alī b. Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Salīm, the founder of the dynasty of Laḥīdj, made himself independent of the Imāms and made Laḥīdj the capital of his territory. In 1735 he took 'Aden. His grandson Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm in 1802 concluded through Sir Home Popham a commercial treaty with England but his nephew and successor Muḥsin came into conflict with England (1837) through the plundering of the Indian ship Doria Dowlt by his people and thus lost 'Aden, the fort of which passed to England by a preliminary treaty concluded on January 23, 1838, while the Arabs in the town were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Sulṭān of Laḥīdj who received in compensation a subsidy of 541 dollars = month. On January 19, 1839 the English occupied 'Aden and by a second treaty of June 18, 1839, Captain S. B. Haines made an arrangement between Sulṭān Muḥsin of Laḥīdj and England, by which the former agreed to guarantee the security and regularity of the caravan traffic with 'Aden and to maintain a loyal friendship with England, while Haines in return undertook to pay subsidies to the tribes of Faḍl, Yāfī, Ḥawāshīb and 'Amir and to pay Sulṭān Muḥsin and his descendants 6,500 dollars annually from Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1254. At the same time the contracting parties agreed to support one another in case of war between the 'Abd'alī and Laḥīdj, to put subjects of the Sulṭān coming to 'Aden under English jurisdiction during the time of their stay and those who came to Laḥīdj from 'Aden under that of the Sulṭān; further all goods belonging to

the Sultān, or his sons were to enter or leave 'Aden free of duty. In spite of this treaty the Sultān, who was still sore over the loss of 'Aden, continued to intrigue against the English and supported the attack of the Arabs on 'Aden in 1840 and even had the English representative in 'Aden, Ḥasan Khatīb, murdered and regularly adopted a hostile attitude towards the English. His constant failures however forced him to change his policy and on February 11, 1843 he concluded a new agreement with England which was renewed in a more stringent form on February 20, 1844, before his monthly allowance was again paid to him. Muhsin b. Faql, who had again allowed himself to be involved in a war with England in 1846 in which he was defeated, died on November 30, 1847. His son and successor Aḥmad maintained friendly relations with England as it was in his best interest to do so. He died in 1849 and was succeeded by his brother 'Alī who resumed a policy of hostility to England and roused the hostility of the tribes against 'Aden. On March 7, 1849 a treaty was however concluded with the East India Company which was ratified on October 30, by Lord Dalhousie, but an attitude of constant friendship to England was not thereby secured. The Sultān even cut off supplies and it finally came to open fighting in which the Sultān was defeated on March 18, 1858 at Shekh 'Othmān so that he had again to reconcile himself to a peaceful policy. When in 1873 the Turks in their reconquest of the Yemen advanced on the hinterland of 'Aden, the English occupied Laḥidj and the Turks had to retire as a result of English diplomatic negotiations with the Sublime Porte. Whether these negotiations were instigated or approved by the Sultān who had lost his independence — only nominal it is true — by the Turkish occupation of his territory, is not known. In any case in 1887, as E. Glaser records, Sultān Faql b. 'Alī was receiving a monthly allowance of 1,250 dollars from 'Aden.

GENEALOGICAL SURVEY OF THE SULTĀNS OF LAḤİDJ.

Faql b. 'Alī b. Šāliḥ b. Šālim
(1728—1742)

↓
'Abd al-Karīm
(1742—1753)

↓
 'Abd al-Ḥādī (1753—1777) Faql (1777—1792) Aḥmad (1792—1827)

↓
Muhsin
(1827—Nov. 30. 1847)

↓
 Aḥmad (1847—1849) 'Alī (1849—1866) Faql (1866—?)

↓
'Alī
† July 1915

↓
Faql
↓
'Abd al-Karīm
(since July 1915)

In the World War Turkey assumed the offensive from the Yemen in June 1915 against the English sphere of interest and Turkish troops in conjunction with those of the Imām Yaḥyā b. Ḥamīd al-Dīn, their ally, under the command of Mu-

ḥammad Naṣr reached Laḥidj in their advance on 'Aden where there was a battle with the English and their allies. In the course of the fighting the English troops evacuated Laḥidj and Sultān 'Alī b. Aḥmad was shot. A counter-attack on July 21, 1915 restored Laḥidj to the English but by August 21 they were again driven out of Laḥidj which was occupied by the Turks who held it till the beginning of 1918. It was not till the collapse of Turkey on the Palestine front and the cutting of communications with the Yemen that the position became untenable for the Turkish troops and forced them to retire. Since July 1915, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Faql b. 'Alī has been ruler of the Sultānate of Laḥidj.

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LAHIDJAN. 1. A town in Gilān to the east of the Safid-Rūd and north of the mountain Dulfak (cf. the ancient name of a people Δέρβικαι) on the river Com-khala (Purdesar) which 8 miles higher up flows through Langarūd, the present capital of the district of Rān-i Kūh.

Lāhidjān although unknown to the early Arab geographers is certainly one of the oldest towns in Gilān. Its foundation is attributed to the legendary Lāhidj b. Sām b. Nūh. The river Safid-Rūd divides Gilān into two parts. In ancient times the river formed the frontier between the Amardoi on the east and the Kadusioi or Gelai on the west; cf. Andreas, *Amardos*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*. In the Muslim period the part of Gilān to the east of the river was called Biya-pish and that to the west Biya-pas (the word *biya* "water" [cf. Ahmad Rāzi in Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 100], corresponds to the Avestan *vaidhi*, "water-course"). According to Kāshāni the people of Biya-pish were 'Alids (Zaidis) and those of Biya-pas Hanbalis or sectarians of ustād Abū Dījāfar (= Ṭabari).

The old dynasty of Biya-pish was that of the Kawtum or Hawthum (in the modern Rān-i kūh). Its founder was Nāsir al-Hakḳ Ḥasan 'Utrūsh, a descendant of the Caliph 'Alī, who preached Zaidi doctrines in Gilān and died in 304 (917) (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 61; Ṭabari, iii. 2292). His descendants are known as Nāsirwand. Later the family divided into two branches; in the reign of Uldjaitū the lord of Kawtum was Salūk b. Salār b. Kaikāwūs b. Shāhinshāh (the descent of this branch is not quite certain); the lord of Lāhidjān, the most powerful of the princes of Gilān (or of Biya-pish), was Naw-Pādīshāh (or Shāh-i naw). When in 706 (1307) Uldjaitū arrived before Lāhidjān (via Tārom-Lowshān-Dailamān-Rustā) Naw Pādīshāh submitted to him and thus kept his position.

Lāhidjān became more generally known as the capital of the dynasty of Biya-pish called Kār-Kiyā. These sayids came originally from the village of Malāt (in the district of Rān-i Kūh). About 769 during the civil war between the two lines of Nāsirwand, the descendants of Sharaf al-Dīn of Lāhidjān and those of Amīr Muḥammad of Rān-i Kūh, Saiyid 'Alī b. Saiyid Kiyā seized Biya-pish, Dailamān and some districts of Māzandarān. The power of the Nāsirwand was re-established in 791—792; in 908 (1502) the troops of Amīr Hīsām al-Dīn of Fūman (Biya-pas) sacked the town and similar invasions were repeated in 910 (1504) and in 914 (1501) but, except for such interruptions, the dynasty of the Kār-Kiyā lasted till 1000 (1592). The Safawis had close connections with Lāhidjān. In the village of Shaikhānbar on the road from Lāhidjān to Langarūd is the tomb of Shaikh Ibrāhīm Zāhid (d. in 714 = 1314) who was the spiritual father (*pīr*) of Shaikh Safī al-Dīn, the famous ancestor of the Safawid dynasty. Shāh Ismā'īl I, a fugitive from the Ak-Koyunlu, found refuge with the Kār-Kiyā Mirzā 'Alī and studied under Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Lāhidjī (E. Denison Ross, *The early years of Shah Ismail*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 286). These friendly relations were broken in the reign of the Kār Kiyā Khān

Aḥmad Khān (943—975 and 985—1000) who was at first imprisoned by Shāh Ṭahmāsp and later driven from the throne by Shāh 'Abbās, who was indignant at his intrigues with the Ottomans. Aḥmad Khān ended his days in Constantinople (Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 562, 576). In 1000 (1592) Shāh 'Abbās came to Lāhidjān and destroyed the garden in front of the castle. During their occupation of Gilān (1724—1734) the Russians built two forts in Lāhidjān. Lāhidjān has now lost all political importance, but has retained its local importance as the centre of one of the largest and richest districts in Gilān. The town has 2,260 houses with 10,000 inhabitants. There are many tombs there of members of the old ruling family. The district is divided into seven cantons:

	towns	houses
Kūhpāya . . .	50 . . .	2,108
Pashmačāh . . .	35 . . .	1,059
Kanār-Fariḍa . . .	63 . . .	2,984
Rāh Shāh-i balā . . .	28 . . .	1,965
Gowka . . .	21 . . .	656
Čardeh . . .	5 . . .	300
Lashta Nishā . . .	29 . . .	775

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2. Several districts in Persia have however derived from the stems *Lāh* and *Lār* [q. v.]: Lāhidj, an important little town in Transcaucasia west of Shamakha [cf. SHIRWAN]; Lāhidjī, a village in the canton of Kurbāl in the province of Fārs; Lāhidjān, a canton of Mukri Kurdistān [cf. SAWDĪ-BULĀK], which the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 280 calls Lārdjān. There is a village of Lāhidjān near Ilkhiti, south of Tabriz and a village of Lāridjān south of the Araxes about 12 miles above the mouth of the river of Ardabil (Kara-Šu). The forms *Lāh* and *Lār* may both come from **Ladh* (cf. the old Persian *Māda*, which gave *Māh* in Persian and *Mar-kh* in Armenian). According to the dictionaries (Vullers) the old name of the town of Lār [q. v.] was Lād/Lādḥ; the silk called *lādḥ* is also known as *lāh* (*lāh* however may equally well be explained by *lār*). The change of *d* (*dh*) to *r* is

attested in the Caspian dialects (it is regular in Tātī; in Māzandarāni we have the parallel forms *āzād/āzār*; Melgunof, p. 221). The fact that we have districts of Lāhīdjān and Lārijān in the adjoining provinces of Gilān and Māzandarān is remarkable, but still more significant is the fact that Lāhīdj of Shīrwān represents an islet of Irānian Tāt surrounded by Turks (the Tāt are now found scattered throughout Daghistān, the country round Teherān, Āgharbaīdjān, etc.). Their present name has a rather general and vague character, cf. TĀT. The colony of Lāhīdj may have retained the original dialect formerly spoken in the metropolis. The name of the silk *lādh/lāh* suggests the former existence of a place called Lād, which produced silk (cf. Yākūt, s. v. Lāhīdj). [Yākūt says that Lāhīdj produces the silk called "Lāhīdjī" which is not of high quality]. With the suffix *-īz*, the word *Lāh-īz* would mean the people of Lād. It remains to be seen if the region of Lāhīdjān is not the ancestral home of numerous *Lāhīdjī* colonies. At the present day there is spoken in Lāhīdjān — although with certain local peculiarities — the Gilakī dialect but this parent dialect has here exercised a levelling influence, of which the foreign Turkish was incapable in the case of the people of Lāhīdj of Shīrwān. As to Lāhīdjān of Kurdistān we may recall the hypothesis of Andreas that the name "Dimla" by which the Zāzā call themselves (north of Diyār-bakr) is a metathesis of Dēlam (Dailam). The emigrations from Gilān, still very obscure, certainly penetrated far to the west. — [To the names mentioned one might add perhaps that of Kal'a-i Lāhūdj in Khūzistān (?); cf. *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, G. M. S., xiv/i., p. 240]. (V. MINORSKY)

LĀHŌR, capital of the province of the Panjāb, British India, situated on the river Rāwī, at 31° 35' north latitude, 74° 20' east longitude. Population in 1911, 228,687, of whom 129,301 were Muhammadans. The foundation of Lāhōr is traditionally attributed to a mythical Lava or Loh, son of Rāma, after whom it was named Lohāwar. It is not mentioned in the chronicles of the invasion of Alexander the Great, nor is the town described either by Strabo or Pliny; but it may be the Labokla of Ptolemy, which Sir Alexander Cunningham (in his *Ancient Geography of India*) explains as Lavālaka, "the abode of Lava". In the *Mahābhārata*, the Panjāb is called Tākadesa, or the country of the Tākas. According to Huien Tsiang, Tāki was the capital of the Panjāb in 633 A.D. He makes no mention of Lāhōr by any name capable of identification as such, though he traversed the entire province and stayed in it for quite two years. Possibly the Lohkot of the *Purāṇas* is Lāhōr. The *Deskwā Bhāgā* (a compilation from the *Purāṇas*) gives an account of a battle between Bānmāl, Rājā of Lavpūr, and one Bhīm Sen Kanēkson, the mythical ancestor of the solar Rājput princes of Central India, is said to have migrated south from Lohkot, an event assigned by Colonel Tod to c. 145 A.D. One of the city gateways is known as the Bhātī Gate; the Solankhīs and Bhātīs of Rājputāna point to Lāhōr as the seat of an earlier settlement. The first distinct mention of Lāhōr occurs in the history of the campaigns of Subuktāgin, and of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, when the Brahman kings of the Kābul valley, being driven from Pashāwar and Ohind, established their new capital first at

Bhēra on the Dīhelam, and then at Lāhōr. Both Djai Pāl, and his son Anang Pāl, the successive antagonists of the Ghaznī invaders, are called Rājās of Lāhōr by Farishta, according to whom the Hindū dynasty was subverted in A.D. 1031, when Lāhōr became the residence of a Muslim governor under the king of Ghaznī. A final insurrection of the Hindūs was quelled by Mawdūd in 1042, and the city was left in charge of Malik Ayāz, whom Muḥammadan tradition regards as the founder. During the reign of Mas'ūd III (1099—1114), Lāhōr became the capital of the Ghaznī dynasty, but was captured in A.D. 1186 by Shihab al-Dīn, known as Muḥammad Ghori, the Muḥammadan conqueror of India. The town was sacked by the Mongols of Čingiz Khān, and of Timūr, and in the reign of Mubārak Shāh it was "a desolate waste in which no living thing except the owl of ill-omen had its abode" (Elliot-Dowson, iv. 56, 57). Lāhōr remained insignificant throughout the period of the Pathān dynasties. In 1436, Bahlol Lodi seized Lāhōr as a first step to power. It was plundered by Bābūr's troops in 1524.

Even at this time the Panjāb was an almost uninhabited waste, except for a few walled cities in which the Hindūs could exist in some security from the frontier raiders. "The Mongols of Balkh and Kābul every year used to make raids on the Panjāb, and for this reason the province remained depopulated for a long time, and very little agriculture was carried on. Rāi Rām Deo Bahtī, of Patiala, rented the whole Panjāb from the governor of Lāhōr for 900,000 *takas* (£ 2,000)" (*Bābūr's Memoirs*).

Under the Great Mughals, Āgra, Dihli, and Lāhōr were the three chief cities and mint-towns of the Mughal Empire. Akbar held his court here from 1584 to 1598, and repaired and enlarged the fort. In the time of Dījahāngīr, who made it a secondary capital, Lāhōr reached its zenith of wealth and splendour; the tombs of this emperor and of his famous consort Nūr Dīhān, are on the opposite bank of the Rāwī. The place fully shared in the misfortunes which attended the decline of the Mughal Empire. Situated on the high-road from Afghānistān, it has been exposed to the visitation of every Western invader, and suffered from the successive conquests of Nādir Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, and other less famous deprecators. Lāhōr was a bone of contention between the Sikhs and the Muslims, and the great city of the Mughal princes and their viceroys was reduced to little more than a heap of ruins. But the rising of Sikh power under Randjit Singh (1798 A.D.) made Lāhōr once more the centre of a flourishing realm. It relapsed into anarchy after Randjit Singh's death. Then followed the First and Second Sikh Wars, and annexation to British India in 1849. Since that time the capital of the Panjāb has grown steadily, and a new town covers a large tract which was recently a wilderness.

The native city is a walled town with thirteen gates. It has been a municipality since 1867. The old crafts are moribund, but have been replaced by trades of a modern character. There are power mills — cotton, flour, iron — and a large agricultural market. The European quarter, or Civil Station, lies to the south and east of the city, and is a large administrative, educational, and business centre. The older part is known as Anārkalī, and here are the buildings of the Government Secretariat,

University of the Panjāb, Government College, Medical and Law Colleges, and Museum. Anārkalī is connected with the newer Civil Station by a fine thoroughfare called the Upper Mall, on which are the High Court, Cathedrals (Anglican and Roman Catholic), Lawrence Gardens, and Government House. Further out is the important military station of Lāhōr Cantonment, formerly known as Mīān Mir. Lāhōr is a great railway centre, and the headquarters of a big system, the North Western Railway, with extensive workshops and a large railway colony.

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(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

LAILA (A.), night, *Lailat al-barā'a*, *Lailat al-Kadr*, see RAMADĀN.

LAILA 'LAKHYALIYA, an Arab poetess, daughter of 'Abdallāh b. al-Rahḥāl(a) b. Ka'b b. Mu'āwīya of the tribe of 'Ukail b. Ka'b. She got her name from the fact that her father — according to other traditions one of her ancestors Ka'b or Mu'āwīya — was known as al-Akhyal (= "the falcon"); perhaps it was a common name in her family and the phrase *naḥnu 'l-akḥā'ilu* in her verses glorifying her family may refer to this (*Aghānī*, x. 80; *Ḥamāsa*, p. 711). Laila is usually mentioned in connection with her fellow-tribesman Tawba b. Ḥumayr al-Khafādjī; fragments of her laments for him are preserved in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. She also wrote an elegy on the death of the Caliph 'Uthmān. It is also recorded of her that she exchanged lampoons with Nābigha al-Djā'dī. Her conversations with Mu'āwīya, 'Abd al-Malik and Ḥadīdjādī b. Yūsuf are several times recorded. She begged the latter, in her old age to take her to her uncle Kūtaiba b. Muslim in Khōrāsān and she is said to have died on the way. She must therefore have flourished in the second half of the first century A. H.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, x. 67—84; Ibn Kūtaiba, *K. al-Sh'ar*, ed. de Goeje, p. 269—274; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 170; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, iii. 312 sq.; v. 324, 389; cf. Rückert, *Ḥamāsa*, p. 98 sq.

(H. H. BRÄU)

LAILĀ KHANĪM, with Fitnet Khanīm, the greatest Turkish poetess of the older school, at the end of the romantic and beginning of the modern period. Born in Constantinople, the daughter of the Kaḍī-Asker Moreli-zāde Ḥāmid Efendi, she received an excellent education. 'Izzet Mollā [q. v.] contributed most to her poetical development; she was related to him and always retained a grateful memory of him as is shown by her elegy full of deep feeling on his death. In her case the lack of information about her is characteristic of the old Turkish conception of women about whom very little is spoken in public. She was early married but divorced very soon afterwards. She had the reputation of a Lesbian. She cared very little about the opinion of the world. She lived for her pleasures and her writing. A few anecdotes relate to her infringements of the social code of Turkish ladies. She joined the

Mewlewī and was buried in the Mewlewī convent in Galata. She died in 1264 (1848).

Lailā Khanīm left a regular *Diwān* entirely lyrical which was several times printed (Bulāk 1260, Constantinople 1267, 1299 etc.). Although she is still completely in the purely Oriental conventional period of Turkish poetry, her place at the end of the old school is not to be denied. Her verses are simple and clear and free from the affected bombast of the time and with their classically correct language much easier to understand than the majority of contemporary poets, wherefore admirers of the old school like M. Nādjī can find very few "good" verses in her. Her hymns (*munādjāt*) and elegies were particularly admired. She was celebrated for her ready wit.

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LAILĀ U-MADJNŪN. [See MADJNŪN.]

LAITH. [See KINĀNA.]

LAK, 1. the most southern group of Kurd tribes in Persia. According to Zain al-'Ābidīn their name (Lāk, often Lakk) is explained by the Persian word *lāk* (100,000) which is said to have been the original number of families of Lak. The group is of importance as the Zand dynasty arose from it. The Lak now living in Northern Lūristān are sometimes confused with the Lūr (Zain al-'Ābidīn), whom they resemble from the somatic and ethnical point of view. The facts of history however show that the Lak have immigrated to their present settlements from lands further north. The Lakkī language, according to O. Mann, has the characteristics of Kurdish and not of the Lūri dialects [cf. LŪR]. Čirikov, *Putewoi Journal*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 227, says: "the Lur and the Lak speak different dialects and hate one another".

The Lak appear in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 323 alongside of the Zand, among the secondary Kurd tribes, subjects of Persia. According to Rabino, the Lak were settled in Lūristān by order of Shāh 'Abbās who wished in this way to create some support for the new *wālī* of Lūristān, Ḥusain Khān, whom he had chosen from among the relatives of the old Shāhwardī Atābeg (*Tārikh-i 'Ālam-ārā*, p. 369). Of these tribes, the Silsila had formerly lived at Māhidasht (S.W. of Kirmānshāh); the Dīlfān take their name from Abū Dulaf [cf. the article AL-KĀSIM B. 'ISĀ] whose fiefs in the third (ninth) century lying in the north of Lūristān [cf. SULTĀNĀBĀD]; the Bādjlān of Zohāb [q. v.] as well as of Lūristān say they come from Mawšil and are evidently one tribe. The Lūristān branch seems to have exchanged its Kurmandji dialect for

Lakki during its sojourn among the Lak in the time of Shāh 'Abbās. Even after Shāh 'Abbās there were several Lak tribes outside of Lūristān. Zain al-'Abidin (beg. of the sixth century) mentions among the Lak: the Zand, the Māfi, the Bādjlān and the Zandi-yi kālm (?). To the last tribe (according to Houtum-Schindler: Begele) belonged Karīm Khān Zand (born in Pāriyā, the modern Pāri about 20 miles from Dawlatābād on the Sulṭānābād road). When at Shirāz, Karīm Khān sent for the Lak tribe of Bairānwand. In 1212 (1797) the Bairānwand and the Bādjlān actively supported Muḥammad Khān Zand in his attempt to take the power from the Qādjār (H. J. Brydges, *A History of Persia*, London 1833, p. 46, 58; R. G. Watson, *A History of Persia*, London 1866, p. 116). Under the Qādjārs several Lak tribes were broken up. The Zand have almost completely disappeared; in 1830 remnants of them were to be found among the Bādjlān of Khānikīn (Khurshid-Efendi, *Siyāhat-nāme-i Hudūd*, Russ. transl., p. 112, 221); there are still a few Zand families in the Dorā-Farāmān district to the S.E. of Kirmānshāh (R.M.M., xxxviii., p. 39); a section of the 'Amala of Pusht-i Kūh claims to be descended from the Karīm Khān tribe. At the present day there are Māfi at Waramin, Tīhrān and Qazwin.

According to a good list compiled by Rousseau at Kirmānshāh in 1807 (cf. *Fundgruben d. Orients*, Vienna 1813, iii. 85—98) there were considered as Lak the following tribes: Kalhūr, Māfi, Nānaki, Djalilwand, Pāyrawand, Kulyā'i, Šūfiwand, Bahrām-wand, Karkūki, Tawalli, Zūyirwand, Kākūwand, Nāmiwand, Aḥmadwand, Bohtū'i, Zūliya, Hārsini, Shaikhwand.

According to O. Mann and Rabino, the Lak tribes of Lūristān are as follows: Silsila (9,000 families), Dīlfān (7,470), Tīrhān-Amrā'i (1,582 families), the Bairānwand (6,000 families) and Dālwand (1,000 families) forming part of the Bālā-giriwa group, a total of about 15,000 tents. The Bairānwand and Dālwand live to the east of Khurramābād around the sources of the river which flows through this town; the Silsila and the Dīlfān occupy the beautiful plains of Alishtar and Khāwa respectively while the Tīrhān (perhaps = Tarkhān, i.e. "exempt from taxes") live between the left bank of the Saimara and the lower course of its left bank tributary from Khurramābād. The territory occupied by the Lak and including N. and N.W. Lūristān is sometimes called Lakistān.

The cohesion of the Lak tribes is evident from the fact that even before 1914 the Silsila, Dīlfān and Tīrhān were united under the authority of Naẓar 'Alī Khān of the Amrā'i clan. In addition to the bonds of tribe and language, there is that of religion for all the Dīlfān and many of the 'Amala of Tīrhān belong to the extremist Shī'a sect of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq (cf. SULṬĀN IŠHĀQ).

Bibliography: E. Beer, *Das Tarikh-i Zendije*, Leyden 1883, p. xviii., xxvi.; Zain al-'Abidin Shirwāni, *Bustān al-Siyāhat*, Tīhrān 1315, p. 522; O. Mann, *Skizze d. Luridialekte*, S.B., Ak. Wien, 1904, p. 1173—1193; O. Mann, *Die Mundarten d. Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910, p. xxii.—xxiv.: to the number of tribes speaking "Lakki" the author adds the Kalhur of Kirmānshāh and the Māfi of the Pusht-i Kūh; Rabino, *Les tribus du Luristan*, R.M.M., 1916; Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i Haqq*, R.M.M., xl. 56.

2. Name given themselves by the Ghāzi-

Kumuḡ, a people living on the eastern Ҷoī-su in central Daghistān [q. v. and Erckert, *D. Kaukasus und s. Völker*, Leipzig 1887, p. 248—257 and Dirr, *Die heutigen Namen d. kaukasischen Völker*, *Peterm. Mitteil.*, 1908, p. 204—212].

On the other hand the term Lēk in Armenian and Lek-i (plural Lek-ebi) in Georgian means the Lezgi/Legzi of Daghistān (where the *e* may certainly name the value of *ä/a*: Lagzi). This last name seems to have been applied to the highlanders of Kürā, living in and around the sources of the Samur, and later to have been extended to all the people of Daghistān, although no people of the Caucasus actually call themselves Lezgi/Legzi. Marquart, *Beiträge z. Geschichte und Sage v. Eran*, Z.D.M.G., 1895, xlix., has attempted to explain the Arabic al-Lakz by the addition of the Persian suffix *-zi* to the name Lek (or Lak), cf. Sag-zi, "inhabitant of Sistān". (V. MINORSKY)

LAKHM (BANU). With the exception of the Lakhmīd clan in the 'Irāk, so frequently celebrated in the old Arab poetry, the pre-Islāmic history of this family is not well known and is full of legend. Their traditional genealogical tree is given in the article DJUDHĀM. According to it Lakhm was of Yemen origin and was the brother of Djudhām and 'Amila. These genealogical tables may be taken for what they are worth for Djudhām. As to Lakhm, Yemenis and Ma'addis claim descent from the powerful Lakhmīd dynasty of the 'Irāk. As to the reputed relationship of Lakhm with Djudhām and 'Amila, it must correspond to facts sufficiently established in the century when Islām first appeared. It shows that the three groups were then connected by community of aims and interests. This forms a solid guarantee of a genealogical connection even if open to criticism in other respects.

Of the three sister-tribes, Lakhm was undoubtedly the most illustrious and the oldest also. Legend connects it with the descendants of Abraham. A Lakhmīd is said to have taken Joseph out of the well into which his brothers had thrown him. But by the eve of the Hidjra, the vigour of the Lakhm had been sapped, while the 'Amila [q. v.] and notably the Djudhām who under the 'Omāiyads played a leading part, had increased in importance. Two centuries before the Hidjra, the surplus Lakhmīd population had spread over the lands in the north of the Peninsula in Syria and Palestine and in 'Irāk where they established the Lakhmīd phylarchate of Hira [q. v. and the article DJADHĪMA], continually at war with the Ghassānids of Syria. In Syria we find the Lakhm settled in the same cantons as the Djudhām. Like the latter, they had adopted Christianity which had also become the official religion of the Lakhmīds of Hira.

When Islām appeared, the Djudhām had practically absorbed their relatives, the Lakhm of Syria, a peaceful absorption by mutual agreement. In the first century A.H. the two tribes were usually named together as forming one group, and even when reference is made to a "chief of Lakhm" we can hardly be wrong in thinking he also ruled the Djudhām. The *nisba* Lakhmī becomes rare in comparison with Djudhāmī. In the wars of Islām, during the conquest of Syria, at Yarmūk, at Siffin, and later in the course of the campaigns under Yazīd I, against the sacred cities of the Hidjāz, the two tribes fought under the same chiefs and under the same banner. "Lakhmī" became

practically reduced to little more than a title of honour. Its archaic flavour, the glorious memories which it recalled of the phylarchs of 'Irāk, was very impressive in the "Burke" or "Almanac de Gotha" of the Arabs. But as to the Lakhmids, they no longer have a separate existence from the Djudhām. When in the lands to the west of the Euphrates, we find them mentioned alone, the name must be taken to mean the Djudhām. It is the latter that the chroniclers usually have in mind.

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Ishṭikāq*, p. 225—227; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, ii. 85; Hamdānī, *Djasira*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 129, 9, etc., 130, 131, 205, 206; Ya'qūbī, *Historiā*, ed. Houtsma, i. 229, 264; do., *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 329, 343, 344; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 59, 136; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, iv. 353; v. 192; al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rhuvon Guest, p. 45, 151, 162; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hira*, p. 41 etc.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i. 326, 349; ii. 232; iii. 212, 352, 422; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, 272—274, *M.F.O.B.*, v. 2, 591 etc.; O. Blau, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxiii. 577.

(H. LAMMENS)

LAKHNAU, former capital of the province of Oudh (Awadh), now secondary capital of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in British India; situated on the river Gumtī, at 26° 52' N. L., 80° 56' E. L. Population at the 1911 census, 19,782, of whom 4,461 were Muhammadans. Nothing is known of its history prior to the Muhammadan invasion; even the derivation of the name is uncertain, though the first syllable is a contraction of Laṣman or Lakhman. The oldest part is the Laṣman Tila, which was colonised by Shaikhs at the close of the thirteenth century. A member of this fraternity, Shāh Minā, who died in 1478, gained much saintly repute and his tomb is an object of pilgrimage. Lakhnau's prominence began in the time of the Sūrī kings of Dihli. It was occupied by Humāyūn in 1526, and taken by Bābur in 1528; under Akbar it was the chief town of a *sarkār*. The decay of the Mughal Empire enabled Sa'adat Khān (1724) to found the dynasty of the Nawab-wazirs of Oudh, who ruled as independent governors, and latterly as kings of Oudh, till 1856. Sa'adat Khān, a Saiyid from Persia, of the Shī'a sect, a wazir of the Empire, destroyed the power of the Shaikhs of Lakhnau, but retained his capital at Faizābād. He adopted the fish as the dynastic badge. The grandeur of the city dates from the time of Aṣaf al-Dawla (1775—1797), the fourth of his line, whose reckless munificence has passed into a proverb, and whose reign was the golden age of Lakhnau, which he made the capital of Oudh. East of the beautiful Victoria Park (1887) is a fine group of buildings, the Rūmī Darwāza, the Great Imāmbārā, and a mosque, all built by Aṣaf al-Dawla. The second and third are in the Maṭhī Bhawan, or old fort; here also is the Laṣman Tila, surmounted by the mosque of Awrangzēb. The Great Imāmbārā is the chief architectural glory of the city. To the same period belongs the Martinière, built by General Claud Martin, first as a residence for himself, afterwards converted into a school.

Sa'adat 'Alī Khān (1797—1814) constructed the

Dilkushā palace and the Sikandra Bāgh. He and his successors continued to adorn the suburbs with public monuments, parks, and country seats. The meretricious style of the period marks the decay of Indian Muhammadan architecture.

Chāzī al-Dīn Ḥaidar assumed the title of king of Oudh. He built the Chatṭar Manzil palaces, and the mausoleum called the Shāh Nadjaf.

Muhammad 'Alī Shāh (1837—1842) reformed the administration, and by his economic measures stayed the downfall of his house for two more reigns. His name is associated with the buildings at Ḥusainābād. During the reign of his son Amdjad 'Alī Shāh, all the old abuses returned, and the government of the country became utterly paralysed.

Wādjid 'Alī Shāh (1847—1856) was the last king of Oudh. He built the Kaīsar Bāgh palace, a florid structure of stuccoed and gilt brick.

Mal-administration by one of the most extravagant courts known to history led to the annexation of Oudh in 1856 during the vicereignty of Lord Dalhousie. Some of the fiercest fighting in the Mutiny took place at Lakhnau, the name of which will be ever remembered in connection with the gallant defence of the Residency.

Modern developments have been stimulated and controlled by the wise generosity of the Local Government, and Lakhnau with its suburbs is regarded by many as the finest city in Northern India. As a centre of Urdū culture, it is the rival of Dihli itself and is a seat of learning with unusual facilities for female education. The Canning College (1864) in the Badshāh Bāgh, King George's Medical College (1910), and the Isabella Thorburn College for women, are now included in the University. Secondary establishments include the Colvin School, and the Reid Christian College. The Provincial Museum is also in Lakhnau. The Cantonment is the largest military station in the United Provinces. The city is a great railway centre, and the head-quarters of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway are here. There used to be an extensive native manufacture of gold and silver brocade, muslins, embroidery, brass and copper ware, but here as elsewhere indigenous arts have fallen on evil days.

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LAKHNAUTĪ. [See GAUR.]

LAKĪT. [See LUḤATU.]

LĀLEZĀNĪ. [See MEḤMED LĀLEZĀRĪ.]

LĀM (BANĪ LĀM), an Arab tribe leading a nomadic life on the lower course of the Tigris ('Alī Gharbī, 'Alī Shārkī, 'Amāra). According to the statistics of Khurshid Efendi (middle of the sixth century) there were over 4,400 families of Banī Lām west of the Tigris (between 'Amāra and Shaṭṭ al-Haiy) and 5,070 east of the Tigris, along the Persian frontier from Mandali to the region of marshes (*kḥōr*) into which the Karkha disappears. 17,450 families of the Banī Lām went over to Persian territory between 1788 and 1846 (the southern parts of the Pušt-i Kūh, the domains of the wālis of Ḥuwaiza); some columns were even established east of the Karkha and at Fallāhiya.

The Banī Lām claim to come originally from

the neighbourhood of Mecca (Lyclama a Nijeholt, *Voyage*, iii. 225) and their eponym was their chief Faradj Lām. The Bani Lām, for the most part *Shī'is*, were on friendly terms with the wālis of Ḥuwaiza (the Musha'sha', Arab sayyids, q.v.) who played an active part in Persian politics in the time of the Ṣafawids. In 1678, 1715, 1742, 1748 the Bani Lām in connivance with the chief of Ḥuwaiza rebelled against the pāshās of Baghdād. Less happy were the relations of the Bani Lām with the Lūr wālis of Pusht-i Kūh who deprived them of the villages of Bayāt, Deh-i Lurān and Baksāye, but as a rule the Bani Lām got on well with their Lūr neighbours.

'Alī Ridā Pāshā (in 1836) and Nadjib Pāshā (after 1843) inflicted heavy defeats on the Bani Lām. The central Persian government also (expeditions of Mu'tamid al-Dawla in 1841) drove the Bani Lām from the left bank of the Karkha but, protected by the mountains of Pusht-i Kūh to the north and on the east and by the *khōr* to the south, the Bani Lām kept till 1914 a position of autonomy between Turkey and Persia. The presence of the Bani Lām and the Sagwand Lūrs between 'Amāra, Pāy-i Pul and Dizfūl had stopped commercial traffic by this direct route.

The unity of the tribe was lost in the sixteenth century; the section on the right bank and that on the left of the Tigris had each its own *shaikh*. In 1821 the energetic Madhkūr (Matkūr), son of Djandil, succeeded the deposed *Shaikh* 'Arār but Layard noticed that he had already little authority over his rivals. Lady Blunt speaks of *Shaikh* Mizbān and her son Boneye. *Shaikh* Ghaḍbān, son of Boneye, at the beginning of the war of 1914 attacked the English force at Ahwāz but was soon disposed of.

Bibliography: cf. also AL-BATĪHA; Layard, *A description of the province of Khuzistan*, *J. R.G.S.*, 1846, p. 45—48; A. v. Kremer, *Nachrichten über d. am linken Ufer d. Tigris wohnenden Araberstamm d. Beni Lam*, *S.B. Ak. Wien*, 1850, p. 251—254 (excellent notice and specimens of popular songs: *duwair*, *itāba* and *taṭwih*); Khurshid Efendi, *Siyāhet-nāme-i Hudūd*, Russ. transl., St. Petersburg 1877, p. 76—81; Lady A. Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Najd*, London 1881, ii. 113—223 (Baghdād-'Alī-gharbi-Dizfūl-Shushtar-Bahbahān-Dilam); Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, Paris 1901, p. 144; Adamow, *Irak Arabski*, St. Petersburg 1912, index; Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925. (V. MINORSKY)

LĀM, 23rd letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 30. For palaeographical details see the art. ARABIA, plate I.

LAMAS-SŪ (Turk. "river of Lamas"; Ar. LĀMIS), a river in Cilicia, coming from the Taurus, a day's journey from Ṭarsūs between Ayāsh and Mersina; in ancient times it marked the boundary between the two Cilicias (of the mountains and the plains). On the banks of this river exchanges of prisoners with the Greeks and the payment of ransoms were several times made. The first of these took place in the reigns of Hārūn al-Rashid and the emperor Nicephorus I in 189 (805); the second under the same caliph and emperor in 192 (808); the third in the reigns of the caliph al-Wāthiq and the emperor Michael III the "Drunkard" in Muḥarram 231 (Sept. 845); the fourth in 241 (856) and the fifth in 246 (860)

under the same emperor and the caliph al-Mu'tawakkil; the sixth in 283 (896) under the caliph al-Mu'taḍid and the emperor Leo VI; the seventh called "redemption from treachery" under the same emperor and the caliph al-Muktafi in 292 (905); the eighth three years later in 295 (907); the ninth took place in 305 (917) under the caliph al-Muktadir and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos; the tenth took place in 313 (925) under the same rulers; the eleventh in 326 (938) under the same emperor and the caliph al-Rāḍi; the twelfth took place in 335 (946) in the caliphate of al-Mu'ti through the intermediary of Saif al-Dawla the Ḥamdānid, lord of Aleppo. This river had at this place either a ford or a bridge which the ransomed prisoners crossed. There was also a town of the same name (Λάμος, *Lamus*) on this river not far from the sea.

Bibliography: Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, iii.

706, 707, 1339, 1353, 1426, 1449, 2153, 2254, 2280; Makrizi, *Khitaṭ*, ii. 191 sqq.; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 198; Ibn Miskawaih, *Taḍārīb al-Umam*, vi., p. 486, 532 (in *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1871); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vii. 16; Silvestre de Sacy, *N.E.*, 1810, viii., repr. in Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ix. 356—362, 375, No. 64—65; Mas'ūdi, *Tandih*, p. 189—196 = transl. Carra de Vaux, *Livre de l'Avertissement*, p. 241, 255 sqq.; Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1913, ii. 118 sqq.; Fr. Beaufort, *Karamania*, London 1817, p. 244 = French transl. by Eyriès, *Karamanie*, Paris 1820, p. 183 and 233; V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, Paris 1861, p. 105 (picture of the Roman aqueduct).

(CL. HUART)

LAMGHĀNĀT, a district in eastern Afghānistān. It is often referred to by Bābur, see W. Erskine's translation of his "Memoirs", p. 141 and P. de Courteille, i. 287. The name is fancifully connected with Lamech, the father of Noah. (H. BEVERIDGE)

LĀMĪ'Ī, nom de plume (*takhallus*) of *SHAĪKH* MAḤMŪD B. 'OTHMĀN b. 'ALĪ AL-NAḲḲĀSH, a celebrated *Shūfi* writer and poet of the early part of the reign of Sulaimān I, the era, not only of the greatest political development of the Turkish empire, but also that in which literature was most cultivated. He was born in Brussa, the son of the *defterdār* of Sultān Bāyazid's treasury. His grandfather had been taken by Timurlenk after his invasion to Transoxania (Samarkand) where he learned the art of *naḳḳāshlik* (embroidery and painting) there highly cultivated and on his return to Asia Minor introduced the first embroidered saddle. On the completion of his theological studies with Mollā *Akhawān* and Mollā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādīdji Ḥasan-zāde, Lāmī'ī, who had an inclination to *Shūfism*, became *murīd* with the *Naḳshbandī* *Shaikh* 'Arif bi-'llāh Saiyid Aḥmad al-Bukhārī. He spent his whole life in the calm retirement of a *Shūfi*, free from external cares and favoured by the patronage of Sultāns Selim and Sulaimān who frequently showed signs of their favour to him and his numerous family; he lived in Brussa writing industriously till his death in 938 or 940 (1532 or 1533). He was buried in the mosque built by his grandfather on the citadel in Brussa.

The versatility and quality of his literary output in prose and poetry is really astonishing. But his work was not so much original as translations and

adaptations, as was characteristic of the period which regarded slavish attachment to Persian models as the highest ideal. He usually took as his model *Djāmi*, then the most celebrated poet of Persia with whom he had a further link in their both being *Nakshbandis* and therefore was called *Djāmi-i Rūm*. His prolificity is greater than that of any Turkish writer. We have a cycle of nine romantic poems from his pen. His importance to Turkish literature is considerable but is greatly exaggerated by von Hammer who devotes the longest monograph in his *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst* (ii. 20—195) to him. *Lāmi'ī's* style is still comparatively lucid and simple. There is not yet any trace in him of the overwhelming turgidity of the later artificial classicism, yet it must be confessed that most that is beautiful in him is due to his Persian originals. *Ziyā Pasha* in his *Kharābāt* has for this reason paid no attention to him.

The list of his works as given in the *Sharaf al-Insān* numbers 24 but in reality there were more. His prose writings are: the translations of *Djāmi's* *Šūfi* works: *Nafāḥāt al-Uns* (biographies of *Šūfis* with the sub-title *Futūḥ al-Mudjahhidin li-Tarwiḥ Kulūb al-Mudjahhidin*) and *Shawāhid al-Nubuwwa* ("The witnesses of prophecy", printed at Constantinople in 1293); the *Sharaf al-Insān*, "The worth of man", considered by *Lāmi'ī* to be his masterpiece which is a Turkish version of Part 22 of the 51 Arabic tractates (*Ras'ail*) of the *Ikhwan al-Ṣafā*, the struggle between man and animal (ed. and transl. by Dieterici, Berlin 1858, Leipzig 1879 and 1881: *Thier und Mensch vor dem Könige der Genien*). His works of a religious character are *Mu'ammā Asmā' al-husnā*, translation and commentary on the 100 verses of *Mir Husain Nishāburi* on the 99 names of God and *Miftāḥ al-Nadīāt fī Ḥikāwāt al-Ṣuwar wa-Āyāt*. He also wrote a collection of letters, *Munsha'āt*, a commentary on the *Dibāḡe-i Gulistan* of *Sa'di*, and *Ibret-numā* ("Book of examples", a collection of tales and allegories, lith. Constantinople, n.d.); a *Madjma' al-Laṭā'if*, or *Laṭā'if-nāma* (a collection of often very daring anecdotes, quite in the style of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, which received its final form from his son, 'Abd Allāh Lem'i, also known as a poet). Finally as a kind of transition to pure poetry he wrote two *munāẓara* (disputations in the mixture of prose and verse later so popular), namely: *Munāẓara-i Behār ū-Shitā* ("Disputation between summer and winter", Constantinople 1290, with the title *Munāẓara-i Sulṭān Behār bā Shehryār Shitā*) and *Munāẓara-i Nafs ū-Rūḥ* ("Disputation between Soul and Spirit").

His very much more important poetical works include a large *Diwān* of about 10,000 verses which contain much that is beautiful and original; besides *kašida's*, *ghazal's* etc. it also contains the *Shehr* in 1288; transl. by Pfizmaier, *Verherrlichung der Engiz-i Bursa* (separately printed at Constantinople Stadt Bursa, Vienna 1839).

His great *Mathnawī* poems were of permanent influence; some deal in a popular fashion with stories from Persian legends, namely: *Salāmān ū-Absāl* (dedicated to Sulṭān Selim), from *Djāmi's* original; *Wisa ū-Rāmīn* (dedicated to Sulṭān Sulaimān), from the original of *Fakhr Djurdjānī* (d. 440 = 1048) and a version of *Nizāmi al-'Arūzi* al-Samarqandī; *Wamiḳ ū-'Adhrū* from the Persian original of 'Unsurī (d. 441 = 1050) translated at the express desire of Sulṭān Sulaimān (transl.

by von Hammer, Vienna 1833); *Farḫād-nāma* (transl. by von Hammer, Stuttgart 1812); *Heft Paikar*, "The seven beauties" (based on *Hātifi's Heft Manẓar*, which again goes back to *Nizāmi's Heft Paikar*). Besides the two allegorical dramas *Gūi ū-Cawgān* ("Ball and Bat") and *Šam' ū-Par-wāna*, "Candle and Butterfly", the latter probably from the Persian of *Ahli Shirāzi*, he also wrote two *Mathnawī's* of a religious nature, the *Maḳtāl-i Ḥazrat-i Imām Husain* recalling the *Shi'ī Ta'ziya* (illustrated MS. in the 'Ashir Library, No. 249) and *Manḳabat* (or *Manāḳib*) *Uwais al-Karni*.

Finally there are his political allegories *Husn ū-Dil* from the Persian original of *Fattāḥi Nishāburi* and the Turkish version of *Ahī* (ed., transl. and annotated and compared with *Lāmi'ī's* Turkish version by R. Dvořák, *Husn u dil, persische Allegorie von Fattahi aus Nisapur*); the *Khirad-nāma* ("Book of the Intelligence") and the *Djābir-nāma*.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted: cf. *Sehī*, *Hasht Bihisht*, Constantinople 1325, p. 50; *Laṭifi*, *Tadhkara*, Constantinople 1314, p. 290—294; *Tashköprü-zade*, *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, transl. by *Maḳdji*, Constantinople 1269, p. 431—433, 503; transl. by O. Rescher, Constantinople 1927, p. 280—281; *İsmā'il Beligh*, *Güldeste-i Riyāḍ*, Brussa 1302, p. 176—180; *M. Nādjī*, *Asāmī*, Constantinople 1308, p. 270; *M. Thuraiyā*, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, Constantinople 1315, iv. 86; *Sāmī*, *Ḳamūs al-A'lām*, v. 3973; *Brusall* M. Tāhir, *'Othmānī Mu'ellifleri*, Constantinople 1333/1334, ii. 492; *Gibb*, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii.; *Wickerhauser*, *Chres-*

tomathie, Vienna 1853, p. ۳۷۹ and 305—

308; *Smirnow*, *Obrazcovyya proizvedenija Osmanskoy literatury*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. xiv. and 238—241; *Basmadjian*, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p. 45—46; the Catalogues of MSS. in Berlin, Vienna, London, Munich, Gotha, Constantinople, etc.; *Hājjdji Khalifa*, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1835—1858.

(TH. MENZEL)

LAMṬA, a large Berber tribe of the *Barāni* family. Its exact origin does not seem to have been known to the Arab and Berber genealogists, who simply make them brethren of the *Šanhādja*, *Haskūra* and *Gazūla*; others give them a *Himyarite* origin like the *Hawwāra* and the *Lawāta*.

The *Lamṭa* were one of the nomad tribes who wore a veil (*mulaththimūn*). One section lived on the south of the *Mzāb*, between the *Massūfa* on the west and the *Tārga* (Tuareg) on the east; they even seem to have extended as far as the *Niger*. In the south of Morocco, in al-Sūs, where there were *Lamṭa* who led a nomadic life, in company with the *Gazūla*, the *Lamṭa* occupied the territory nearest to the *Atlas*. On the coming of the nomad Arabs of the *Ma'kil* family, the two sections of the *Lamṭa* were absorbed by the *Dhawī Hassān*; the remaining sections then joined the *Shabānāt*, another *Ma'kil* tribe, to oppose the *Gazūla* who joined the *Dhawī Hassān*.

In the territory of the *Lamṭa* of al-Sūs at the mouth of the *Wādī Nāl* (now *Wād Nūn*) lay the commercial town of *Nūl* or *Nūl* of the *Lamṭa*, the first inhabited place one reaches on coming from the Sahara. Several Moroccan dynasties have struck coins there.

The jurist Waggāg b. Zallū of Siḡilmāsa, a pupil of Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsi, was a member of the tribe of Lamṭa; one of his pupils was 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Gazūlī, founder of the Almoravid empire.

The country of the Lamṭa was noted for the *lamṭiya* bucklers made at Nūl with the skin of the *lamṭ* antelope.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, al-Bakrī, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, indices, s. vv. Lamṭa and Nūl; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, iii. 272, 437. (G. S. COLIN)

LAMTŪNA, a large Berber tribe belonging to the ethnic group of the Ṣanhādja who lived in tents, and led a nomadic life in the desert to the south of Morocco with other tribes whose members veiled their faces with the *liṭhām* [q. v.] (*muaththimūn*).

At first idolators, the Lamtūna embraced Islām and converted also the Negro peoples who lived around them. After having had a series of independent kings, they fell into anarchy until Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gudālī took control of them; having gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 440 (1048—1049) he brought back from Naffis the jurist 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Gazūlī, who after having instructed the Lamtūna in the principles of religion and Muslim law, made himself their chief, conquered their neighbours, the Gudāla and Massūfa, and led them to the conquest of Morocco. He was the founder of the Almohad empire, also known as the empire of the Mulaththimūn or Lamtūna (cf. ALMORAVIDS). At the fall of the Almoravid empire the Lamtūna disappear from the history of Morocco. Their name is still borne by some tribes of Mauritania.

Bibliography: The first paragraphs of the chapter devoted by the Arab historians to the history of the Almoravid dynasty especially: Ibn Abi Zar', *Rawḍ al-Kirfās*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, ed. de Slane, i. 235 and 237; al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Mughrib*, ed. de Slane, 1911, p. 164—168. (G. S. COLIN)

LANKORAN (LENKORAN), the capital of the district of the same name in the province of Bākū. Lankoran is the Russian pronunciation of the name which was at one time written Langar-kunān (anchorage), or perhaps Langar-kanān (place which pulls out the anchors) which is pronounced Lankārān in Persian and Lankōn in Tālīshī. The ships of the Bākū-Enzeli [q. v.] line call at Lankoran, which has an open roadstead but at 8 miles N.E. of the town is the island of Sarā, which has an excellent roadstead which shelters the ships in bad weather.

In the district of Lankoran, de Morgan found monuments of very great antiquity (dolmens, tombs, cases of exposure of bodies in the Mazdaean (?) fashion), but it is not known at what period the town of Lankoran was founded. Certain statements (cf. *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā* under the year 940 [1533] in Dorn, *Auszüge*, IV, 283; and *Shāikh* 'Alī Ḥazīn [about 1725 A.D.], *Tārīkh-i Ahwāl*, ed. Balfour, p. 157) suggest that the capital of Tālīsh was originally at Astārā; towards the end of the xviii century Lankoran became the capital of this khānate. The whole district was annexed by the Russians under Peter the Great (treaties of 1723 with Tahmāsp II and 1729 with the Afghān Ashraf) but returned to Persia by the treaty of 1732. Retaken by Count Zubow in 1796, Lankoran was retaken in 1812 by the Persians who

fortified it. On the 9th Muḥarram ('aḥḥūrā) 1228 (Jan. 1, 1813), Lankoran was taken by storm by General Kotliarewski after a brave resistance of the Persians. This event hastened the conclusion of the treaty of Gulistān (1813) by which Persia ceded to Russia part of Tālīsh to the north of the river Astārā. From 1846 Lankoran was the capital of the district. The fortress was dismantled in 1865. Since 1921 Lankoran has formed part of the republic of Ādharbāidjān, a member of the Soviet Union.

The population of the town, which was 3,970 in 1867, had reached 11,100 in 1897. The district of Lankoran has an area of 5,000 sq. miles and in 1840 had 30,200 inhabitants and in 1861 99,082. Later the district was reduced to 2,000 sq. miles: in spite of this, its population in 1897 was 125,895 of whom 46.5% were Azarī Turks, Irānian Tālīsh 46.2%, Russians 6.9% (in the north) and Armenians (0.2%). The district is composed of 3 zones: to the north, an eastern continuation of the steppes of Mughān; to the east, a marshy littoral intersected by lagoons and covered with a rich subtropical vegetation; to the west are wooded mountains running from 5,500 to 7,500 feet above sea-level which rise from the Russian frontier forming the boundary with the Persian province of Ardabil. The district is rich in forests and has good fishing.

Bibliography: Cf. the article TĀLĪSH; Zain al-Ābidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-Siyāhat*, Tīhrān 1315, s. v. Lankarān; Bérézine, *Puteshestviye po Daghestanu*, Kazan 1849, iii. 113; Semenow, *Geogr.-statist. slowar Ross. imperii*, St. Petersburg 1867; *La Grande Encycl. russe* (ed. Brockhaus-Efron); G. Radde, *Reisen an d. persisch-russ. Grenze*, Leipzig 1886; Radde, *Talysch, Pet. Mitt.*, xxxi., 1875; de Morgan, *Mission scient., Études géogr.*, i. 231—289; *Études archéol.*, i. 13—125, with an archaeological map; N. Y. Marr, *Talyschī*, publ. by the Acad. des Sciences Pétrograd 1922 (with a detailed bibliography); B. Miller, *Predwar. ošet n poyendke w Talysch*, Bākū 1926 (mainly linguistic).

(V. MINORSKY)

LĀR. 1. Capital of the district of Lāristān, to the southeast of Fārs. Very little is known of Lāristān and its early history. The country appears to correspond to the land of the dragon Haftān-bōkht which was killed by Ardāshīr Pāpakān. According to Persian legend, Ardāshīr's adversary lived in the village of Alār in the rustāk of Kōdjārān which was one of the maritime rustāks (*rasātīk al-sif*) of the province Ardāshīr-Khurra (Tabarī, i. 820); Nöldeke in his translation of the *Kār-nāmak* (p. 50) gives the variants Gulār (?) and Kōčārān; the *Shāh-nāme*, ed. Mohl, v. 308: Kudjārān. Lastly the Armenian geography of the seventh century mentions a Khodjehrastran in Persia (Khuzīhrstan) (cf. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 44). The prefixing of an *a* to the name Lār is also found in the name of the island of Lār (cf. below). Marquart identifies Kōchīrān with the castle of Dēgdān near Sīrāf; on the other hand the *Fārs-nāma-yi-Nāṣirī* mentions a village of Kudjar-Kūhčār in the canton of Galla-dār (the ancient Fāl /Pal/ Bāl of Ibn Battūta: *Khundjibāl* = *Khundj* + *Bāl*) immediately adjoining Lāristān. According to a verse attributed to Firdawsī (cf. Vullers, *Lexicon*, s. v. Lād) but not found in the known editions of the *Shāh-nāme*, the town was

originally called Lād (and fell to Gurgīn Milād, one of the heroes of the cycle of the Kayānīd Kai Khusraw). This would be a very curious case of the changing of *d* to *r* found especially in Armenian and in the Caspian Tāti dialect (Darmesteter, *Ét.-Iranienues*, i. 73). The *Fārs-nāma-yi-Nāṣirī* mentions another legend according to which the people of Lār in Fārs had come from Lār in Damāwand (cf. below) the cold of which they could not endure.

The Arab geographers do not mention Lār, for apparently the old routes linking up the chief towns of Fārs, with Sirāf and Kāis, or Hurmūz (by Fasā and Forg) avoided the town of Lār (cf. *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 185, 187). According to Ḥamdallāh Mustawfi, Lār is a wilāyat near the sea and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa alone talks of Lār as "a large town, with springs, considerable rivers and gardens".

Lār had a local dynasty. Its princes, relying on the verse already mentioned regarding the presentation by Kai Khusraw of the town of Lād to Gurgīn, son of Milād, traced their descent from this hero. They were even crowned with the crown of their ancestor and this treasure was among the booty taken by the Ṣafawids in 1010.

The first prince of Lār to be converted to Islām (about 100) was Djalāl al-Dīn Irādī. The dates become more reliable from the time of the Amīr Kuṭb al-Dīn Muaiyid Paḳūy (?) (594–648). Fourteen of his successors are known but their order is not so certain; when in 748 (1347), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through Lār, the Sultan of Lār, of Turkoman origin, was called Djalāl al-Dīn, while according to the genealogy of the Milādians, Bākāindjār II was ruling there between 731 and 753. The dependence of Lār on the Muzaffarids is shown by a gold coin of Shāh-Shudjāʿ (760–786) struck in Lār (S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols in the British Museum*, 1881, p. 240). In 799 the troops of Muḥammad Sulṭān, grandson of Timūr, ravaged the eastern part of Fārs on the lines Kārzīn-Fāl, Djahrom-Lār, etc. (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 809). There are Timūrid and Čaghatai coins struck at Lār (O. Codrington, *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, London 1904, p. 183). In the reign of the Milādian Djihānshāh (859–883), the Russian merchant Afanasii Nikitin, passed through Lār in 1469 on his way to Hurmūz and India and in 1472 on his way from Hurmūz to Shirāz. The Milādian Nūshīrwān "the just" (930–948) was a poet, musician and author; he died by the hand of a fidāʿī. His successor Ibrāhīm Khān submitted to the Ṣafawids and received the title of *Amīr Diwān*. His son Nūr [Nawr?] al-Dahr lived in the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad Ṣafawī. Under ʿAbbās I Mirzā ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk, son of Nūr al-Dahr, was authorised to take the name of Ibrāhīm Khān II. The young Khān showed signs of independence and oppressed merchants and travellers. This could not be tolerated at a time when Lār lay on the great road between the capital and the sea. As a preparation for the occupation of Gombrūn (= Bandar-i ʿAbbāsī) in 1614 (?) and of the island of Hurmūz in 1622, the Beglerbegi of Fārs, Allāhwardī Khān, in 1009 and 1010 (1601) marched against Ibrāhīm Khān and seized his possessions. Ibrāhīm II had to surrender to the mercy of Allāhwardī who treated him honourably and took him to Shāh ʿAbbās at Balkh, where he died during an epidemic. The government of Fārs was then entrusted to Qāḍī ʿI-Kāsim of Lār, a sincere Shīʿī

(*ṭarīk-i "shāhi sewānī"* [q. v.] *paimūda*); *Tārīkh-i ʿAlam-ārā*, Tīhrān 1314, p. 423–426. Buildings of the Milādīs are still to be seen at Lār — a mosque and a bazaar of hewn stone covered with stucco. The bazaar was restored in 1015, by Kanbar ʿAli Beg Djah-romi, wazīr of Lār.

The memoirs of Shaikh ʿAli Ḥazin contain interesting notes on the domestic life of Lār at the beginning of the xith (xviith) century (rule of the Afghān Khudādād-Khān, passage through Lār of the routed army of Shāh Ashraf, etc.) According to ʿAli Ḥazin (p. 210) the people of a part of the Lār lands (*garmisr*) of Lāristān were Shāfiʿīs. They had prospered under the Afghāns but Nādir, wishing to reduce them, sent against them the *sardār* of Fārs, Muḥammad Khān Balōč. The latter met with difficulties at Lār and having come to terms with its inhabitants returned to Fārs. In 1146, Muḥammad Khān rebelled against Nādir and tried to raise the Shāfiʿīs of Lār. The latter maintained a waiting attitude but by order of Nādir they were massacred and scattered. Lār was later annexed by a certain Nāṣir Khān, formerly a brigand in the *bulūk-i sabʿa* (a region between Lāristān and Kirmān) who received from the Shāh the title of Khān. His family (the begler-begi) remained more or less autonomous till 1202 (1845) when the governor-general of Fārs sent troops to Lār and appointed a simple *kalāntar* there (*Fārs-nāma-yi-Nāṣirī*).

At the beginning of the sixth century the Balōč Mihrāb Khān invaded Lāristān (Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan*, London 1816, p. 163). In 1256 (1840) Lār was occupied by the chief of the Ismāʿilis, Ākā Khān who had rebelled against the Shāh (Schindler, *The Eastern Persian Irak*, p. 94).

The town of Lār lying 57 farsakhs to the S. E. of Shirāz was very frequently visited by European travellers in the xviith century when it lay on the direct route Shirāz–Djahrom–Djūyūm–Lār–Bandar-i ʿAbbāsī: Figueroa (1617), Sir T. Herbert (1627), J. A. Mandelslo (1638), J. B. Tavernier and Thevenot (1665), Struys (1672), Chardin (1673), Dr. J. Fryer (1676), Le Brun (1703). At this time there was a factory of the Dutch East India Co. at Lār (Thevenot, *Voyage*, Amsterdam 1727, iii. 460–476). After the fall of the Ṣafawids, Bandar-i ʿAbbāsī became the port for the province of Kirmān only, while Būshīr became the principal port of the Persian Gulf. Lār conducted a local trade with the ports of Bandar-i ʿAbbāsī, Linga [q. v.] and Tāhīrī (the older Sirāf; q. v.); cf. especially Stiffe, *Ancient Trading Centres of the Persian Gulf*, G. ʃ., 1895, p. 166–173. In the sixth century, Lār has been described by Dupré and Stack.

Of the 76 bulūks of Fārs, that of Lār called Lāristān is the most extensive (57 × 47 farsakhs, i. e. about 45,000 square miles). It is bounded on the N. W. by Baranū, on the S. E. the bridge of Lātūtūn separates it from the nāhiya of Bandar-i ʿAbbāsī. This latter had a separate dynasty (the Kālḥātī princes of Hurmūz). To the south Lāristān is washed by the Persian Gulf (the ports of Kung, Linga, Mughū, Čarak, Nakhilū). In 1917 A. T. Wilson found Lār quite prosperous (*Notes on a Journey from Bandar-Abbas to Shiraz*, Geogr. Journ., Series 1908, p. 152–170). On the west it is bordered by the cantons of Mālikī, ʿAlā-marw-dasht, and Khundj; on the north-west by the buluk of Djūyūm; on the north by the buluk of Dārāb; on the northeast by the *Bulūk-i Sabʿa*.

The country is full of mountain ranges running parallel to the shore of the Persian Gulf and has a torrid climate. Water is scarce and brackish. The river of Lāristān, variously known as Rūdkhāna-yi shūr-i Galladār, Shūr-i Hing, Rūdkhāna-yi Lamzān etc., runs from west to east and flows into the sea a farsakh east of Kung.

The subdivisions (*nāhiya*) of the *bulūk* of Lāristān are as follows (their orientation from Lār is given and the distance from it is in farsakhs):

<i>Nāhiya</i>	Capital	Number of villages
1. Central	Lār	34
2. Shīb-i Kūh-i Lāristān	Bandar-i Ārak	29
3. Linga	Linga	10
4. Djāhāngiriya	Bastak	?
5. Kawrastān	Kashshī	4
6. Mazā'idjān	Īzad-Khāst	6
7. Bikhā-yi Ahshām	Bairam	10
8. Bikhā-yi Fāl	Ashkanān	10
9. Fūmistān	Gawbandī	16

Number	Orientation	Distance
2	south	25
3	south-east	45
4	south-east	7-21
5	east	30
6	north	15
7	west	20
8	south-west	22
9	south-west	35

The term *bikhā* in the local dialect means a valley shut in by two ranges of mountains. Fūmistān is derived from the word *fūm*, corn.

The population of Lāristān is thinly scattered. The most important towns are Lār (Dupré: 15,000 inhabitants; Stack: 1,200 houses, 6,000 inhabitants) and Linga [q. v.]. The majority of the population is Persian. In canton No. 6 there are some Bahārlu Turks and Nos. 2 and 3 are inhabited by Arabs.

Lāristān has Persian dialects of its own (O. Mann, *Die Tajik-Mundarten der Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p. xxxiv. 126—131) and there is even a local literature in them. The *Fārs-nāma* mentions Akhund Mullā Muhammad Bākīr ("Shūbat") who was well acquainted with Arabic, Persian and "Dari". Romaskewić has collected some of the poems in the local dialect of the poet Mahdjūr as well as Persian quatrains by several popular poets, natives of Lāristān (Romaskewić, *Pers. narod. četverostishiya*, in *Zapiski*, 1916, xliii. 313, 340).

Bibliography: Defrémery, *Voyage d'Ibn Batoutah dans la Perse*, Paris 1848, p. 37, 81; Kaḍi Ahmad Ghaffārī, *Djihānārā*, British Mus. Orient. 141, fol. 150 a—b (I am indebted for a copy of the text to the kindness of Muhammad Khān Kazwīnī); Iskandar-Munshī, *Ālam-ārā*, Tihārān 1314, p. 423—426; Mūnadjjim-bashī, *Ṣaḥā'if*, ii. 666 (following Fādil-i Nishābūrī [?], and Ghaffārī); Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 261; Shaikh 'Alī Hazīn, *Tadhkira*, ed. Belfour, London 1831, p. 89, 179—217, 246; Hasan Fasā'i, *Fārs-namā-yi Naṣīrī*, Tihārān 1314, ii. 181—291 (excellent book full of valuable data). For references to travellers of the Ṣafawid period,

cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 736, 749—757 and Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 114; A. Dupré, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, i. 423; Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, i. 133—145. The map of Southern Persia 1:2,000,000 (International Series), publ. in 1912 by the Survey of India.

2. An island in the Persian Gulf now called Abū Shu'āib. Nearchus had touched at it on his peripplus but does not give the name, which according to Ptolemy was *Σάφδα* (in Semitic = isle of seaweed). The Greeks praised the pearl fisheries of Lār. Ibn Khurdādhbih calls the island Alār. Other variants in the Arab geographers according to Le Strange are Allān and Lān. The *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, p. 241 makes it a dependency of the island of Ardashīr-Khurra. Yāqūt (iv. 341) places it between the island of Kaīs and the port of Sīrāf. The Portuguese called it Ilha de Lazão from the village of Lāz (should this be Lādh? — at the east end of it). It is $13 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in area. To the east of it lies the little isle of Shitwār (Āitwār). Some ten miles north of Lār on the coast of Fārs lies the little harbour of Nakhlū. We do not know if there is any connection between the names of the town and of the island Lār. An island "Larak" ("little Lār") lies south of the island of Hurmūz.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, *Die Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, in *Sitzber. Wiener Akad.*, cxxi., 1890, p. 55.

3. A high valley lying in Māzandarān, on the sources of the Harāz-pei. The altitude of Lār is from 8,500 to 6,500 feet. It lies west of Damāwand. The valley is deserted in winter. In summer the nomads pitch their tents there. The people of Tihārān also go there for summer quarters. Stahl however (*Peterm. Mitteil.*, *Ergänzungsheft* No. 118, 1869, p. 619) found traces of ancient dwellings on the right bank of the river Lār. The locality is sometimes called Lāridjān, which must be a plural of Lār-ič, "inhabitant of Lār" (on the suffix -ič, cf. Marquart, *Beiträge*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1895, p. 666). The same derivation explains the Arabic transcription al-Lāriz (Balādhuri, p. 8), one of the cantons of Ṭabaristān (not however found in the list in Ibn Rusta, p. 146). Al-Lāriz formed part of the possessions of al-Maṣmūghān taken in 131 (748) by Abū Muslim (Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, p. 127, 137). The term Lāridjān seems to have been applied especially to the place below the high valley of Lār near the modern bridge of Palūr; cf. Dih-falūl in Ibn Isfandiyār, transl. Browne, *G.M.S.*, p. 67. Lāridjān is said to have been the longest inhabited part of Ṭabaristān. Its village Waraka was said to have been the birthplace of Faridūn. In the villages lying on the slopes of Damāwand, Stahl saw a festival celebrated in memory of the death of Zohak (Aug. 11; cf. Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 357). At Lāridjān there was a special *marzubān* under the isphabāhs of Ṭabaristān (Ibn Isfandiyār, *ibid.*, p. 15, 183, 280). On the district of Lāhidjān (Lāridjān) cf. LĀHIDJĀN. — Spiegel (*Varena*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1876, xxxii., p. 716—726) was inclined to suppose a connection between Warak (Ibn Isfandiyār, p. 15: Waraka, native place of Faridūn = Thraētaona) and the Avestic country Varena. The site of Waraka is unknown but in Lāridjān there exists a village Wāna; on the disappearance of *r* in Persian dialects, cf. *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ifii. p. 559, 351.

(V. MINORSKY)

LĀRANDA (also called Karamān from the name of the dynasty which reigned there in the xivth century), a town in Asia Minor, capital of the kaza of the same name and of the sandjak of Konia, to the S.E. and 35 miles from this town. It is 4,000 feet above sea-level, has 2,000 houses, 7,500 inhabitants, 105 mosques, 21 Friday mosques, 4 dervish monasteries, 515 shops, 30 warehouses, 9 cafes, 4 caravanserais, 14 baking ovens, 7 baths, 5 mills, 1 military depot, 110 fountains, 1 barracks, 1 Greek school, 10 Muslim schools, 21 madrasas. There are a ruined fortress, mosques and other monuments in ruins from the time of the Karamān-oghlu (mosque of Amīr Mūsā with pillars from ancient buildings). The town was annexed to the Ottoman empire in 1464. To the north is the Kara-Dagh covered with mediaeval monasteries now in ruins (*bīn bir kilise* = 1001 churches).

Bibliography: 'Ali Djawād, *Djoghrafiyā Lughāt-i*, p. 606; Hādjī Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 616; Ibn Battūta, Paris, ii. 284; Sāmi Bey, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3644, s.v. *karamān*; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 658. (CL. HUART)

LARI MEHMED. [See MEHMED LARI.]

LARIN (P., *lāri*), a silver coin current in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean in the xvth and xviith centuries. It takes its name from Lār [q. v.], the capital of Lāristān [q. v.], at which it was first struck; cf. Pedro Teixeira (*Travels*, Hakl. Soc., 1902, p. 341): "There is also the city of Lar . . . whence are called laris, a money of the finest silver, very well drawn and current throughout the East" and Sir Thomas Herbert speaking of Lar in 1627 (*Some Years' Travels*, London 1665, p. 130): "near this byzar the larnes are coyned, a famous sort of money". The larin weighed about 74 grains (4.9 grammes) and had a high reputation for the purity of its silver. It was worth ten pence in English money (Herbert) or one-fifth of a French crown (Tavernier) or 60 Portuguese reis.

The larin is in shape quite unlike any other coin. It is a thin silver rod about 4 inches long, doubled back and then stamped on either side with inscriptions from dies like any other coin. It is admirably described by William Barret in his account of the moneys of al-Baṣra in 1594 (Hakluyt, *Principal Voyages*, Glasgow 1904, vi. 12): "The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round like all other current money of Christianitie, but is a small rod of silver of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather where with we use to write and in length about one eighth part thereof, which is so wrested that the two ends meet at the juste halfe part and in the head thereof there is a stamp Turkesco and these be the best current money in all the Indies and six of the larnes make a ducat".

The kingdom of Lār ceased to issue these coins after its conquest by Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Persia (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1735, iii. 128), but its popularity led to this type of coin being adopted by other states of the Indian Ocean. The kings of Hormuz of the latter half of the xvth century issued larins as did the Shāhs of Persia at Shirāz and the Ottoman Sultāns at Baṣra. In India they were struck in the xviith century by the 'Adil Shāhī dynasty of Bijāpūr and other rulers and the frequent finds of larins in Western India show how extensive was their circulation there. In the Maldivé Islands in the early xviith century the king struck his own larins as we know from

the *Voyage* of F. Pyrard de Laval (Hakl. Soc., 1887, vol. i., p. 232 sq.). In Ceylon they were also struck, not only by the natives but also by the Portuguese merchants at Colombo; in this island they were twisted roughly into the shape of a fish-hook, whence the term "fish-hook" money. These pieces are either uninscribed or bear rude imitations of the Arabic script. In Ceylon the "fish-hook" money survived into the xviiith century. A degenerate descendant of the larin still exists (Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, ii. 319) on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, in Hasa where it is known as a *ṭawila*, i. e. the "long" (coin). It is only an inch long and of very base silver, if not copper, without any trace of inscription. It is described by Palgrave (*Journey*, etc., London 1865, ii. 179) who adds that there is a proverb "like a Hasa *ṭawil*", applied to any one who like the local currency is of no use away from home.

Bibliography: Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*², s.v.; H. W. Codrington, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1914, p. 162—164; do., *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Colombo 1924, Index, s.v.; O. Codrington, *Journal of the Bombay Branch, R. A. S.*, xviii. 36, 37; J. Allan, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1912, p. 319—324; H. H. Wilson, *ibid.*, 1852, p. 180; R. Knox, *Historical Relation of Ceylon*, Glasgow 1911, p. 156; Chardin, Tavernier and other travellers.

(J. ALLAN)

AL-LĀT, an old Arabian goddess. The name (from *al-ilāhat*; cf. ALILAT) means "the goddess" but was the proper name of a definite deity, according to the Arabs themselves (e. g. Ibn Ya'ish, ed. Jahn, p. 44, 23) the sun. She is found as early as the Nabataean and Palmyran inscriptions and was later worshipped by various Beduin tribes (e. g. the Hawāzin; Ibn Hishām, p. 849, 13). An oath by al-Lāt is frequently found in the poets, e. g. Abū Sa'd in Ibn Hishām, p. 567, 7, Mutalammis, ed. Volders, p. 2, 1, 'Aws b. Hadjar, ed. Geyer, p. 11, 2, and even in al-Akḥṭal, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii. 173. She had her principal sanctuary in the valley of Wādīdj near Ṭā'if, where the Mu'attib ('Attāb) b. Mālik b. Ka'b were her priests and a white stone hung with all kinds of decorations was her symbol. She is frequently mentioned along with al-'Uzzā (Ibn Hishām, p. 145, 7, 206, 2, 871, 6, where Wudd also is mentioned; 'Aws b. Hadjar, p. 11, 2) and among the Kuraish, she, along with this goddess and Manāt, was held in such high esteem, that Muḥammad once went so far as to recognise these three goddesses as intercessors with Allāh but soon afterwards withdrew this (*Sūra*, liii. 15 sqq.). According to Ṭabari, i. 1395, 3 Abū Sufyān carried al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā with him into the battle of Uhūd. After the capture of Mecca, al-Lāt was destroyed with her sanctuary in Ṭā'if by al-Mughīra, who were related to her priests. But she was not forgotten, for, according to Doughty, there are still in Ṭā'if blocks of stone which the people call al-'Uzzā, Hubal and al-Lāt, at which they secretly seek help in cases of illness.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 665 sqq.; iv. 336 sqq.; Azraqī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 79; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 55, 914 sqq.; Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1192 sqq.; Wāḳidī, transl. by Wellhausen, p. 384 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i/i. 137 sq.; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 219;

Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 97 sq., 128; Lagrange, *Études sur les Religions sémitiques* 2, p. 76, 135; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 29—34, 61; Lammens, *Mél. de l'univ. Beyrouth*, viii. 202 sq.; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia*, ii. 511, 515 sq. (FR. BUHL)

AL-LATĪF (A.), "the Kind", one of the names of Allāh [q. v.].

LATĪFĪ, properly 'ABD AL-LATĪF ĀLEBĪ of Kaṣtamuni, secretary to the office for administering pious foundations (*imāret kīatibi*). He was secretary in Belgrade, came in 950 (1543) to Constantinople to the waḳf office of Eyub, then went to Rhodes and Egypt. He died in 990 (1582) on the voyage from Egypt to Yanbu' on the Red Sea.

Latīfī was a good poet and an even better stylist. He is famous for his collection of biographies of poets, *Tedhkere-i Shu'arā'*, which he finished in 953 (1546) and like Sehi, whose example he was the first to follow, dedicated it to Sulṭān Sulaimān the Great. His love for his native city tempted him to attribute to it a whole series of poets not born there so that his work was jokingly called *Kaṣtamuni-nāma*. In spite of several inaccuracies, the book, which was printed in 1314 in Constantinople, is indispensable for our knowledge of the older poets of whom he deals with 302 from the time of Murād Khān to his own day. His able critical remarks show that he had excellent insight into the nature of the poet's art, but the standard that he imposes on the poets for adoption into his work is not too strict. He never published any continuation to his work although he lived for over 40 years after writing it; other works of his are: a *Munāẓara*, which was edited in 1287 by Tewfiḳ Bey; a regular *Dīwān*; a collection wrongly attributed to Kemāl Paṣha-zāde of 100 *ḥadīth*'s with paraphrases in Turkish verse; a *Risāle-i Ewṣāf-i İstambol*; also: *Natḥ al-Le'ālī*, *Rabī' al-Azhār*, *Anis al-Fuṣḥā'*, *Fuṣūl-i arba'a*. A translation of his *Tedhkere* was made by Thomas Chabert, Zürich 1800: *Latīfī oder Biographische Nachrichten von vorzüglichsten türkischen Dichtern nebst einer Blumenlese aus ihren Werken*.

Bibliography; Sehi, *Heṣṭ Bihisṭ*, Constantinople 1325, p. 138; Thuraiyā, *Siğill-i 'oṭhmānī*; Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*; Brusall M. Tāhir, *'Oṭhmānī Mūellifleri*, iii. 134—135; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 286 and do., *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*; Smirnow, *Očerki istorii tureckoj literatury*, St. Petersburg 1891 (Korš iv.), p. 456; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire*, Constantinople 1910, p. 50; the catalogues of the various collections of manuscripts.

(TH. MENZEL)

LAWATA, a Berber ethnical group, belonging to the family of Butr, whose eponymous ancestor was Lawā the younger, son of Lawā the older, son of Zahik. Ibn Khaldūn disputes the view of certain Berber genealogists recorded by Ibn Ḥazm who consider the Lawāta as Saddarāta and the Mazāta as of Coptic origin. Others say the Lawāta with the Hawwāra and the Lamṭa were of Himyarite origin. In any case the oldest home of the Lawāta seems most likely to have been the eastern part of North Africa. They were found in Egypt to the north between Alexandria and Cairo; to the south in the oases and in al-Ṣa'īd. Some

Lawāta led a nomadic life in the region of Barka. In the Maghrib they lived in the Djabal Lawāta (south of Gabes and Sfax) and it is probably this section that is mentioned by Corippus under the name *Ilaguaten* = Berber: *Ilawāten*; others lived in the country round Bougie and in the region south of Tiaret (Tāhert) where they had adopted the Ibādī heresy. In Morocco there were Lawāta in the Tādla (the Zanāra section), in the south of Fās and in the land between Tangier and Arzila.

Bibliography: al-Idrisī and al-Bakrī, indices; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, ed. de Slane, i. 147—150; transl., i. 171, 231—236.

(G. S. COLIN)

LAWḤ (A.), board, tablet; the first meaning is found in the Qur'an, Sūra, liv. 13, where Noah's ark is called *dhāt alwāḥ*. The second meaning is that of lawḥ as writing material, e.g. the tablets of the lawḥ (Sūra, vii. 142, 149, 153, where the plural *alwāḥ* is used; see *Lisān*, iii. 421). *Al-dawāt wa 'l-lawḥ* (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr al-Kur'an*, Sūra, iv., bāb 18) corresponds to our "paper and ink". The expression *mā baina 'l-lawḥain* "what lies between the two boards" is found in Hadīth, to describe the whole Qur'an (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra lix., bāb 4; *Libās*, bāb 84); cf. *mā baina 'l-daffatain* (Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Kur'an*, bāb 16). — In modern linguistic usage *al-lōḥ* also means a school-child's slate.

Al-lawḥ thus means the tablet kept in heaven which in Sūra, lxxxv. 22 is called *lawḥ mahfūz* (cf. ii. 1066a, 1076a). According to this passage, it is usually described as the "safely preserved" tablet. But it is not certain whether the words in this passage are really syntactically connected. If we read *mahfūzun*, the word does not go with *lawḥin* but with the preceding *kur'anun* and the translation is: "Verily it is a Qur'an, famous, preserved on a tablet" (see the commentaries); "preserved" i.e. against alteration.

In the commentaries on Sūra, xcvi. 1, the tablet is again mentioned: "We sent it down (the Qur'an) in the night of the decree"; this refers either to the first revelation made to Muḥammad or to the descent of the Qur'an from that tablet which is above the seventh heaven, to the lowest.

The tablet as the original copy of the Qur'an is thus identical with *umm al-kitāb*.

The decisions of the divine will are also written on the lawḥ with the pen *qalam* [q. v.] We have therefore to distinguish two quite different conceptions:

a. The tablet as the original copy of the Qur'an. This idea is found in the pseud-epigraphical literature. In the *Book of Jubilees*, iii. 10, it is said that the laws relating to the purification of women after childbirth (Leviticus xii.) are written on tablets in heaven. Jub., xii. 28 sq., says the same of the law regarding the "feast of booths" (Lev., xxiii. 40—43) and Jub., xxxii. 15 of the law of tithes (Lev. xxvii.).

b. The tablet as the record of the decisions of the divine will is also found in the *Book of Jubilees*. In Jub., v. 13 it is said that the divine judgement on all that exists on earth is written on the tablets in heaven. Enoch prophecies the future from the contents of these tablets (Book of Enoch, xciii. 2; cf. lxxxi.; ciii. 2; cvi. 19). The "scripture of truth" is mentioned as early as Daniel, x. 21, the contents of which

Daniel announces in prophetic form. These ideas are connected with the Babylonian conception of "tablets of fate".

From these passages it is evident that in the pseudo-epigraphic literature also the tablets in heaven are also regarded as the originals of revelation, sometimes as tablets of fate. This is sufficient to explain the double meaning of *lawh* in Muslim literature.

For other passages, cf. the Index to Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, s. v. "Tablets"; it cannot always be said definitely to which of these two conceptions a statement belongs.

In mystical and philosophical literature *lawh* is given a place in the cosmic system and sometimes explained as *akl fa'āl* and sometimes as *nafs kullī* or *umm al-hūlī*.

Bibliography: The Kūrān commentaries on the passages quoted; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 65 sq.; *Dict. of the Technical Terms*, ii. 1291—1293.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

LAZ, a people of South Caucasian stock (Iberic, "Georgian") now dwelling in the southeast corner of the shores of the Black Sea.

The ancient history of the Laz is complicated by the uncertainty which reigns in the ethnical nomenclature of the Caucasus generally; the same names in the course of centuries are applied to different units (or groups). The fact that the name Phasis was applied to the Rion, to the Čorokh (the ancient Akampsis) and even to the sources of the Araxes also creates difficulties.

The earliest Greek writers do not mention the Laz. The name Λαζοί, Λαζοί is only found after the Christian era (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iv. 4; *Periplus*, of Arrian, xi. 2; Ptolemy, v. 9, 5). The oldest known settlement of the Lazoi is the town of Lazos or "old Lazik" which Arrian puts 680 stadia (about 80 miles) south of the Sacred Port (Noworossiisk) and 1,020 stadia (100 miles) north of Pityus, i. e. somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tuapse. Kiessling sees in the Lazoi a section of the Kerketai, who in the first centuries of the Christian era had to migrate southwards under pressure from the Zygoi (i. e. the Čerkes [q. v.]) who call themselves Adīghe (Adzīghe); the same author regards the Kerketai as a "Georgian" tribe. The fact is that at the time of Arrian (second cent. B. C.), the Lazoi were already living to the south of Sukhum. The order of the peoples living along the coast to the east of Trebizond was as follows: Colchi (and Sanni); Machelones; Heniochi; Zydritae; Lazai (Λαζαί), subjects of king Malassus, who owned the suzerainty of Rome; Apsilae; Abacsi (cf. ABKHAZ); Sanigae near Sebastopolis (= Sukhum).

During the centuries following, the Laz gained so much in importance that the whole of the ancient Colchis had been renamed Lazica (Anonymous Periplus, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, v. 180). According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De Admin. Imperio*, Ch. 53, in the time of Diocletian (284—303), the king of the Bosphorus, Sauromatus, invaded the land of the Lazoi and reached Halys (N. Marr explains this last name by the Laz word meaning river). Among the peoples subject to the Laz, Procopius (*Bell. Got.*, iv. 2 and 3) mentions the Abasgoi and the people of Suania and Skymnia (= Lečkhum). It is pro-

bable that the name Lazica referred to the most powerful element and covered a confederation of several tribes. The Laz were converted to Christianity about the beginning of the vith century. "In the desert of Jerusalem" Justinian (527—665) restored a Laz temple (Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, v. 9) which must have been in existence for some time before this. The Laz also sent bishops to their neighbours (Proc., *Bell. Got.*, iv. 2). In Colchis the Laz were under the suzerainty of the Roman emperors who gave investiture to their kings and the latter had to guard the western passes of the Caucasus against invasions by the nomads from the north. On the other hand the monopolistic tendencies of the commerce of Rome provoked discontent among the people of Colchis. In 458 King Gobazes sought the help of the Sāsānid Yazdegird II against the Romans. Between 539 and 562 Lazica was the scene of the celebrated struggle between Byzantium (Justinian) and Persia (Khusraw II).

According to Procopius, who accompanied Belisarius on his expeditions, the Laz occupied both banks of the Phasis but their towns (Archaeopolis, Sebastopolis, Pitius, Skanda, Sarapanis, Rhodopolis, Mochoresis) all lay to the north of the river while on the left bank which was desert land the lands of the Laz only stretched for a day's march to the south. Nearer to Trebizond were the "Roman Pontics" which only means that the inhabitants were direct subjects of the Roman emperor and not of the Laz kings; from the ethnical point of view the "Roman Pontics" could not have been different from the Laz. This strip of shore continued longest to shelter the remnants of the Laz.

In 1204 with the aid of troops lent by queen Thamar of Georgia, Alexis Comnenus founded the empire of Trebizond, the history of which is very closely connected with that of the southern Caucasus. Nicephoros Gregora (v. 7) says that the founder of the dynasty had seized "the lands of Colchis and of the Lazae". In 1282 John Comnenus received the title of "Emperor of the East, of Iveria and of the lands beyond the sea". In 1341 the princess Anna Anakhutlu ascended the throne with the help of the Laz. The lands directly under the authority of the emperors of Trebizond seem to have extended as far as Makriali while Gonia was under a local dynasty (cf. the *Chronicle of Panaretos*, under the year 1376).

In 865 (1461) Sulṭān Muḥammad II conquered Trebizond and as a result the Laz came into contact with Islām, which became their religion (Shāfi'i). The stages of their conversion are still unknown. The fact is that even in the central regions of Georgia (Akhalsikhe) Islām seems to have gained ground gradually from the xiiith century (N. Marr in the *Bull. of the Acad. of St. Petersburg*, 1917, p. 415—446, 478—506).

In 926 (1519) Trebizond with Batum was made a separate eyālet. According to Ewliyā Čelebi who went through this region in 1050 (1640) the five sandjaks of the eyālet were: Djanikha (Djanik = Samsun?), Trebizond, Gūniya (Gonia), Lower and Upper Batum. The modern Lazistān was governed from Gonia, for among the kādās of this fortress we find Atina, Sumla, Witçe/Biçe (= Witse) and Arkhawi (Ewliyā and the version of the *Dihān-numā* in Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente*, Abh. d. Bayer. Akad., 1846). Hādīdī Khalīfa and Ewliyā Čelebi deceived by the similarity in sound of Caucasian

names (as also was Vivien de St. Martin) proposed a theory of the identity of the name Lezgi and Laz. Ewliyā calls Trebizond "former Lezgi wilāyet". Hādījī Khalifa after enumerating the peoples of the district (Lezgi): Mingrelians (Megril), Georgians, Abkhaz (Abaza), Čerkes and Laz, adds that the latter are those who live nearest to Trebizond. To the S. E. of Trebizond in the Čepni mountains he mentions the Turks who "worship as their God (*ma'būd*) the Shāh of Persia (i. e. are extreme Shī'īs) and are associated (*mushtarik*) with the Laz". Hādījī Khalifa and Ewliyā do not agree on the number of the fiefs of Trebizond; Ewliyā only says that the value of the eyālet has depreciated through the unruliness of many of its 41 nāhiye (*Djihan-numā*, p. 429; Ewliyā, ii. 81, 83—85).

The first serious blow to the feudal independence of the *dere-bey* of Lazistān was only struck at the beginning of the sixteenth century by the Ottoman Pasha of Trebizond, but Koch who visited the country after his expedition still found most of the hereditary *dere-bey*'s in power, although shorn of some of their liberties. He counted fifteen of them: Atina (two), Bulep, Artashin, Witse, Kapiste, Arkhawe, Kisse, Khopa, Makria (Makriali), Gonia, Batum, Maradit (Maradidi?), Perlewan and Čat. The lands of the three latter lay however on the Čorokh behind the mountains separating this valley from the river of Lazistān in the strict sense. On the other hand among the *dere-bey* of Lazistān was the lord of Hamshin, i. e. of the upper valleys of Kalopotamos and of Furtuna inhabited by Muslim Armenians. According to the Armenian historian Lewond, transl. Chahnazarian, Paris 1826, p. 162, the latter with their chief Hamam of the Amatuni family had settled in the district in the time of Constantine VI (780—797) (the old Tambur was given the name Hamshin < Hamamshem, "built by H."). It is evidently this region that Clavijo (1403—1406), ed. Srezniewski, St. Petersburg 1881, p. 383, calls "tierra de Arraquel". He adds that the people, dissatisfied with their king Arraquel (Arakel?), submitted to the Muslim ruler of Ispir. The Hamshin are now Muslims and only those of Khopa have not forgotten Armenian. A Hamshin lexicon was published by Kipshidze.

With the institution of the wilāyet the sandjak Lazistān became part of the wilāyet of Trebizond. Its capital was at first Batum but, after the Russian occupation of Batum in 1878, the administration of the sandjak was transferred to Rize (Rhizaion), detached for this purpose from the old central sandjak of Trebizond. Lazistān lying to the west of the Ottoman-Russian frontier occupied a strip of coast 100 miles long and 15 to 20 miles broad. The kādās of the sandjak were: Khopa, Atina and Rize, subdivided again into 6 nāhiye (Samy-Bey, *Kamūs al-A'lām*, v. 3966). Cuienet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 118—121, mentions Of as a fourth kādā and gives 8 (7) nāhiyas (Hamshin, Karadere, Papawri, Wakf, Kur'a-yi-saba, Witse, Arkhawi). In 1880 there were in the sandjak 364 inhabited places with 138,467 inhabitants, of above 689 were orthodox Greeks and the rest Muslims (Laz, Turkicised Laz, Turks and "Hamshin"). The number of true Laz cannot be more than half the total population.

The term Laz is used in the west of Turkey to designate generally the people of the south-east country round the south-east of the Black Sea, but in reality the people calling themselves by

this name and speaking the Laz language now live in the two kādās of Khopa (between Kopmush and Gurup) and Atina (between Gurup and Kemer). Laz is spoken in 64 of the 69 villages of the kādā of Atina. To these should be added the very few Laz who used to live in Russian territory to the south of Batum. These Laz were incorporated in Turkey by virtue of the Turco-Soviet treaty of March 16, 1921, which moved the Turkish frontier to Sarp (to the south of the mouth of the Čorokh). Rize and Batum are now outside the Laz country proper.

The Laz are good sailors and also practise agriculture (rice, maize, tobacco and fruit-trees). Before 1914 many of them earned a living in Russia as bakers and often came home with Russian wives, who became converts to Islām. The Laz are known for their conversatism in religious matters. Turkish proverbs and the marionette theatre (*kara-göz*) are often very scathing about the Laz (*Lazlarñ termonu müsülman yemez onu*, "the Muslim does not eat Laz jelly"; *termoni* from the Greek θέρμοσ).

The Laz language is closely connected with Mingrelian (which is a sister language of Georgian) but N. Y. Marr finds in it sufficient peculiarities to consider it a Mingrelian language rather than a dialect. In the Lazo-Mingrelian group he believes he can find resemblances to the more Indo-European elements in old Armenian (Grabar). There are two Laz languages, eastern, and western with smaller subdivisions (the language of the Čkhala). Laz is very full of Turkish words. It has no written literature but there are local poets (Rashid Hilmi, Pehliwān-oghlu, etc.). The Laz are forgetting their own language, which is being replaced by the Turkish patois of Trebizond (cf. Pisarew in *Zap.*, 1901, xiii., p. 173—201) in which the harmony of the vowels is much neglected (cf. a specimen in N. Marr, *Teksti i roziskaniya*, St. Petersburg, vii., p. 55).

The Georgians call the Laz Č'an but the Laz do not know this name. "Č'an" is evidently the original of the Greek name Sannoi/Tzannoi and it survives in the official name of the sandjak of Samsun (Djanik). From the historical point of view the separation of the Laz and Č'an seems to have taken place in spite of the close relationship between the two of them. In the time of Arrian, the Sannoi were the immediate neighbours of Trebizond. In an obscure passage in this author (cf. the perplexed commentary of C. Müller in *Geogr. Graece Minores*, ad *Arriani Periplus*, 8) he places on the river Of the frontier between the Colchis (Laz?) and the Θυαυινκ (?). Koch mentions the interesting fact that the people of Of speak a "language of their own" and according to Marr, the people of Khoshninishin (near Atina) speak an incomprehensible language. Procopius places the "Sannoi who are now called the Tzannoi" on the area adjoining the mountains separating Čorokh from the sea (the Parayadres range, the name of which survives in the modern Parkhar/Balkhar). The researches of N. Y. Marr have shown that the Č'an (Tzannoi) had at first occupied a larger area including the basin of the Čorokh and its tributaries on the right bank from which they were temporarily displaced by the Armenians and finally by the Georgians (Kharthli). The chronicles of Trebizond continue to distinguish the Laz from the Tzianids (Τζιανιδες). The latter in alliance with

the Muslims attacked the possessions of Trebizond in 1348 and in 1377 were punished by the Emperor. At this period the Tzianids must have been in the southwest of Trebizond (besides, the sанджак of Djanik is to the west of this port). Thus the Georgian application of the name Ć'an to the Laz may be explained by the confusion of the two tribes, one of whom (the true Ć'an living to the south and west of the Laz) was ultimately thrust to the west of Trebizond.

Bibliography: The principal Byzantine sources are found in: Dietrich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde*, Leipzig 1912, i. 52—58; Dubois de Montpéroux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, Paris 1839, ii. 73 and the Atlas, series i., pl. xiv.: map of the theatre of wars of Lazikia; Vivien de St. Martin, *Études de géographie ancienne*, Paris 1852, ii., p. 196—218; *Étude sur la Lazique de Procope*; Hermann, *Lazai and Kiessling, Heniochoi in Real-Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa², xxiii., p. 1042 and viii. 258—280; Koch, *Wanderungen im Oriente*, Weimar 1846/1847, ii.: *Reisen im pontischen Gebirge*; Bianchi, *Viaggi in Armenia, Kurdistan e Lazistan*, Milan 1863 (the author did not visit Lazistān proper); Kazbek, *Tri mesiatza v turetskoi Gruzii*, Zap. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obšč., Tiflis 1875, x/i., p. 1—140; Deyrolle, *Lazistan et Arménie, Tour du Monde*, 1875/1876; Vivien de St. Martin, *Lazistan in Nouv. Dict. Géogr. Universelle*, Paris 1887; Proskuriakow, *Zametki o Turtsii*, Zap. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obšč., Tiflis 1905, xxv.; N. Y. Marr, *Iz poezdki v turetskii Lazistan*, Bull. de l'Akad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, 1910, p. 547—570, 607—632; N. Y. Marr, *Gruzii. pripiiski greč. Ewangelia iz Koridii*, *ibid.*, 1911, p. 217; N. Y. Marr, *Kreščeniye armian etc.*, Zap., 1905, xxvi., p. 165—171; G. Vechapéli, *La Géorgie Turque*, Bern 1919, p. 1—52 (Georgian nationalist point of view).

On the Laz language cf. G. Rozen, *Über die Sprache d. Lazen*, Abh. B. Ak. W., 1843, phil.-hist. class, p. 1—38; Peacock, *Original Vocabularies of 5 West-Cauc. Languages*, J. R. A. S., 1887, xix., p. 145—156; Adjarian, *Étude sur la langue laz*, M. S. L., 1899, x., p. 145—160, 228—240, 364—401, 405—448; N. Marr, *Grammatika č'anskago (lazskago) yazika*, St. Petersburg 1910, xxviii. 240 (Grammar, Chrestomathie, Glossary); Kipshidze, *Dopeln. swěděníya o č'anskom yazike*, St. Petersburg 1911.

(V. MINORSKY)

LAZARUS is the name in the Gospels of 1) the poor man who finds compensation in Abraham's bosom for the misery of this world (Luke, xvi. 19—31); 2) the dead man whom Jesus raises to life (John xi.). The Qur'an mentions neither the one nor the other, but among the miracles with which it credits Jesus is included the raising from the dead (Sūra, iii. 43). Muslim legend with its fondness for the miracle of resurrection is fond of telling of the dead whom Jesus revives, but rarely mentions Lazarus. Tabari (*Annales*) talks of these miracles in general. According to him, Hām b. Nūh is revived by Jesus (i. 187). Al-Kisā'i only mentions Sām son of Nūh of those restored to life by Jesus. Tha'labi relates, closely following St. John's Gospel: "al-Āzīr died, his sister sent to inform Jesus, Jesus came 3 (in the Gospel 4) days after his death, went with his

sister to the tomb in the rock and caused al-Āzīr to arise; children were born to him". In Ibn al-Athīr the resurrected man is called "Āzīr", the *el* of Ela'zar was taken for the article, as in al-Yāsa' (Elisa) and Alexander (al-Iskandar) or in Āzar in the Qur'an, whose name Fraenkel derives from Eliezer. In Ibn al-Athīr we find Muslim legend endeavouring to increase the miracle, Jesus raises not only Āzīr (Lazarus) but also his wife (children are born to him), and Sām (son of Nūh), the prophet 'Uzair and Yahyā b. Zakariya (John the Baptist).

Bibliography: Tabari, *Annales*, i. 187, 731, 739; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, i. 122, 123; Tha'labi, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 307. On the name El'azar, Eliezer, Āzar, see S. Fraenkel, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1902, lvi. 71—73; J. Horowitz, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 1925, ii., p. 157, 161; do., *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, p. 12, 85, 86. (BERNHARD HELLER)

LEBARAN. [See 'ID AL-FIṬR.]

LEO AFRICANUS, AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD AL-WAZZĀN AL-ZAIYĀTĪ, called Yuhannā al-Asad al-Ḡharṇāṭī, in Latin Johannes Leo Africanus, born at Granada in 901 (1465) was brought up in Fās. Entrusted with three diplomatic missions to the South of Morocco by the Banū Waṭṭās, he went to Mecca in 921 (1516) and then to Stambul. Captured on his way home by Sicilian corsairs he was taken to Naples in 926 (1520), then to Rome where the Pope baptised him "Johannes Leo". At Rome he compiled the following works, only the first of which has come down to us in the original Arabic text: 1. *Arabic-Hebrew-Latin Vocabulary* composed in 930 (1524) for the physician Jacob ben Simon (MS. Escorial 598; cf. H. Derenbourg, *Cat. mss. arabes de l'Escorial*, Paris 1884, i. 410); 2. *Descrittione dell' Africa*, which he translated into Italian on March 10, 1526 (divulged since 1531; publ. by Ramusio, *Navigazioni, viaggi*, Venice 1550, i. 1—103^a; French transl. by Temporal, ed. Schefer, 1896; Latin by Florianus; English by Pory, ed. Browne, 1896; Dutch by Leers; German by Lorsbach); 3. *Libellus de viris illustribus apud Arabes*, finished in 1527, Latin transl., ed. by Hottinger, then by Fabricius. These works gave the west the earliest materials for a history of Islām; cf. in the economic and social monograph on the city of Fās, *Descrittione*, Bk. iv., Ch. 23—54, a remarkable resumé from the Mālikī point of view of the historical development of theology. Before 957 (1550) Leo returned to Tunis where he died, a good Muslim.

Bibliography: Widmanstad, *Evangelia syriaca*, 1555, introduction; Casiri, *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*, Madrid 1770, i. 172 sqq.; Schefer, *op. laud.*; Goldziher, ap. *Pallas Nagy Lexikona*, *Az ősnies ismeretek enciklopédiája*, 1897, xi. 426; Massignon, *Le Maroc . . . d'après Léon l'Africain*, Algiers 1906, p. 4—11, 32—69. — According to H. de Castries (in his *Sources*), Signora Angela Codazzi, of Milan, is preparing a critical work upon the Arabic materials of the "Descrittione".

(L. MASSIGNON)

LEPANTO, is the Italian form of the name of the Greek town Naupactos which the Turks call Ine Bakhtī. This is how the Turkish form is transcribed, e. g. by Leunclavius (*Annales Turcici*, p. 35) while von Hammer (*G. O. R.*, iii. 318) transcribes it as Aina Bakhtī, which he translates

"Spiegelglück"; in view of the Greek form however it is very probable that the Turks originally pronounced it Ine Bakhtī. The town is situated in the ancient Locris, north of the strait which leads from the Ionian Sea towards the Gulf of Corinth, known since the middle ages as the Gulf of Lepanto.

After forming from the xiiith century part of the despoty of Epirus, Lepanto fell into the hands of the Venetians who made it one of the strongest places in Greece. Muḥammad II during his war with Venice therefore undertook an expedition to take the town by land. In 1477 Khādīm Suleimān Pasha was given the task but did not succeed (*Tawārīkh-i Al-i 'Othmān*, ed. Giese, p. 115). It was Bāyazīd II who ultimately took the town in 1499 with the help of the Turkish fleet after the latter had defeated the Venetians near the island of Sapienza (Burāk Re'is Adası) in July. The town was already being besieged by Muṣṭafā Pasha, beglerbeg of Rūm Ili; Bāyazīd joined the army later. The commander of the garrison had declared he would never surrender until Turkish vessels should enter the strait. This happened after the battle of Sapienza, for the Venetians made a feeble resistance. The Venetian commander capitulated on Aug. 26, 1499 (cf. *Tawārīkh-i Al-i 'Othmān*, p. 127 and 'Ashīk Pasha Zāde, p. 257—258, which gives the date as 3 of Muḥarram 905 = Aug. 10, 1499). Immediately afterwards Bāyazīd built two forts to defend the entrance to the Gulf.

Lepanto is particularly celebrated for the famous naval battle fought on Oct. 7, 1571, between the Turkish fleet and the Christian fleet consisting of 108 Venetian galleys, 77 Spanish, 6 Maltese, 3 Savoy and 12 Papal in addition to 8 enormous Venetian galleasses (the figures given by the Turkish historians vary considerably) united under the command of Don John of Austria. This great combined expedition of the Christian fleets had been provoked by the capture of Cyprus by the Turks under Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha in 1570 and 1571. The Turkish fleet came for the most part from Cyprus with the *ser-asker* Pertew Pasha and the Kapudan Pasha 'Alī and was joined by Uludj 'Alī Pasha (Ochiali) beglerbeg of Algiers with 20 ships. After raids on the coast of Crete and the Ionian Islands it had cast anchor off Lepanto; it was here the Turks learned of the approach of the Christian fleet. The Turkish fleet consisted of 300 ships (so von Hammer; Hādjdjī Khalifa speaks of 180); it was not at the top of its strength on account of the numerous desertions. Against the advice of Pertew Pasha and Uludj 'Alī, the Kapudan Pasha decided to leave the bay of Lepanto and to attack. The Christian ships entered the Gulf on Oct. 7; the battle which followed only lasted a few hours and ended in the complete destruction of the Turkish fleet; the Kapudan Pasha perished in the battle; Pertew Pasha escaped with difficulty and Uludj 'Alī who commanded the left wing succeeded in saving 40 vessels. This, their first great defeat at sea, is called by the Turks *siḡhīn donanma seferi*, the "expedition of the destroyed fleet". The immediate results of this event were not considerable, for the Allies could not take advantage of their success and the Turks very soon succeeded in making good their losses in material; Muḥammad Sokolli [q.v.] was credited with saying that the empire was rich and powerful enough to make the anchors of the fleet of silver, and the

ropes of silk and the sails of atlas (Pečewi, i. 499). The moral results however were very great and justify the great importance attached in history to the battle of Lepanto.

In June 1687 the Venetian and Austrian forces seized Lepanto, but they had to surrender the town to the Turks by the treaty of Carlowitz (1699); as Venice then held the whole of the Morea, Lepanto remained the only Turkish stronghold in this region. The Turkish history of the town ended with the insurrection of the Greeks, as a result of which Naupactos was incorporated in the kingdom of Greece.

The defence of Lepanto consisted of 3 successive lines of fortifications on a cone-shaped hill; it was the residence of a *sandjak-beg* of the *eyālet* of the Kapudan Pasha (Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*, p. 67a). Its great strategic and maritime importance is explained by Hādjdjī Khalifa in *Rumili und Bosna*, transl. by von Hammer, p. 125.

Bibliography: von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 150, 318 sq.; iii. 592 sqq. The battle of Lepanto is described by the historians of the xviith century: Pečewi, *Ta'riḫ*, Constantinople 1283, p. 495 sqq.; Selāmiki, *Ta'riḫ*, Constantinople 1281, p. 101 sqq.; Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*, Constantinople 1041, fol. 42 sqq. Among later descriptions: Djawdat Pasha, *Ta'riḫ*, i. 119, Constantinople 1302; and the publication of several documents by Şafwat Bey in *T.O.E.M.*, N^o. 9 (Aug. 1911). A survey of the extensive European bibliography is given in *G.O.R.*, iii. 787; cf. also the article by Awram Galanti in *T.O.E.M.*, N^o. 78, Jan. 1924.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

LERIDA, the ancient *Ilerda*, the Arabic *Lārīda*, a town in northern Spain, halfway between Saragossa and Barcelona, now the capital of the province of the same name, with a population of about 29,000. It lies at a height of about 600 feet on the right bank of the Segre (the *Wādī Shīkar* of the Arabs; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, s.v., wrongly makes this another name of Lerida), and forms an important strategical point at the entrance to the plains of Aragon.

Lerida, which is undoubtedly of Iberian origin, was taken by Julius Caesar in 49 B.C. in the first Civil War between him and Pompey. In 546 a council met there and it was occupied by the Muslims in the first half of the eighth century. It seems to have henceforth shared the fate of Saragossa and to have been an important point for the defence of the Upper Frontera (*al-thughra al-a'lā*). It was later part of the independent kingdom of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa. At the division which took place on the death of Sulaimān b. Hūd al-Musta'in bi 'Ilāh (1046), it fell to his son Yūsuf but was again taken by the ruler of Saragossa Aḥmad al-Muqtadir.

Bibliography: al-Idrisi, *Şifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 190, transl., p. 231; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, p. 180—181; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, vii., p. 313; Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, cf. Index; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, vol. iii., ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, 1927, cf. Index.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

LEWEND, the name of the members of an irregular militia, which formed part of armed forces of the Ottoman empire during the early centuries of its existence; they were chiefly

employed as soldiers on the fleet in the period when the Turkish navy consisted mainly of the corsair vessels, which the Sulṭāns employed for their naval expeditions. The word *lewendî* seems to have been borrowed like many other naval terms from the Italian. The Italian word would have been *levantino* (Sāmi, *Kāmūs-i Türki*) or *levanti* (Djaward Pasha) and was originally used by the Venetians for the soldiers whom they recruited from the inhabitants of their possessions in the Levant, to defend the coasts or serve on the fleet. It was the same category of men, i. e. Christian Greeks, Albanians or Dalmatians, living on the Mediterranean coasts that the Turks used at first. After a time Turkish elements from Asia Minor joined them.

The lewends were a soldiery almost without discipline whom it was impossible to make use of when the navy came to be regularly organised. Even in the time of Muḥammad II the use of 'asab's had been begun for the naval service and under Bāyazid II, the first regular body of marines was formed, consisting of 400 'asab's. About the same time the 'asab's were employed on the galleys as *kürəkçii* in place of the less loyal Christians (Hādjidī Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*, p. 10b). Thus the true lewends were gradually removed from the navy. We find however that the word *lewend* is still used at a later period to indicate the soldiers of the navy, especially the riflemen (*süfenkçii*, cf. Djaward Pasha); in Constantinople there were two barracks of lewends, belonging to the organisation of the arsenal. In a figurative sense, the great naval captains of the xvth century are also called *lewend* (e. g. by Şafwat Bey in his article *T. O. E. M.*, No. 24).

The lewends after having been removed from the fleet still continued to exist as marauders, especially in Asia Minor where they were a scourge to the country. The word *lewend* thus acquired the meanings of vagabond and rascal; this last meaning has even passed into Persian. On the other hand, the Pashas in the province for long continued to recruit their bodyguard among the lewends (cf. the picture of a lewend in the plate on p. 416 of the third volume of d'Ohsson).

From the end of the xvth century, the government found itself forced to take steps to abolish the bodies of lewends still in existence. Ordinances of 1695, 1718 and 1720 gave them permission to join the new corps of the *deli* and *gönüllü* (Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1282, v. 13, 123). Finally a series of military expeditions in 1737, 1747, 1752, 1759 and 1763 exterminated the last bands of this turbulent soldiery, who still existed in different parts of Asia Minor (Izzi, *Tārīkh*, p. 25, 30, 78, 269; Wāṣif, *Tārīkh*, p. 117, 234).

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LI'ÂN (A.), an oath, which gives a husband the possibility of accusing his wife of adultery without legal proof without becoming liable to the punishment prescribed for this, and of denying

the paternity of a child borne by the wife. "In the language of the Shar'fa, evidence given by the husband, strengthened by oaths, by which the husband invokes the curse (*la'na*: from this the whole process is a *potiori* named) and the wife the wrath of Allāh upon themselves, if they should lie; it frees the husband from *ḥadd* (the legal punishment) for *qadhf* (accusation without proof of infidelity by persons "of irreproachable character") and the wife of *ḥadd* for incontinence" (A. Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Muslims*, *Bibl. Indica*, Old Series, ii., 1309). On the technical use of the related verbal forms, cf. the Arabic lexicons and Dozy, *Suppl. aux Dict. Arabes*, s. v.; al-Kaṣṭallānī, commentary on al-Bukhārī, *Ṭalāḥ*, 25, at the beginning; al-Zurkānī, commentary on the *Muwatta'*, *Bāb mā dja' fi 'l-Li'an*, at the beginning.

1. The following Qur'anic passage is the basis for the regulations regarding the *li'an*: xxiv. 6 sqq.: "As to those who accuse their wives (of adultery) without having other witnesses than themselves, the man concerned shall swear four times by Allāh that he is speaking the truth and the fifth time that the curse of Allāh may fall upon him if he is lying, but the woman may avert the punishment from herself if she swears four times by Allāh that he is lying and the fifth time that the wrath of Allāh may fall upon her if he is speaking the truth. If Allāh were not gracious and merciful towards you and wise and turning lovingly towards you".

These verses belong to a part of the Qur'ān, apparently composed at one time, containing various regulations about adultery and consisting of xxiv. 1—10, 21—26; verses 11—20, which certainly belong to the year 5 were inserted later; our verses must therefore be older (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, i. 210 sq.; H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii. 27, puts the Sūra between the battles of Badr [2 A. H.] and Uḥud [3 A. H.]).

They form a regulation in favour of the husband, an exception to the punishment strictly laid down in Qur'ān, xxiv. 4 (cf. also verses 23—25) for *qadhf* and are therefore, like this penalty, primarily Muslim and have no affinities in Arab paganism in which an institution like the *li'an* had no place at all (contrary to D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, i. 221 below). The word *li'an*, which comes from the Qur'ān, is unknown to the pre-Muḥammadan poetry.

The ḥadīths concerning *li'an* are almost entirely (the oldest probably exclusively) exegetical and profess to give the occasion of the revelation of the Qur'anic verses in question; they are to some extent contradictory (attempts to harmonise them are found in al-Zurkānī, commentary on the *Muwatta'*, *Bāb mā dja' fi 'l-Li'an*), systematised and unreliable (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, etc., where further references are given, to which may now be added those in A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 56 sq. [to p. 56 ult. may be added, Tir. 44, Sūra 24]). Four types may be distinguished among them: 1. the husband (unnamed) laments his sad case to Prophet in covert language whereupon the verses are revealed (oldest form); 2. 'Uwaimir b. Ḥārith asks in the same way, first through the intermediary of a friend and then directly of the Prophet (a development of the first type); 3. Hilāl b. Umaiya accuses his wife of adultery and is to be punished with *ḥadd*

for this, when Allāh saves him sometimes by the revelation of the verses (this type probably a development of the first, in which Sa'd b. 'Ubadā also is often involved, who had previously with scornful criticism called attention to the possibility of the dilemma which has now actually happened, has of the three the most schematic and not original appearance); 4) some one marries a young woman and finds her not a virgin while she disputes his assertion; the Prophet therefore orders *li'ān* (not exetic). There are of course other transitional and mixed forms. In so far as the *ḥadīth*s yield nothing new about *li'ān*, this brief outline is sufficient; they are only of importance when they afford evidence for the oldest juristic adaptation of this Qur'anic institution.

2. The first subject of the earliest legal speculation was the question, not touched upon in the Qur'ān, whether *li'ān* makes separation between the husband and wife necessary. In many *ḥadīth*s this question is so expressly (sometimes polemically) affirmed that there must have been a school which approved the continuity of the marriage after the *li'ān*. The statement that al-Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair is said to have held this view (Muslim; Nasā'ī) is however based only on an inadmissible interpretation of another *ḥadīth*, in which he appears as a contemporary; on the other hand that 'Uthmān al-Battī held it may be considered sufficiently proved (al-Zurkānī on the *Muwatta'*). Among the oldest representatives of the other view which later became predominant, that a continuance of the marriage was impossible after *li'ān*, may be included with some probability 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar and with certainty al-Zuhri in whose time it was already *sunna*, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (*Kitāb al-Āthār*); the tracing of this opinion back to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, which we find in the *ḥadīth*s, must however be regarded as unhistorical.

Next arises the question how this annulment of the marriage as a result of *li'ān* is to be carried through, whether by a triple *ṭalāk*, which the husband has to pronounce against his wife or by the decision of the judge before whom the *li'ān* is taken or by the *li'ān* itself. The first view is undoubtedly based on a large number of traditions, while no trace of its use in law has survived; these traditions are rather interpreted in favour of the second view (cf. the *Haaith* of al-Zuhri in al-Tabari, *Tafsir* and al-Bukhārī, *Ṭalāk*, bāb 30 and *Hudūd*, bāb 43; the tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 330 sq. forms in its abbreviated form only an apparent exception; a polemic against the first view in al-Ṭayālīsī, No. 2667). The second opinion survives in the later legal *ikhtilāf*; apart from the ample testimony to it in *ḥadīth*, its oldest representatives known with probability or certainty are 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, al-Zuhri, in whose time it appears as *sunna*, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (*Kitāb al-Āthār*); its ascription to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās is again not historical. For the third there is no evidence in tradition; it is only found after the rise of the *madhāhib*. We seem therefore to have a tendency to development in a particular direction.

Other prescriptions about *li'ān* in tradition, going beyond what is laid down in the Qur'ān, are of less importance. Thus, when the question is raised at all, it is unanimously laid down that the husband can never marry the wife again at a later date, that a *li'ān* may take place during

pregnancy (legal *ikhtilāf* is later attached to their interpretation of this *ḥadīth*), that the child has only relationship with its mother as regards kinship or inheritance i. e. is considered illegitimate. Other *ḥadīth*s say that the *li'ān* must be taken in a mosque and attribute the formula to be spoken there by the *kādi* to the Prophet. We are also brought into contact with questions of detail, which play a part in the later *ikhtilāf* by a tradition according to which the Prophet did not allow *li'ān* unless the husband and wife were on equal terms as regards Islām and freedom; a series of older authorities who held the contrary view is quoted in the *Mudawwana*.

Details of the further teaching of Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī on *li'ān* are given in the *Kitāb al-Āthār*. Two more general pronouncements in Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī bring us to the period of the rise of the *madhāhib*. Mālik states definitely that it was the *sunna* of al-Madīna, about which there is no doubt and no *ikhtilāf*, that the husband and wife after the *li'ān* has taken place could never marry one another again and al-Shāfi'ī says that with *li'ān* divorce of the pair and denial of the paternity of the child was *sunna* of the Prophet.

3. The teachings of the separate *madhāhib*, develop the views of their earliest representatives, not entirely on the same lines (e. g. from the *Muwatta'*); it is to be assumed with probability that Mālik followed the second view regarding the element in *li'ān* which annulled the marriage [cf. above], while his school later held the third opinion entirely). The most important regulations of the Fiqh regarding *li'ān* that go beyond what has been so far discussed are as follows: if the husband accuses the wife of adultery or denies the paternity of his child without being able to prove it in the legally prescribed fashion and she denies his charge, recourse is had to the process of *li'ān*. If the husband refuses to pronounce the formulae prescribed for him, he is punished with the *ḥadd* for *kadhf*, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, however, imprisoned until he pronounces the formulae, whereby he is set free or is declared to have lied, whereupon he is liable to *ḥadd*. If the wife refuses to pronounce the corresponding formulae, she is punished with the *ḥadd* for adultery, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, however, imprisoned until she pronounces the formulae, whereupon she is set free or confesses her transgression and is then liable to *ḥadd*. On the question whether *li'ān* is possible if one partner is or both are not Muslims or not free or not 'adl, there is wealth of *ikhtilāf*, which cannot be detailed here; the same applies to the possibility of *li'ān* during the pregnancy of the woman, with the object of denying the paternity of the child. On this point the strength of the principle that the marriage decides the descent of the child, is remarkable, as is the distinction between two objects of *li'ān* (accusation of the wife of adultery and denial of paternity) which is only a result of later developments. In the whole of the earlier period these two objects coincide from the juristic point of view. The divorcing element in *li'ān* is, according to the Mālikis (on their presumed divergence from Mālik himself on this question; cf. above) and a tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, the *li'ān* of the wife, according to al-Shāfi'ī that of the husband, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the

better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal however the verdict of the judges pronounced after the *li'ān* of both. Opinions also differ regarding the legal consequences of a later withdrawal of the *li'ān* by the husband; according to Abū Ḥanīfa and one tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, a new marriage of the two people is possible in this case, according to Mālik al-Shāfi'ī and the better tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal it is not; among older authorities only Sa'īd b. Dīubair is in favour of the first view, while 'Umar, 'Alī, 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 'Aṭā' and al-Zuhri are quoted as in favour of the second (not all have historical confirmation) which was also held by al-Awzā'ī and Sufyān al-Thawri. Finally it is a disputed question whether the *li'ān* can only be performed orally or (in the case of a dumb person) by gestures; al-Bukhārī devotes chapter 25 of his *Kitāb al-Ṭalāk* to the discussion of this question and the reasons for his attitude to it.

4. It is easy to understand that resort was only had to the *li'ān* in extreme cases. Thus we find a scholar of Cordova in the fourth century A.H. pronouncing the *li'ān* against his wife simply in order to revive this *sunna* of the Prophet, which had fallen into oblivion (I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 21). But it has not yet fallen completely into disuse, as Muslim law has no other means of disputing the paternity of a child (cf. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 217, note 2; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, p. 222).

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted the *fiqh*-books and works on tradition; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, p. 73 sqq.; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 192; do., *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*, p. 216 sq.; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, p. 219 sqq.; Th. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, s. v. *Li'ān*.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

LIHYĀN, an Arab tribe, a branch of the Hudhail [q. v.]. Genealogy: Lihyān b. Hudhail b. Mudrika b. al-Yās b. Mudar. Settled like the other branches of the Hudhail in the country N. E. of Mecca, the Lihyān do not seem to have had in the period just before and after Islam a history independent of their brethren; it is only rarely that they are mentioned apart from them, e. g. in *Ḥamasā*, p. 34, à propos of their battles with the warrior-poet Ta'abbata Sharran; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 272; iv. 104 (cf. *Ḥamasā* of al-Buḥturī, p. 80—81; Ibn al-Djarrāh, ed. H. H. Bräun, N^o. 86 = *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 203, 4, 1927, p. 31), ii. 614 of a battle with the Khuza'a. The poets of this tribe are as a rule reckoned among those of the b. Hudhail — e. g. Mālik b. Khālid al-Khunā'ī, al-Mutanakkkhil al-Khunā'ī, etc. At the time of the preaching of Islām we find them like the rest of the Hudhail under the political influence of the Kuraish. This explains their hostile attitude to Muḥammad, which resulted in the murder of their chief Sufyān b. Khālid b. Nubaih by 'Abdallāh b. 'Umais at the instigation of Muḥammad. This murder was cruelly avenged by the Lihyān who slew several Muslims in their turn (*yawm al-Raḍī'*, 4 A. H., cf. HUDHAIL). As there is no further mention of hostile relations between the Muslims and the Lihyān, it is probable that the latter were included in the submission which the Hudhail made to Islām.

After the triumph of Muḥammad and in the periods following, there is an almost complete lack of information about the Lihyān and there are very few persons of note belonging to this tribe: the grammarian al-Liḥyānī, whose full name was 'Alī b. Ḥāzīm (Khāzīm) or b. al-Mubārak, d. in 222 or 223 (cf. al-Zubaidī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Nuḥāt*, ed. Krenkow, *R. S. O.*, viii. 145, N^o. 125, with bibliography; Flügel, *Die gramm. Schulen*, p. 51) perhaps belonged to it, but other sources (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, v. 229; *Taḍj al-'Arūs*, x. 324, 19) trace his *nisba* al-Liḥyānī to the unusual length of his beard (*liḥya*).

There was some reason to suspect that the Lihyān at a remoter period of Arab history had played a more important part than that almost unnoticed, which they did later: this seems evident from a passage in Ibn al-Kalbī (*K. al-Aṣnām*, p. 57 = Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 181, 16) who assigns to the Lihyān certain priestly functions (*sadana*) in the cult of the Hudhail idol Šuwac' (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*², p. 18—19); the discovery of several hundreds of inscriptions and graffiti in the north of the Ḥidjāz has not only confirmed this suspicion but revealed the existence of a Lihyānī state several centuries before the coming of Islām. These inscriptions, first known from the imperfect copies of Doughty and Huber, were later collected in large numbers (over 900) by Euting and deciphered by D. H. Müller after preliminary work by J. Halévy. They are now available in still larger numbers and better known as a result of the discoveries and publications of Fathers Jaussen and Savignac. They are almost all in the vicinity of the village of el-Öla (especially in the area full of archaeological remains, called *el-Kheribe* and in the rocky cliffs to the east of this) not far to the south of the great Nabataean centre of al-Ḥidjr [q. v.], Madā'in Šālīh; some have even been found here although in much smaller numbers. Their epigraphy closely resembles that of the Minaean inscriptions (which are also found in very large numbers east of el-Öla) of which the Lihyānī inscriptions represent a dependent or parallel form, but in any case of a decidedly later date (against D. H. Müller who wrongly thought them older). Their language on the other hand is quite like that of the Thamudaean and Šafaitic inscriptions, in Northern Arabic and only differs from classical Arabic by several peculiarities (especially the use of *ha* in place of *al* for the article, and of a participle of the form *nif'al* in contrast to the form *munsaf'il* of the classical Arabic).

From these inscriptions we learn that el-Öla — the old name of which is given in the form *DDN* identical with the Dēdān of the Bible — was the capital of a "kingdom of (or of the) Lihyān", of which some of the kings were Talmā I and II (cf. the name of Talmāi, king of Geshūr, father-in-law of Absalom, II Sam. iii. 3 and xiii. 17), Takhmai, Lawdhān, Hanu'āsh *M-SH-M*, Karib'il. This kingdom seems to have been for a long period of remarkable size and importance; before it was formed or became quite independent el-Öla-Dēdān was a colony of the Minaeans and formed one of the stages on the great trade route which brought the merchandise of the Yemen and India to the ports of the Mediterranean. After the fall of the Minaean kingdom (according to M. Hartmann between 230 and 200 B. C.) the Nabataeans

replaced the Minaeans in the control of trade and settled in al-Hijr; but at the same time the Lihyānis, who had absorbed Minaean civilization formed an independent kingdom and arrested the southward advance of the Nabataeans; the frontier of the two states must have been between al-Hijr and el-'Öla. It is probable that these Lihyānis were simply a section of the Thamūd [q. v.] whom we find mentioned in the annals of Sargon of Assyria, while there is no ancient reference to the Lihyānis until Pliny who mentions them (*Hist. Nat.*, vi. 33, 3) under the name of Lechieni. Their power must have increased after the fall of the kingdom of Petra (106 A. D.) and it seems that from this time onwards, they also held al-Hijr, abandoned by the Nabataeans.

When and how the Lihyān fell in their turn to the position in which we find them in the sixth century forming part of the tribe of Hudhail, and settled in a territory considerably to the south of their original home, we cannot tell, on account of the complete absence of documents. Muslim tradition has lost all memory of them and confounds them apparently under the general designation of Thamūd with the Thamūd proper and the Nabataeans of al-Hijr: a memory but a very vague one of the old kingdom of Lihyān may perhaps have survived in the isolated mention in a tradition that the Lihyān were "remnants of the Djurhum", who later became part of the Hudhail (Tabari, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, i. 749, 11-12; [cf. DJURHUM] following Ibn al-Kalbi; *Taḍī al-'Arūs*, x. 324, 1-2, following al-Hamdānī, probably in *al-Iḥlīl*) and the passage is not found in the text of the *Djazīrat al-'Arab*). The Thamūdaean graffiti (which used to be called proto-Arab) are a development (later or parallel) of the Lihyāni script, the last stage of which is seen in the Šafaitic graffiti; but we are completely ignorant of the historical relations of the peoples who used these similar scripts.

The ruins of Dēdān-el-'Öla, although they have so far only been superficially explored give us some idea of the advanced stage of civilization to which the Lihyānis had attained; besides tombs, some of which are decorated with sculptures in high relief, Fathers Jaussen and Savignac have discovered a sanctuary with a central basin circular in form (for ablutions?) and ornamented with large statues several important fragments of which have been discovered. An inscription in this sanctuary mentions an *afkal* of the god Wadd: this term, which certainly is the name of a sacrificial office is not unknown to Muslim Arab tradition (*Aghāni*, xxxix. 686; Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Iṣṭikāḥ*, p. 197, 7). Among the deities worshipped by the Lihyānis we find alongside of typically Arab ones like Allāh, al-Lāt, Wadd, Yağūth and a god Dhū Ghābat of whom we know nothing definite, gods of Aramaean origin, like Balsamen, the god of the sky and, in a theophoric name, Šalm; in these names as well as in the use of other Aramaic terms (among them *nafsh* in the sense of "tomb") there is apparent the influence of the Nabataeans, who undoubtedly contributed with the Minaeans to form the character of Lihyāni civilization. The presence of Judaean elements, which Müller and Glaser thought they could recognise is on the other hand more than doubtful.

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K. al-Ma'ārif, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 31; Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Iṣṭikāḥ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 109; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Djāharat al-ansāb* (British Museum MS.) f. 38; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 638-642, 981-983; Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, p. 158-160, 224; Tabari, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, i. 1431-1437; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, i. 577-578, 581-582 (4 §§ 3-4, 7); D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien* (*Denkschriften Ak. Wien*, xxxvii. 1889); E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, p. 98-127; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, i., Paris 1909, p. 263-271; ii., Paris 1914, p. viii-xiv. 27-77, 361-534; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semit. Epigraphik*, ii. 23-48, 345-361; iii. 214-217. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

LIMNI, Turkish form of the name of the island of Lemnos in the Aegean Sea between Mount Athos and the mainland of Asia Minor about 50 miles S. E. of the entrance to the Dardanelles. In ancient times a possession of Athens, in the middle ages it belonged to the Byzantine empire; in this period, in 901, the island was sacked by the Muslim inhabitants of Crete. Towards the end of the middle ages Lemnos had passed into the hands of the Italians who called the island Stalimene (formed with the addition of the Greek preposition *stē*; and the article). When the Turks took Constantinople the island belonged to the Genoese lords of Lesbos (Midillū), the Gatelusio. Under Bāyazīd I, who had fortified the Dardanelles, Lemnos passed with the other islands under Turkish rule. But when Constantinople became the Turkish capital it was inevitable that Lemnos, the largest of the three islands commanding the entrance to the Dardanelles (the others are Imbros and Tenedos, or Bozdja Ada) entered the direct domination of the Turks. In 1456 took place Muḥammad II's expedition against Ainos as a result of which the Conqueror became lord of the islands of Thasos, Samothrace and Imbros. Negotiations had been going on between the lord of Lesbos and the Sultān regarding the payment of tribute. But in the course of these negotiations the people of Lemnos, dissatisfied with the rule of Nicolas Gatelusio, brother of the lord of Midillū, voluntarily submitted to the Sultān who appointed Ḥamza Beg governor of the island and entrusted Ismā'il, beg of Gallipoli, with the task of installing him there. Gatelusio succeeded in leaving the island before the arrival of the Turks. The date of these happenings which are recorded only by the Byzantine historians Ducas (xlv. 190) and Chalcondylas (viii. 248) is not certain; but Ducas who was representative of the princes of Lesbos at the Sultān's court, may be considered a reliable authority. In 1457 a Papal fleet drove out the Turks — the Pope had intended to establish an order of Knights on Lemnos — but some time afterwards the same Ismā'il Beg recovered Lemnos with the adjoining islands (Zinkeisen, ii. 235 *sqq.*). In 1462 Muḥammad became master of Lesbos also. In the following year the Turkish possession of Lemnos was disputed by the Venetians whose Admiral Canale in 1467 (A. H. 872 in Neshri and Sa'd al-Dīn, according to von Hammer) took Ainos and the islands in this part of the Aegean Sea (cf. also Münedjdim Bāshī, iii. 384); these conquests resulted in Muḥammad's great expedition against the island of Euboea or Negropont (in Turkish:

Eghribos) in 1468. Soon afterwards the Turks retook Lemnos and by the peace concluded with Venice in 1479 this island remained definitely a possession of the Turks. In this last year the island of Tenedos was fortified by the Sultān so that the system of defences of the Dardanelles was completed.

In July 1656 the Venetians won a victory over the Turkish fleet before the Dardanelles and as an immediate result took Tenedos, Samothrace and Lemnos. These conquests were such a threat to the capital that the grand vizier Muṣṭafā Köprülü took energetic measures and sent an army of 4,500 men under the Kapudan Pasha Topal Muḥammad; the latter besieged the citadel of Castro for 63 days, after which the Italians capitulated on November 15, 1657. Tenedos was regained from the Turks by the same expedition (Na'ima, ii. 578, 585, 633). Finally in 1770 in the Russo-Turkish war Count Orloff laid siege to Castro and after 60 days had obtained its surrender, when the Kapudan Pasha Husan attacked the Russian fleet in the harbour of Mudros (Turkish: Munduros), forced the Russians to withdraw on October 24, 1770 (Waṣif, ii. 118).

Turkey lost Lemnos after the Balkan War. By the peace of Athens (November 14, 1913) it had been stipulated that the Powers should delimit the frontiers, and the Powers in February 1914 allotted all the Aegean islands to Greece except Tenedos, Imbros and Castellorizo. Turkey, reinforced by a strong public opinion, would not accept this decision, but the outbreak of war in 1914 prevented the negotiations being brought to a satisfactory conclusion. In the course of the war the strategic importance of the island for Turkey became manifest; after the failure of the naval attempt to force the Dardanelles, the Entente powers in April 1915 established a naval base in the Gulf of Mudros which lies on the south side of the island to serve as a base of operations for the forces which were to be landed at Gallipoli, to force a road to Constantinople. This is how the British admiral's flag-ship in the Gulf of Mudros came to be the scene of negotiations which preceded the Armistice of Mudros between Turkey and the Entente powers on October 30, 1924.

In the old administrative division of the Turkish empire the island formed part of the sandjak of Gallipoli which was the sandjak of the Kapudan Pasha; after the reforms of the sixteenth century Limni became a sandjak in the Baḥr-i Safid Wilāyet including the *ḡudā's* of Limni, Bozdja Ada (Tenedos) and Imros (Imbros). Castro, a little harbour on the west coast, was always the seat of the governor and had the garrison. Cuinet gives 27,079 as the total of the population which has always been predominantly Greek. Cuinet gives the Muslims as 2,450. One of the specialities for which Lemnos has always been celebrated since ancient times is "terra sigillata" (Turkish *ṡin-i maḡḡūm*), a kind of earth found near the village of Kokkino on the south coast (where it has been sought to locate the site of the ancient Hephaestia) which is credited with medicinal virtues. This bed of clay was unearthed once a year (August 16) to the accompaniment of certain ceremonies at which the Greek priest and the Turkish ḡodja both assisted (Na'ima, ii. 586).

Bibliography: Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, i. 169; ii. 231, 235 *sqq.*, 315; iv. 853 *sqq.*, 943 *sqq.*;

von Hammer, *G.O.R.*², i. 81, 186, 438 *sqq.*, 494, 534; iii. 457, 482; iv. 685; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 475 *sqq.*, 480 *sqq.*

(J. H. KRAMERS)

LINGA, a little seaport on the Persian Gulf which lies between Lāristān [q.v.] and the desert. The old port was at Kung, 8 miles east of Linga; the Portuguese had a factory there where they ruled long after the loss of Hormūz (to 1711). In the reign of the Zand dynasty, 1,000 Djawāsim Arabs (Banī Djāshim, Djawāshim, Kowāsim) with their chief Shaikh Sālīḡ came from Ras al-Khaima (ʿOmān) and took Linga from the *kalāntar* of the district Djahāngiri. In 1887 the Persian government took possession of Linga and deported to Teherān the last hereditary *shaikh* (Ḳaḏīb). The present population is very mixed (Arabs, Persians, Hindus, Africans). On the shore at Linga are wharves for building boats for local traffic and the port is fairly busy, but the mountains which rise from 3,500–4,000 feet behind Linga make communication with the hinterland difficult (Lār is 45 farsakhs from Linga).

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(V. MINORSKY)

LISĀN AL-DĪN. [See IBN AL-KHAṬĪB.]

LISBON, Portuguese Lisboa, a city at the mouth of the Tagus, now the capital of Portugal, with 435,000 inhabitants; tradition ascribes its foundation to Ulysses and it originally bore the Phoenician name of *Oliisippo*. Under the Romans it received the name of *Felicitas Julia* and formed a *municipium*. It was under the rule of the Alans from 407, of the Visigoths from 585 to 715 when it passed into the power of the Muslims.

For the Arabic transcription of the name of Lisbon we find the two forms *Lishbūna* and *Ushbūna* with or without the article (cf. especially, David Lopes, *Os Arabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano*, Lisbon 1911, p. 58–59 and the references there given). The most usual ethnic is al-Ushbūnī. Lisbon was not a large town in the Muslim period but it was nevertheless frequently described by the Arab geographers. Al-Idrīsī speaks of its ramparts and its castle and of the springs of warm water which rose in the centre of the town. It is built, he says, opposite the fort called al-Ma'dan (Almada), so called from the gold dust washed up on the bank by the Tagus. It is also from Lisbon that this geographer followed by several authors makes the legendary expedition of the "Adventurers" set out (no doubt to the Canary Islands; cf. above ii., p. 880, s.v. AL-KHĀLIDĀT).

Lisbon very early (by 711) fell into the hands of the Muslims and under the Omayyad caliphs of Cordova formed a part of the district of Balāṡa, along with Santarem and Cintra. The Arab chroniclers record several risings there which were quickly suppressed. It was however from the Normans (*Maḡjūs*) that Lisbon suffered most in this period. During their first invasion of al-Andalus in 229 (844) it was there that they disembarked for the first time. According to Ibn 'Idārī, their fleet consisted of 54 galleys and 54 vessels of less

importance; the alarm was given to the caliphs of Cordova by the governor of Lisbon, Wabḥ Allāh b. Ḥazm. Again during the invasions of 966—971, in the reign of al-Ḥakam II, the Normans began by ravaging the plains of Lisbon after landing at Alcacer do Sal (*Qaṣr Abi Dānis*). For further details, cf. the article MĀDĪJUS and the literature there quoted.

After the fall of the Omayyad caliphate of Spain, Lisbon formed part of the independent kingdom founded by the Aftasids [q. v.] with Badajoz (Baṭalyaws) as capital. Under the Almoravids, it seems to have been taken for a brief period by the Christians and retaken at the end of 504 (1110) by the Emīr Sir b. Abi Bakr, at the same time as Santarem, Badajoz, Porto and Evora. It was only some 40 years afterwards, in 542 (1147) that it was finally conquered by Alfonso I Henriques of Portugal with the help of a body of Crusaders who were on their way to Palestine under Arnold van Aerschot.

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LITHĀM (A.) (sometimes also pronounced *liṣām*), the mouth-veil, is a piece of material with which the Beduins concealed the lower part of the face, the mouth and sometimes also part of the nose (see the commentary on Ḥariri, ed. de Sacy, Paris 1821, p. 374, 2). It served the practical purpose of protecting the organs of respiration from heat and cold as well as against the penetration of dust (cf. *Dhu 'l-Rumma*, N^o. 5, 43, also N^o. 39, 24, and 73, 16; and the commentaries on Mutanabbī, p. 464, 27 and Ḥariri, p. 374, 2). It also made the face more or less unrecognisable and thus formed a protection against the avenger of blood (Goldziher, *Z. D. M. G.*, xli. 101). The *liṥām* was therefore also sometimes worn as a deliberate disguise by people who did not usually wear it; thus in the *1001 Nights* (ed. Macnaghten, i. 878) it is worn by a princess, who disguises herself as a man, and (*ibid.*, ii. 59) by a woman for similar reasons. A denominative verb has been formed from *liṥām*, the fifth form of which in particular means "to put on the *liṥām*" (e.g. *Aghānī*, viii. 102, 20; xxi. 55, 19; *Aghānī*, ed. Kosegarten, p. 121, 13; Wright, *Opuscula arabica*, p. 111, 2; Ḥariri, *Maḳāmāt*², ii. 433, 2), while the eighth form in the meaning "to put on something as *liṥām*" is generally used only metaphorically (see below). *Talṥhima* usually means a woman's veil (Cherbonneau in *J. A.*, 1849, i. 64), but *talṥhimat al-bayāḍ* is also found as the distinctive dress of a particular office under the Fātimids: their chief qādis wore it along with the *turban* and *tailasān* (de Sacy, *Chrest.*, ii. 92). In general however, the *liṥām* does not seem to have been worn by town-dwellers.

The *liṥām* has no considerable importance for Islām from the purely religious point of view; it is forbidden along with certain other garments for the *muḥrim* (Bukḥārī, i. 390, below).

The custom of wearing a *liṥām* was generally disseminated among the Ṣanhādja tribes [q. v.] in

N. W. Africa, who are therefore described as *liṥām*-wearers, *mulathṥhimūn* or *awlād al-mulathṥhima*; as the Almoravids originated in one of their clans, the Lamṥūna, the *liṥām* thus came to have a certain political significance. The custom of wearing a *liṥām* (below the *niṥāb*, see Bakrī, p. 170) was found in other parts of Africa also, e. g. in Kānem (Maḳrīzī, i. 193, 33 *sq.*) and still prevails among the Tuareg. These Africans retained their veils even on journeys into the eastern lands of Islām, where it was not the fashion, while their women went unveiled. A tradition of late invention explains these remarkable customs by a story that on one occasion during an attack on a village where there were many women but only a few men, the men put on veils and the women took up arms to deceive the enemy as to their real numbers (Goldziher in *Z. D. M. G.*, xli. 101); another story has it that after the fall of the Omayyads, 200 Omayyads escaped to Africa disguised as women and that the wearers of the *liṥām* are descended from them (Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod des Husejn*, p. viii.). According to Bakrī (text, p. 170 = transl., p. 321), they never took off the *liṥām* and if one of them fell in a battle and lost the *liṥām*, not even his friends could recognise him till the *liṥām* was put on him again; they also called other men who did not wear the *liṥām* "fly-mouthed". The Almohads, particularly Ibn Tūmart, opposed the veiling practised by the Almoravids. They continuously insisted that it was forbidden for men to imitate the dress of women, but they did not succeed in abolishing the custom of wearing the *liṥām* (Goldziher in *Z. D. M. G.*, xli. 102). Among further passages, where the term *mulathṥhim* occurs in this sense may be mentioned 'Abdallaṥif, ed. de Sacy, p. 483, note 48 (with other references); Fleischer, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. 243 (discusses several passages); Marquart, *Die Beninsammlung*, Index, s. v. *Liṥāmträger*.

The word *liṥām* and its derivatives was very much used in figurative language, especially by poets. From expressions like "to kiss the lips of the beloved one, which are under their *liṥām*" (Dozy, *Vêtements*, p. 400; cf. *mā taḥta 'l-liṥāmāin* = the face in Mutanabbī, p. 464, 27) develops the meaning of *liṥām* "to kiss" ('Omar b. Abi Rab'ā, ed. Schwarz, p. 6, 207; Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Diwān*, Marseille 1853, p. 125, l. 5 from below) and especially *talathama* = "to kiss one another"; *malṥham*, the place which is kissed (Farazdaḳ in Dozy, *Supplément*). A girl is given a *liṥām* woven out of her own hair (*1001 Nights*, Breslau edition, ii. 52, 2); the camel has a *liṥām* of foam around its mouth (*Dhu 'l-Rumma*, p. 76, 17); the wolf is *aḥammu 'l-liṥām* = black in the region of the muzzle (Ṭirimmāḥ, p. 4, 35; of the wolf, we find it said in *Ḥamāsa*, i. 762, 17: *lam yatalathṥham*); the wine-jar has a *liṥām*, i.e. a piece of cloth over its mouth (*malṥham*; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, N^o. 125, 7; cf. also Akṥṥāl, ed. Ṣalḥānī, p. 85, 2 and 'Alḳama, ed. Socin, ii. 43, on jars); the sun is darkened by clouds of dust and is thus given, as it were, a mouth-veil (*ilathama*, Mutanabbī, p. 601, 15); "as the day (*nahār*) doffed its *liṥām*" [description of dawn in Ibn 'Arabshāḥ, ed. Golius, p. 64, 3 from below; cf. the commentary on Ḥariri, *Maḳāmāt*, p. 240, 10: *kashafa ('l-ṣubḥ) al-liṥāma*; many titles of books also begin with *Kashf al-Liṥām*, cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 659];

the *lithām* is to be taken from the walls of buildings, i. e. they are to be exposed ('Imād al-Dīn, ed. Landberg, p. 65, 12); to doff the *lithām* of one's origin = to confess it freely (Harīrī, *Maḥāmāt* 2, ii. 426, 3); the archangel Isrāfīl has one of his four wings veiled like a vast mouth-veil (*illathama*) from heaven down to the seventh earth (Kazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 56, below); a voice may be hidden, *malṭhūm* (Tarafa, ed. Ahlwardt, No. 5, 26 = Bairūt ed., 1886, p. 10); a further metaphor is found in Ibn al-Fāriḍ in de Sacy, *Chrest.*, iii. 55, verse 25.

Bibliography: I owe most of the individual quotations above to Prof. A. Fischer and F. Krenkow. In general, cf. Dozy, *Vitements*, p. 399 sq. and *Supplément*, ii. 516; on the veils of Muslim women, in general, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Twee populaire dwalingen verbeterd*, *Verspr. Geschr.*, i. 295 sqq.

(W. BJÖRKMAN)

LIWĀ' (A. "flag", from *lawā* to "enrol") means in Turkish official terminology an administrative area, several of which form a *wilāyet* "province" and one is in turn divided into *ḥasā* "districts". It corresponds pretty much to the *département* in France. It is synonymous with *sandjak* (T. "flag") and is used alongside of it. The *liwā'* is governed by a *mutaḡarrif*, whence a third synonym *mutaḡarrif-lik*. The institution of the *liwā'* goes back to the early days of the Ottoman empire but it was under Maḥmūd II in 1834 that the present administrative organisation came into being.

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(CL. HUART)

LIWĀN (A., for *al-iwān*; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 563) in eastern houses is a hall, enclosed by walls on three sides and open through an arch on the fourth; it is raised two or three steps and forms the focus of the house, all the rooms of which open on to this atrium, which is ornamented with plants and trees. This is a type borrowed from the Sāsānian palaces, of which a specimen has survived to the S.E. of Baghdād, in the ruin called *Tāk-i-kisrā*, "vault of Chosroes", or *Iwān-kisrā*, "hall of audience". It corresponds to the *ālār* of the modern Persians. It is open on the north side to get the cool air.

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(CL. HUART)

LODĪ, the name of a clan of the Ghilzai tribe of Afghānistān. A family of this tribe was established in Multān before India was invaded by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, for that district was ruled, in 1005, by Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Dāwūd, grandson of Shaikh Ḥamid Lodī who had established himself there, but the importance of the tribe dates from the reign of Firūz Tughluḡ when some of its members entered India for purposes of trade, but soon occupied themselves with politics. Dawlat Khān Lodī competed with Khidr Khān [q. v.] for the throne on the extinction of the Tughluḡ dynasty. Malik Bahrām Lodī took service under Malik Mardān Dawlat, governor of Multān, and his eldest son, Sulṭān Shāh, served Khidr Khān at Multān. After the battle on Nov. 12, 1405, in which Khidr Khān defeated and slew Mallū (Iḡbāl Khān), Sulṭān

Shāh received the title of Islām Khān and the fief of Sirhind, where he settled with his four brothers and assembled a body of 12,000 horse, mostly of his own tribe. His next brother, Kālā, had a son named Buhlūl (usually called "Bahlol" in India), whom Islām Khān adopted, to the exclusion of his own son, Kuṭb Khān, and married to his daughter. Kuṭb Khān fled to Dihli and entered the service of Muḥammad Shāh the Saiyid, to whom he described his relations as a danger to the state. Muḥammad sent a force against them and they were defeated and fled to the hills, but almost immediately returned, recovered their possessions, and defeated the minister, Ḥisām Khān, near Sādhawra. In 1442 Dihli was threatened by Maḥmūd Khaldji II, of Malwa, and Muḥammad Shāh appealed to Buhlūl, who demanded, as the price of his assistance, the execution of his enemy, Ḥisām Khān and the appointment of Ḥamid Khān as minister. The feeble king complied, and Buhlūl marched to Dihli with his contingent and took command of the army. The battle with the army of Malwa was indecisive, but Maḥmūd was recalled by the news of a riot in his capital and Buhlūl was hailed as the saviour of the kingdom, and received the title of Khān Khānān and the government of the Pandjāb. He shortly afterwards picked a quarrel with Muḥammad and besieged him in Dihli, but retired to Sirhind without capturing the city. In 1443—1444, Muḥammad died, and was succeeded by his son 'Ālam Shāh, a feeble monarch who, after a brief and troubled reign in Dihli, retired to Budāon, which he made his place of residence. Buhlūl then marched to Dihli and 'Ālam Shāh abdicated in his favour. Buhlūl ascended the throne on April 19, 1451, and reigned for thirty-eight years. He was succeeded, on July 17, 1489, by his son Sikandar, who reigned until November 21, 1517, when he died and was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm, who was defeated and slain by Bābur on the field of Pānīpat on April 22, 1526.

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(T. W. HAIG)

LOJA (A., *Lawsha*), a little town in Andalusia, 35 miles S.W. of Granada, on the left bank of the Gemil at the foot of an imposing limestone mountain, Periquetes. It has now rather less than 20,000 inhabitants but seems to have been more important in the Arab period. It was the birthplace of the famous Ibn al-Khāṭīb Lisān al-Dīn [q. v.] who wrote an enthusiastic description of it. One can still see there the ruins of the *ḥiṣn* which commanded the town in the Arab period. It was repopulated in 280 (893) in the reign of the caliph 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad. This "key of Granada" was besieged in 1488 by the Catholic Kings who took it after a month's siege with the help of a body of English archers.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

LOMBOK (usually called by the natives Tanah Sasak), the second in order of the Little Sunda Islands lying east of Java; the Strait of Lombok separates it from Bali, the Strait of Alas

from Sumbawa. A not very broad, rather flat, strip runs from east to west approximately through the centre of the island, which is in part extremely fertile and is shut in by hills on the north and south. In the north is the volcano of Rindjani revered as holy by a large section of the population. The island is one of the richest parts of the Archipelago; the main industries are agriculture and cattle-rearing, the first being on a particularly high level. A quantity of the rice which is in part grown on fields excellently irrigated is exported.

Even if we exclude the foreign traders settled on the coast towns (especially Buginese, Arabs and Chinese) the population is not homogeneous but consists of two groups which are sharply distinguished territorially also; the smaller western part is inhabited by Balinese, the centre and the east by the much more numerous Sasak. The inhabitants of the western part are descendants of the Balinese, who came as conquerors to Lombok in the xviiith and xviiith centuries and gradually extended their power over the whole island; they intermarried very little with the native population, so that they do not differ very much from the people of their original home; their language is Balinese, and they profess the peculiar form of Hinduism and Buddhism which is found in their mother island, with a few exceptions (they have for example adopted a *dewa-slam* into their pantheon and the sacrifices to this Muslim god must not include pork).

The Sasak are the true aborigines of the island; they are quiet and industrious; in their physical features they most closely resemble the Sumbawane and their language (not yet fully studied) shows a similarity in certain points with the Sumbawane. They have all adopted Islām except for the little group of the Bodha, who have remained pagans; they live quite apart from the rest of the island, especially in the northern districts of Tandjung and Bajan and on the south coast and engage in agriculture of a primitive type. They claim to be the descendants of Balinese who immigrated hither in ancient times before the great invasion; there is however no ground for this assertion; physically and linguistically they are in no respect different from the Sasak around them and the name Bodha is also found in other parts of the East Indian Archipelago as an expression used by Muhammadans to indicate groups of people who have remained pagan.

Of the earlier history of the island we only know that in the xvth century, it was a possession of the Javanese empire of Majapahit; we have no really reliable information as to how and when it became converted to Islām. Islām probably came to Lombok from Eastern Java at the time of the decline of the Empire of Majapahit. Evidence of a considerable Javanese influence can still be traced, and according to a chronicle in the Javanese language found in Lombok, it was Pangeran Prapèn, the son of Raden Paku (Sunan Giri) who converted Lombok by force to Islām.

The Sasak are of course no more orthodox Muslims than any other people in the East Indian Archipelago, but Islām has so far influenced them that we may see in it the reason why, in spite of the long Balinese dominion, there has been no assimilation between Balinese and Sasak. They are divided into two groups or sects: Waktu lima and Waktu tiga (tèlu). The former, who

live mainly in the plain of Central Lombok are the Orthodox among the Lombok Muslims; their name shows that (in theory at least) they observe the obligations prescribed by Islām of performing 5 (= lima) *ṣalāt*'s a day. In keeping with this, the name of the Waktu tiga (who live mainly in the mountains) would mean that they are of the opinion that three (*tiga*, *tèlu* = 3) prayers a day are sufficient. This is however an improbable explanation. Many are of the opinion that the name is to be explained by the fact that the Waktu tiga only know of three times of prayer, namely the *ṣalāt* on Friday (or at birth), at death, and at the end of the month of fasting; others say that the full name is *waktu-tèlu-datu*, which is said to be an expression indicating the old paganism (the religion of the time of the three kings, namely the kings of Selaparang, Sakra and Pedjanggi). There is no certainty on the point however. In any case the Waktu tiga are regarded, and not without reason, by their countrymen the Waktu lima as half heathens. There are few mosques in their country; they leave the performances of practically all religious observances to their religious leaders (*kjahi*) and they do not observe the ordinances regarding the eating of pork, fasting or pilgrimage to Mecca. They only observe Muslim principal festivals and their marriage ceremony also shows that they wish to be regarded as Muslims. At the same time pagan sacrifices and pilgrimages (which however can also be found among the Waktu lima) play a prominent part in their life. In their villages, there is always in addition to the Muhammadan *kjahi* a *pëmangku*, i. e. one who acts as an intermediary at the worship of all kinds of spiritual powers from the world of animism. It is particularly among the Waktu tiga that we find the custom that the village headman keeps two coarse pieces of cloth woven out of different coloured threads (the one "male" and the other "female") to which offerings are made in cases of illness etc.; every household makes a copy on the pattern of these pieces of cloth, which are also treated with reverence.

Practically nothing is known of the early period after the conversion of Lombok to Islām; the island was divided into little principalities often at war with one another; the eastern part was under the influence of Macassar and Sumbawa, the western under the influence of Bali. In 1674 the Dutch East India Company concluded its first treaty with the princes of Lombok. Soon afterwards in 1692 took place the first serious Balinese invasion and about 1740 the king of Karangasem succeeded in bringing the whole island under his sway. Four small Balinese kingdoms thus arose on Lombok which were frequently at war with one another until in 1838 the king of Mataram overthrew his opponents and ruled over the whole of Lombok. Down to 1849 he regarded himself as a vassal of the King of Karangasem on Bali; he then placed himself under the suzerainty of the government of the Dutch East Indies. The Sasak repeatedly rebelled against their Balinese rulers until finally in 1894 the Dutch intervened with the result that they conquered Mataram; since 1895 Lombok has been directly under Dutch rule and administered jointly with Bali.

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LORCA (A., *Lūraqa*), a town in Eastern Spain between Granada and Murcia, with 26,700 inhabitants. It is the ancient *Iluro* or *Heliocroca* of the Romans. In the Muslim period it formed part of the *kūra* of Tudmir [q. v.] and was famous for the richness of its soil and subsoil and for its strategic position. Its *hizn* was one of the most substantial in Andalusia. It is 1,200 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of the Sierra del Cano, and dominates the course of the river Guadalesitín. Under Arab rule it usually shared the fortunes of Murcia and became Christian again in 1266.

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LUBNĀN (LEBANON). The Arabs have a somewhat confused, almost mysterious idea of Lebanon. Here they place the sojourn of the *Abdāl* [q. v.]. They do not distinguish it from the Anti-Lebanon for which they have no special name. "Djabal Sanīr" means to the Arabs the section of Anti-Lebanon to the north of the valley of the Baradā [q. v.]. The massif of Hermon has been known since the time of Ḥassān b. Thābit as *Djabal al-Thalāj*; it is the *Djabal al-Shaykh* of modern writers. Nor are the Arab geographers agreed about the northern boundary of Lebanon. Some include al-Lukkām (Amanus) in it. This confusion has been facilitated by the vague popular appellation *Djabal*, which has been applied from the Middle Ages to the present day to the range parallel to the Mediterranean running through Syria from the mouth of the Orontes to Galilee; from this comes the name *Ahl al-Djabal*, *Djabaliyūn*, "mountaineers", applied by the Muslim chroniclers to the Nuṣairis, Mutawālīs, Druses etc. A ḥadīth tells us that stone from Lebanon was used in building the

Ka'ba. This tradition perhaps explains why the Arab geographers see in Lebanon the continuation of the long arête which separates the Hidjāz from Nadjd and Syria and Anatolia to the Black Sea. The southern frontier of Lebanon is usually made to coincide with the lower valley of the Laitānī, the modern Kāsimiyya. Current usage, conforming to local tradition, makes the Lebanon lie between this river and the Nahr al-Kabīr (the ancient Eleutheros) on the north. This is the region which our historical survey will cover. The backward and the scattered population of the Anti-Lebanon has always gravitated in the orbit of the towns of Eastern Syria, while Lebanon with its towns opening to the sea and its flanks watered by the abundant rains yielded by the moisture from the sea, which it gives to the rest of Syria by its rivers, is in economic and political dependence on the centres of the ancient Phoenician country.

Lebanon is rarely mentioned by the pre-Muḥammadan poets; for example by Nābigha Dhubyānī, whose patrons were phylarchs of Ḥassān. The name becomes more familiar to their Muslim successors, e.g. Abū Dahbal al-Djumahī, Nābigha al-Shaibānī and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥassān, from their attendance at the Omayyad court. Its territory, covered with forests, of mediocre fertility, difficult of access, cut up by deep valleys and torrentuous rivers, from the Arab conquest has offered a place of refuge to several small nationalities, increased from time to time by the influx of all the oppressed and persecuted.

The semi-independence which it has never ceased to enjoy has favoured its evolution on individualist lines and the local development of its communities, formed at the expense of orthodox Islām i. e. the Mutawālīs, the Druses and the Nuṣairis [q. v.], not to speak of the Christian sects, Malkites, Jacobites and Maronites; these last are nowhere mentioned by name by the Arab writers, when dealing with Lebanon. The degree of autonomy won by these groups, religious in their origin but finally strictly national, enables us to follow the fluctuations of Arab penetration and Muslim power in Syria.

Each sect, often each district, lived under the rule of petty native dynasties, supposed to be founded by suzerains in Damascus, Baghdad or Cairo. They received grants of investiture and were in return liable to certain obligations and military service, when the actual authority was able to force them to it. With a remarkable agility, the feudal chiefs of the Lebanon practised the art of manoeuvring through all the turmoils that saw successively installed in the east the rule of the caliphates, Saldjūk Sultānate, Aiyūbids, Franks, Mamlūks and Turkish pashas.

Not realising its strategic importance, the Omayyads and 'Abbāsids did not think of occupying Lebanon, still thinly populated except in the districts on the coast; they were less far-seeing than the Crusaders, who built massive fortresses on the frontier of the "Mountain": Ḥusn al-Akrād [q. v.] and Shaḳīf Arnūn. This negligence enabled the Djuṛadjima [q. v.] to enter Lebanon. The establishment of the Maronites in the upper regions of northern Lebanon must have coincided with the coming of these Anatolian invaders and have facilitated the organisation of this Christian group, which was destined to play a preponderating part in the Mountain. At the end of the ninth century,

Arabs of Tanūkh, coming from the region of Aleppo carved out for themselves in southern Lebanon a principality, that of the "emirs of al-Gharb" in the middle of peoples, partly Arabicised and influenced by Shī'a teaching. The development of this emirate was arrested in the eleventh century by the creation of the Frankish dukedoms of Sayāte (Ṣaidā) and Barut (Bairūt). The lordships of Gibelet (Djubil), Batron (Baṭrūn) and the county of Tripoli depended for support on the Christians of northern Lebanon.

After the expulsion of the Franks, the Mamlūks of Egypt entrusted the defence of Bairūt to the Tanūkhids. In the xiiith and xivth centuries, the rising against the Mamlūks followed by the extermination of the Mutawwālī and Druse rebels of Central Lebanon made it easier for the Maronites to occupy the lands south of the Nahr Ibrāhīm (Adonis). In the beginning of the xvth century the Tanūkhids joined the Ottomans who were conquering Syria. Weakened by internal dissensions they had soon to yield place to the Banū Ma'n of whom Fakhr al-Dīn [q.v.] was the most noteworthy representative. In 1696 on the death of the last of the Ma'nids, their political inheritance passed to their relatives, the Banū Shihāb who came originally from the Wādī 'l-Taim, on the western slopes of Hermon.

The fall of Fakhr al-Dīn had opened Lebanon to Turkish intrigues. They were not long in undermining the authority of the Shihābids, constantly struggling with the insubordination and encroachments of the Druse feudal chiefs. In the interests of agriculture the Ma'nids had encouraged the immigration of Christians from the north into southern Lebanon. This policy was intensified by the Shihābids who were on good terms with the Maronites. The most famous of these amirs was Bashīr [q.v.] a Christian by birth (b. 1767). Resuming the scheme of the Ma'nid Fakhr al-Dīn, he worked for half a century in forming a great state of Lebanon. Deposed in 1840 he died in exile. Direct Turkish rule in Lebanon (1840—1860) perpetuated anarchy and insecurity there and fighting between the Maronites and Druses. This ended in the massacre of Christians by the Druses and the landing of French forces to restore order. An international commission was appointed to elaborate a "Règlement Organique", the charter of a new autonomy for Lebanon, under the control of Europe. At the head of it was a Catholic governor-general, appointed for five years with the approval of the Powers in whom was centralised all the executive power. As a counterpoise to this authority, an administrative council was elected in such a way as to secure representation to the various communities. From this "Règlement Organique" arose modern Lebanon which owes to it fifty years of prosperity and peace such as it had never before known.

The Great War upset everything. Turkish forces occupied the Mountain and a Turkish governor was appointed; famine and disease soon decimated the population. On April 25, 1920, the conference at San Remo entrusted to France the mandate for Syria and Lebanon. On Sept. 1 of the same year, at Bairūt, General Gouraud, High Commissioner of the French Republic, solemnly proclaimed the creation of the "État du Grand Liban" with Bairūt as its capital. In addition to the "Autonomous Lebanon" created in 1860, this new state in-

cluded the districts of Tripoli, Ṣaidā and Tyre. It stretches from the Nahr al-Kabīr in the north to the borders of Palestine and is bounded on the east by the chain of the Anti-Lebanon. Grand Liban is governed separately from the "Confédération Syrienne", with which it reserves the right to conclude agreements. It is administered by a French official until a native governor is appointed. A representative council of 30 members elected by vote discuss matters of general interest and the budget.

According to the last census (1921—1922) the population is 629,000. The Christians number 330,000 of different sects of whom 200,000 are Maronites; 275,000 Muslims (125,000 Sunnis, 105,000 Mutawwalis or Shī'is, 43,000 Druses etc.); 3,500 Jews; 20,000 foreigners.

Bibliography: Very detailed in H. Lammens, *La Syrie, précis historique*, Bairūt 1921, vol. 2; Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, *Ta'rikh Bairūt*, ed. L. Cheikhō (fundamental, monograph on the amirs of al-Gharb); Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 371, 516, 675; ii. 110, 154, 276, 473, 540, 588, 829, 885; iii. 170, 353, 399, 637; iv. 31, 261, 347, 364, 540; Hamdānī, *Djāsirat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 126; Tannūs al-Shidyāk, *Kitāb Akhbār al-A'yān fī Djabal Lubnān*; H. Lammens, *Frère Gryphon et le Liban au 15^{ème} siècle, Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1899; do., *Les Noisairis dans le Liban*, *ibid.*, 1902; do., *La description du Liban d'après Idrisi*, *M.F.O.B.*, i. 242—250; do., *Topographie franque du Liban; notes et essais d'identification*, *M.F.O.B.*, i. 250—271; do., *Tasriḥ al-Abṣār fī-mā yahtawī Lubnān min al-Aṭṭār*, vol. 2; Ristelhueber, *Les traditions françaises au Liban*; Muhibbī, *Khuṣṣat al-Aṭṭār fī A'yān al-Karn al-hādī 'ashar*, vol. 4; Amīr Haidar Shihāb, *Ta'rikh*; Wüstenfeld, *Fachreddin der Druzenfürst*; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, vol. 6; Rabbath-Tournebize, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du christianisme en Orient*, vol. 2; von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i. 153 sqq.; Jouplain (pseudonyme of Nudjaim), *La question du Liban*. — For the Bibliography, principally from the xviith century: P. Masson, *Éléments d'une bibliographie française de la Syrie*, in *Congrès français de la Syrie*, 1919; V. Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, full of inaccuracies. (H. LAMMENS)

LUDD, a town in Palestine, S.E. of Yāfā, is mentioned in the Old Testament (only in the later books: Chr. ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37, xi. 35; I Chr. viii. 12) under the name of Lod, in the Greek period as Lydda; the Greek name of Diospolis given in the Roman period did not drive out the old name, the preservation of which was helped by Acts, ix. 32 for example. It was an important place in the early centuries of the Christian era; the capital of a toparchy; it had a rabbinical school and was the see of a bishop at quite an early date. It was particularly famous for the alleged tomb of St. George above which a church was built. It was conquered with several other towns in Palestine by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī and at a later date was the temporary capital of Sulaimān whom his brother, the Caliph Walid (705—715), had appointed governor of Filastīn, until he rebuilt Ramla, after which Lydda began to decline. In the tenth century, Muḥaddasī mentions the splendid church of St. George and the Muslim legend connected with that of the dragon-

slayer, according to which Christ will one day slay Antichrist at the door of this church. After the church had been destroyed by the Faṭimid Caliph Ḥakīm (996–1020) and rebuilt once more, it was destroyed in 1099 by the Muslims on the approach of the Crusaders, so that the victors only found the splendid tomb when they arrived. Under Christian rule Lydda again became the see of a bishop and a new church was built immediately adjoining the ruins of the old one but was destroyed by Saladin. The town never recovered from its complete destruction by the Mongols in 1271. A mosque was erected on the site of the earlier church while the ruins of the church of the Crusaders were handed over to the Greeks who restored them in modern times.

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(F. BUHL)

LÜDHĪĀNA, is the name of a district and town in the Džalandhar Division of the Pandjāb province of British India. The tract is an alluvial plain bounded on the north by the river Sutlej and traversed by the old bed of that stream; the area is 1,455 square miles. There is some irrigation from the Sirhind Canal. The early history is obscure; Sunet is a site where ancient coins are found peculiar to the place. The tract is prominent in the annals of the Sikhs. In the year 1809 Lūdhīāna town became the British frontier cantonment, and the district assumed almost its present limits at the conclusion of the first Sikh War in 1846. The population of the district in 1921 was 567,622, of whom 30 per cent were Djaṭ Sikhs, fine men and excellent farmers. Gudjars, Arains and Muḥammadan Raḍjpūts come next in numbers.

The town of Lūdhīāna stands on the Grand Trunk Road close to the Burhanullah; it is an important junction on the North Western Railway. The founders were Lōdī Paṭhāns from whom it took its name. After the first Afghān War the exiled family of Shāh Shudjā' domiciled here. The population in 1921 was 51,880. Lūdhīāna is a busy market town famous for the manufacture of shawls and turbans, of furniture and woodwork, and for wool and silk dyeing. Military contractors supply uniforms and accessories to the Indian Army. The principal women's hospital of the Province is here, founded by the American Presbyterian Mission, which has its chief station in Lūdhīāna.

Bibliography: *Punjab District Gazette*, Lahore 1907, vol. xv., A.

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

LUḤAIYA, a harbour at the southern end of the Gulf of Džāzān on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea. The little, now unimportant, town lies on what was once an island but has become joined to the mainland in comparatively recent geological times and is separated from it at high tide, while the harbour is dry at low tide. The town in Niebuhr's time had no wall around it, but there were ten or twelve towers

on the land side at intervals of 250 paces with entrances at a height above the ground reached by a ladder. The towers were armed with a few cannons. When Ehrenberg visited Luḥaiya in 1825 the town was enclosed by walls. At the present day there rises behind the town a fort built by the Turks with one or two modern guns. The houses of the town are for the most part wretched little straw huts, such as are usual in Tihāma; only a few are built of stone. The harbour of Luḥaiya is hardly worth the name, as the anchorage is bad and the entrance is made difficult by sunken reefs. Even quite small ships have therefore to anchor far from the town and at low water even small boats cannot reach the shore if loaded. The drinking-water is brackish and dear. The coast around Luḥaiya is dry and sterile. The main industry of the population, who are mainly Arabs, but include a few banians was and still is fishing and trading. Luḥaiya owes its importance mainly to the trade in coffee, which is brought down from the highlands, stored, shelled and sold. Near the town there are also a few coffee plantations, the produce of which is highly esteemed and used to be reserved for the Sulṭān of Turkey. There was and still is a busy trade with Džidda, Ḥodeida and 'Aden, mainly conducted by Arab sailing-ships. The principal article of export is coffee and corn is imported. Luḥaiya is connected with Džidda and Ḥodeida by a caravan road 621 miles long. There is also a telegraph line to Ḥodeida. The Eastern Asia Service of the Lloyd Triestino has a three monthly service to Luḥaiya.

Nothing definite is known about the origin of Luḥaiya. A. Sprenger identified the town with the *Maḥāla kūmā* of Ptolemy but this equation seems at best only possible. The identification of Luḥaiya with the old town of Sambrachate or the harbour of Laupas or *Ναπηγούς κύμη* which E. Glaser supports, is very improbable. Niebuhr supposes that the harbour only arose in modern times when the demands of the export trade in coffee from the interior required it. Here also, as at Mokhā, the hermitage of a Muslim saint is said to have been the nucleus around which the admirers of the 'saint gradually collected and built the town. A chapel was built over his tomb, the vicinity of which was considered auspicious for living and dead. At the beginning of the xvth century the Portuguese who call the town Luya for the first time became acquainted with Luḥaiya. In 1513 Affonso d'Albuquerque entered the harbour on an expedition into the Red Sea. Luḥaiya then formed part of the territory of the Imāms of Ṣan'ā' to whom it paid tribute. In the second half of the xviiith century Luḥaiya suffered from the raids of the Ḥāshid and Bakil tribes, who on one occasion burned it down. In spite of this the trade of the town must even then have been not inconsiderable, for about 1760 in Mawsim (April to July) it paid 3,000 dollars from the harbour revenues to the Imām of Ṣan'ā'. At the beginning of the xixth century the governor of the Imāms of Ṣan'ā' made himself independent in Luḥaiya; but when the Wahhabis invaded the Yemen and defeated the *qāḍi* of Luḥaiya, the latter went over to the victors and took from the Imāms of Ṣan'ā' the whole of Tihāma from Luḥaiya to Bāb al-Mandab along with Bēt al-Faḥīh and a considerable part of the coffee-growing country. Luḥaiya now seemed to

have a brilliant future before it; for it was to be the main harbour of export not only for the whole of this vast area but of the Wahhabi country also and negotiations were opened with the East India Company, who were invited to establish a factory in Luḥaiya. Luḥaiya's prosperity was again interrupted by the invasion of Muḥammad 'Alī who occupied Luḥaiya in 1833. In 1869 we find it in possession of the Turks under whom the port and its hinterland formed a *ḥaḍā* in the *sandjak* of Hodeida. Luḥaiya was also used by them as a base of operations against the never completely pacified highlands of 'Asir, which obtained independence with the collapse of Turkey in the world war. Saiyid 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Iḍrisi, lord of 'Asir who is considerably under Italian influence, has held Luḥaiya and Hodeida since 1918.

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LUḤĀTA (A.), an article found (more precisely: "picked up"). The leading principle in the Muslim law regarding articles lost and found may be said to be the protection of the owner from the finder, sometimes mingled with social considerations. The picking up of articles found is generally permitted, although it is sometimes also said to be more meritorious to leave them. The finder is bound to advertise the article which he has found (or taken) for a whole year unless it is of quite insignificant value or perishable. The particulars of this advertising are minutely regulated by special rules. After the termination of the period, the finder, according to Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī has the right to take possession of the article and do what he pleases with it, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa, only if he is "poor"; but the use of the articles as religious alms (*ṣadaqa*) even before the expiry of a year is permitted in a preferential clause in Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik. If the owner appears before the expiry of the period he receives the object back, as he does after the expiry of the period if it is still with the finder; but if the finder has disposed of it in keeping

with the law, he is liable to the owner for its value; Dāwūd al-Zāhiri alone recognised no further claim by the loser in this case. The establishment of ownership is facilitated, compared with the ordinary process in Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (in al-Bukhārī also; cf. his superscription to *Luḥāta*, bāb 1). As regards the finding of domestic animals in the desert, there are special regulations which are less onerous for the finder in the case of injured animals and more onerous when they are not injured. Al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal have similarly some special regulations for articles found in the *Ḥaram*, the sacred territory in Mecca, which at bottom go back to the old idea of a special right of ownership by Allāh in the *Ḥaram* and articles found in it.

These prescriptions of the *Fikḥ* are based on certain ḥadīths which have been handed down with several variants (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Luḥāta*; Muslim, Constantinople 1329 sqq., v. 133) which need not be quoted in detail here as they agree with the principles in all essentials. But it may be mentioned that in a very old stratum, later worked over, there is mention of a two or three year period. In the conception of the primitive jurists the article found is sometimes described as deposited (*wad'fa*); further, out of special religious scruples, one is careful not to pick up found dates and eat them, as they might belong to the *zakāt*; finally there is a ḥadīth which forbids the Mecca pilgrims (*ḥāḍiri*) to pick up articles found at all. From the superscription by Bukhārī to *Luḥāta*, bāb 11, it is evident that found articles might be handed over or used to be handed over to a government office, their retention in the finder's care is justified by quoting a special tradition.

None of these traditions can be considered historical; at most the prohibition by the Prophet in his address after the occupation of Mecca from keeping articles found in the *Ḥaram* without advertising the index (cf. above) may be genuine on account of its antiquated terminology; *Luḥāta* is not mentioned in the *Qur'ān*.

Bibliography: In addition to the pertinent sections in the *Fikḥ* and *Ḥadīth* collections cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaanse wet*³, p. 386; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, p. 639 sqq.; D. Santilana, *Istituzioni di Diritto Musulmano Malichita*, i., p. 328—329 sq. (J. SCHACHT)

LUḤMĀN, a legendary figure of the period of Arab paganism, who was adopted into the *Qur'ān* and later legend and poetry. The story of Luḥmān shows three main stages of development: I. The pre-*Qur'ānic*: Luḥmān al-Mu'ammār, the long-lived hero of the *Djāhiliya*; II. The *Qur'ānic*: Luḥmān, the wise maker of proverbs; III. The post-*Qur'ānic*: Luḥmān, the writer of fables.

I. Luḥmān in the old Arab tradition.

Even the earlier legends already show Luḥmān in several aspects: 1. as Mu'ammār; 2. as a hero; 3. as a sage. — He is offered a long life. He chooses the duration of the lives of seven vultures; he brings up a vulture; when it dies, he keeps a second one and so on, for six vultures, which he survives, but he dies at the same time as the seventh, Lubad. The vulture was by far the most popular emblem of longevity among the Arabs (Ps. ciii. 4; Goldziher, *Abh. zur arabisch. Phil.*, ii., p. li. sqq.); R. Basset (*Loqmān Berbère*, p.

xxvii.—xxix.) finds a remarkable parallel in the interpretation given by Sidonius Apollinarius, for example, of Romulus's watching for birds: Romulus sees twelve vultures, which means the twelve periods through which Rome will endure. The *Kitāb al-Mu'ammariin* of Abū Hātim al-Sidjīstānī gives Luḥmān second place for longevity: Khidr was the longest lived man, and Luḥmān the second, who lived seven times the length of a vulture's years, i. e. $7 \times 80 = 560$ years; but the figure is increased in different stories to 1,000, 3,000 or even 3,500 years. The last of the vultures reared by Luḥmān was called Lubad = endurance; when Lubad finally lets his wings droop, Luḥmān stirs him up to fly again, but in vain; Lubad dies and with him Luḥmān. Luḥmān, as Damiri noted, was already celebrated by Nābigha. — Various adventures are ascribed to Luḥmān such as the heroes of the *Djāhiliya* always had to go through; he was the first to punish the adulteress by stoning and the thief by cutting off his hand. — Luḥmān belonged to the tribe of 'Ād. Here we have the old Arab saga coalescing with the Qur'ānic legend. 'Ād, sinful like Sodom, is devastated by drought. An embassy is sent to Mecca to pray for rain and Luḥmān goes with it. In the enjoyment of the hospitality given them the 'Ādis forgot the purpose of their journey. Reminded of their duty, one of them obtains by prayer a black cloud. This cloud brings to the tribe of 'Ād the destruction which was to be their punishment for rejecting the Prophet Hūd.

Luḥmān was already known in the pagan period as a sage. His wisdom is celebrated by pre-Muslim poets (Hlorovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 133). It is natural to suggest that the old stories refer to more than one person. Luḥmān's wisdom forms the transition from the *Djāhiliya* to the Qur'ān.

II. Luḥmān, the maker of proverbs.

In Sūra xxxi. of the Qur'ān, Muḥammad introduces Luḥmān as a sage and makes him utter pious admonitions. These latter do not bear the stamp of Luḥmān nor of Muḥammad but belong to the common stock of proverbial sayings. A characteristic example is the following: "If all the trees in the earth were pens, and if God were to swell the sea into seven seas of ink, the words of God would not be exhausted" (Sūra xxxi. 26). This great hyperbole is found in hundreds of variants (S. Reinhold Köhler, *Und wenn der Himmel wär' Papier*, in *Orient und Occident*, ii. 546—559; *Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn*, i. 311—323, 441—453). It is recorded that this saying arose out of a dispute with the *ahbār* of the Jews. The *ahbār* insisted that all knowledge was contained in the law, and the saying is directed against them. Does this really mean that Muḥammad borrowed this hyperbole from the Jews, to whom it really belonged originally? In the admonition of Luḥmān: "Moderate thy pace, lower thy voice, for of all voices, that of the ass is most hateful" (Sūra xxxi. 18) Rendel Harris has found the model in Akhiḳar: "Lower thy head, speak quietly, and look down! For if a house could be built by a loud voice, the ass would build two houses in a day".

Once Muḥammad had consecrated Luḥmān as the wise utterer of proverbs, everything that was thought pious or sensible could be attributed to him. Wahb b. Munabbih is credited with saying

that he had read 10,000 chapters of Luḥmān's wisdom. The Arabic collections of proverbs (notably Maidānī) attribute much to Luḥmān (see R. Basset, *op. cit.*, xlv.—liv.). Tha'labī devotes a chapter of his *Madjālis* to the wisdom of Luḥmān. Many sayings seem to link up with the Sūra of Luḥmān. Sūra xxxi. 14 advises reverence for parents but warns against being led astray by parents to worship false gods. Tha'labī's authority makes Luḥmān say: "Be amenable to your friends but never so far as to act against God's laws". There is much that recalls Akhiḳar: Luḥmān teaches that the rod benefits the child like water the seed. In Akhiḳar we have: "Spare not thy son for strokes of the rod are to a boy like dung to the garden". Luḥmān says: "When thou seest people who remember God, join them; hast thou knowledge it will be useful to you with them and they will increase it; if thou hast none, they will teach thee; when thou seest people who do not remember God, do not join them; for if thou hast knowledge, it will not avail thee, and if thou art ignorant, they will increase thy ignorance". Akhiḳar says: "Join the wise man, then thou wilt become as wise as he, but join not the brawler and babler, lest thou become associated with him". Luḥmān gives excellent advice for one going on a journey and also adds that he should be armed, similarly Akhiḳar. In Maidānī's Arabic proverbs Luḥmān is credited with the following admonition: "My son, consult the physician before thou faltest ill!" This corresponds to the first saying in Ben Sira's alphabet: "Honour the physician before thou requirest him". On the other hand Luḥmān's warning against hypocrisy is found in similar form in the *Disciplina clericalis*.

Muslim legend is fond of making the sages and wise men of the past into prophets. But since Muḥammad quotes Luḥmān as a sage, the story was told that God offered Luḥmān the choice between becoming a prophet or a sage. Luḥmān chose wisdom and became vizier to King David, who called him fortunate: "Hail to thee, thine the wisdom, ours the pain!" Luḥmān lived down to the time of the prophet Yūnus (Jonah). He is also called judge of the Jews. Muslim legend sometimes also, although very rarely, makes Luḥmān a prophet and even gives him the "Madjalla" (*megilla*), the roll of wisdom (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 1208).

III. Luḥmān, the writer of fables.

Luḥmān was honoured by Muḥammad and after him as a maker of proverbs. A few centuries later he became a writer of fables also, perhaps because *amthāl* meant both proverbs and fables. Luḥmān thus became the Aesop of the Arabs. Much was transferred to Luḥmān that was told in Europe of Aesop. The tendencies to this can be traced quite early. While the very earliest legend saw in Luḥmān the hero and Muslim legend makes him a sage, judge, vizier, or even a prophet, the later Oriental legend delights in describing him as a carpenter, a shepherd, a deformed slave, an Egyptian, Nubian or Ethiopian slave, a feature which is obviously modelled on the story of Aesop. Luḥmān's master orders him to set the best before his guests. Luḥmān gives them the tongue and heart of a sheep. On another occasion his master tells him to set his worst before them. Once again Luḥmān sets a heart and tongue before them, for there is nothing better than a good tongue and a good

heart and nothing worse than an evil tongue and an evil heart (in Plutarch and in the *Vita Aesopi* of Maximus Planudes the tongue only is mentioned and not the heart). — Luḳmān's fellow-slaves on one occasion eat their master's figs and accuse Luḳmān. At Luḳmān's suggestion the master makes them all drink warm water. Luḳmān vomits water only, the other slaves figs and water. — Luḳmān's master in his cups had wagered he would drink up the sea. Sobered he asks Luḳmān's advice. The latter demands of those who had taken up the wager that they should first dam back all the rivers flowing into the sea, as his master had promised to drink up the sea only but not its tributaries. The latter is a widely disseminated motive in fairy tales of the type of the Emperor and the Bishop (Walter Anderson, *Kaiser und Abt*, F. F. Communications, No. 42, p. 134—140, especially p. 139 where reference is made to Luḳmān; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, viii. 60—62). These anecdotes are also found in the *Vita Aesopi* of Planudes (xivth century), but they are known as early as Plutarch, *Convivium septem Sapientum*.

The older Arabic literature does not know fables of Luḳmān. They first appear in the late middle ages. The Paris manuscript published by Jos. Derenbourg belongs to the year 1299 and contains 41 fables. These fables have often been published and thoroughly discussed in scholarly fashion especially by Derenbourg, R. Basset and Chauvin. Out of the 41 fables, No. 22 alone has no parallels: the thornbush begs the gardener to tend it so that kings may delight in its flowers and fruits; the gardener waters it twice a day and the thornbush overruns the whole garden. R. Basset recalls the fable of Jotham of the thornbush which destroys everything (*Judges*, ix.). All the others with the exception of the thirteenth (the midge and the bull) are found in the Syriac fables of Sophos (= Aesopus) published by Landsberg. All are found in Aesop except No. 9 (the gazelle in the well), No. 22 (thornbush), No. 24 (wasp and bee), No. 40 (the man and the snakes). It has been further observed that in these fables the very animals indigenous among the Arabs, the ostrich, the hyena, the jackal and the camel play no part. As these fables first appear in the late middle ages there can now be no doubt that we have to deal with a selection of Aesop's fables translated into Arabic.

IV. Related legendary figures.

Luḳmān is a many-sided figure: he is *Mu'ammār*, hero, sage, maker of proverbs, and writer of fables. It is no wonder then that he has often been compared and identified with other legendary heroes, Prometheus, Alkmaion, Lucian and Solomon. Abu 'l-Faradj makes Luḳmān the teacher of Empedocles. Three of these equations deserve closer examination: 1) with Balaam, 2) with Akhiḳar and 3) with Aesop. The identification with Balaam is old. Arabic legend gives the following genealogy: Luḳmān b. Ba'ūr b. Nāḥūr b. Tāriḳh. It is evident that the Qur'ān exegists sought for something corresponding to Luḳmān in the Bible. They found this in Balaam as the vowels *bala'* and *laḳama* both mean the same: "to devour". This then became a Muslim tradition, which entered the Hebrew *Mishle Sindbad* where Luḳmān is one of the seven wise teachers of the king's son (ed. Cassel, p. 220 sq.) and also the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus, where the correct text is "Balaam

qui lingua arabica vocatus Lucaman" (ed. Hilka-Söderhjelm, p. 3). The Qur'ān exegists had no doubt about this identity. The question arises however: did Muḥammad himself see Balaam in Luḳmān? — and next: is Luḳmān really Balaam? Derenbourg, Basset and Eduard Meyer (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 378) answer in the affirmative. But it is quite incredible. The pre-Qur'anic tradition about Luḳmān, the Qur'ān Sūra, which shows deep reverence for Luḳmān, have no single feature of the hated Balaam of the Bible and the Haggada. This identification was only made later by Qur'anic exegists, who wished to connect Luḳmān with the Bible at any cost, and made him the son of Be'or, i.e. Balaam, just as they sometimes made him the nephew or cousin of Job.

Luḳmān's similarity to Akhiḳar was also noticed long ago, but it is only quite recently that the identification has found a vigorous champion in Rendel Harris, who devotes the chap. vii. of his *Story of Aḳiḳar* to it. He bases his identification on the agreement of Sūra xxxi. 18 with Akhiḳar's warning about the voice of the ass, and on Arab hypotheses which compare Luḳmān with other figures in legend and history, notably to the relationship of Luḳmān, Akhiḳar and Aesop. The story of Aesop shows originally a close relationship to that of Akhiḳar. The later legend of Luḳmān has borrowed much of the story of Aesop and thus becomes like the Akhiḳar story but in reality Luḳmān is not directly connected with Akhiḳar but with Aesop.

The development of the Luḳmān legend seems varied but clear. Luḳmān properly belongs to the legends or possibly the history of Arab paganism. For even this period already knows the sage Luḳmān. With Muḥammad he becomes the teacher of pious doctrines. Incited by the Qur'ān the interpreters of the Qur'ān found Luḳmān's sayings in many places and found Luḳmān himself in the Balaam of the Bible. He was credited with fables in addition to the proverbs and was thus made the Aesop of the Arabs.

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LULI, one of the names for gipsies in Persia; parallel forms are: in Persian, *lūri*, *lōri* (*Farhang-i Qāhāngiri*); in Balūči, *lōri* (Denys Bray, *Census of Baluchistan*, 1911, iv. 143, gives the popular etymology from *lōr* = "lot, share").

The name *lūli* is first found in a legend relating to the reign of Bahrām Gūr (420–438 A.D.). At the request of this Sāsānian King, who wished to amuse his subjects, the Indian king *Shangal* (?) sent to Persia 4,000 (12,000) Indian musicians. *Hamza* (350=961), Berlin-Kaviani, p. 38, calls them *al-Zutt* [q. v.], *Firdawsi* (Mohl, vi., p. 76–77), *Lūriyān*; *Tha'ālibi* (c. 429 [1037]), ed. Zotenberg, p. 567, says that from them are descended the black *Lūri* (*al-Lūriyān al-sūdān*), skilful players of the flute: the *Mudjīmīl al-Tawārikh* (c. 520 [1126]), transl. Mohl, *ŷ. A.*, 1841, xii., p. 515, 534, confirms this origin of the *Lūri*. The *Lūli* (plur. *Lūliyān*) are often mentioned by Persian poets. *Minūčihri* (*Dāmghān-Djurdjān-Ghaznī*, vth/xith century), *Djamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāk* (d. in 388 [1192], *Iṣfāhān*), *Kamāl Ismā'īl* (d. in 635 [1237], *Iṣfāhān*), *Hāfiz* (d. in 791 [1389], *Shīrāz*) say that the *lūli*s are "black" (like night), petulant (*shūkh*) and elegant (*shangūl*) that they play the flute, that their way of living (*bunagāh* "baggage") is irregular. The Persian dictionaries explain *lūri/lūli* as "shameless, gay, sweet, musician, woman of light morals", etc.; cf. *Vullers* [the quotation from *Amīr Khusrāw* (d. in 725 [1325] in India), *ibid.*, s. v. *Lur* refers rather to the inhabitants of *Luristān*].

The origin of the name *lūli* has not yet been investigated. The term seems to be applied to the inhabitants of the town of *Sind* which the Arab authors call *Arūr* or *al-Rūr* (cf. *Aras* > *al-Rās*; *Alān* > *al-Lān*). This town had been conquered by *Muhammad b. al-Kāsim* before 95 (714) (*al-Balādhuri*, ed. de Goeje, p. 439, 440, 445). According to *al-Bīrūnī*, ed. Sachau, p. 100, 130, the town of *Arūr* (*Aror*) lay 30 farsakhs S.W. of *Multān* and 20 farsakhs above *al-Mansūra*. In *Elliot, History of India*, London 1867, i. 61, 363, the town is called *Alor*. This town, the old capital of the Hindu *rājās* of *Sind*, is now in ruins (on the *Indus*, in the *tāluka* of *Rohri* in the district of *Sukkur*; cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi. 4 and xxi. 308: *Aror* and *Rohri*). The change of **Arōri/Rūr* into *Lōri/Lūli* is readily explained by the phonetic law of dissimilation of the two *r*'s especially after the change from *Aror* (Indian) to *al-Rūr* (Arabic). The descendants of the Indian musicians of *Bahrām Gūr* (i. e. the gipsies) seem to have been called after the most important town that the Arab invaders had known, and perhaps before them, the *Sāsānians*. This explanation would locate quite precisely the original home of the *lūli/lūri*, without in any way prejudicing the ethnical relationship of this tribe.

The term *lūli-lūri* (unknown in *Khorāsān*, *Ivanow* 1914) is particularly found in the S.E. of Persia, in *Kirmān* and in *Balūčistān*. *Lūli* or *lūli* is also found in *Turkestan*: *Bābur*, ed. *Ilminsky*, p. 358, 457, uses "*Lūli*" in the sense of "player"; *Abu 'l-Ghāzi*, ed. *Desmaisons*, p. 241, 258, 276, 282, mentions in the xvth century a *Shāibānīd* prince of *Marw* and *Ābiward*, son of a *Lūli* woman. *Mayew, Iwēstiya Ross. Geogr. Obšč.*, xii., part iv., p. 349, and *Geogr. Magazine*, 1876, p. 326–330: *Lūli* in Eastern *Bukhārā*; *Grenard* in *Dutreuil*

de Rhins, *Miss. scient. dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1898, ii., p. 308: *Lūli* and *Āghā* in Chinese *Turkestan*; *Valikhānow, Soīneniya, Zapiski Ross. Geogr. Obšč. po etnografii*, St. Petersburg 1904, xxix., p. 43: *Lulu* (sic) and *Multāni* in *Kashghār*. Lastly it has been suggested that the name of the gipsy tribe in Syria, *Nūri*, plur. *Nawara* is derived from *Lūli*.

The *Lōri/Lūli* gipsies (cf. the reference above to their dark skin) must be clearly distinguished from the *Lur* [q. v.] highlanders who live in the southwest of Persia, have a fair skin and speak an *Irānian* dialect with no trace of Indian elements. The situation is however slightly complicated by certain minor points. In the first place the use of the terms *Lūli*, *Lūri*, *Lur*, etc. is not always quite clear. In the confederation of 'Arab tribes of *Fārs* there is a *Lur* clan; *Sykes, Ten thousand Miles*, p. 330; *Rittich, Poyēzaka v Belužistān, Izv. Geogr. Obšč.*, 1902, xxxiii/i., p. 69 speaks of a *Lori* section (Persian pronunciation of *Lūri*?) among the *Lūli* of *Kirmān*. *Edmonds* notes the existence of a *Luri*(?) clan in *Luristān* in the *Dashēnān* division of the *Bairānwād* group. In *Kurdistān* there is a clan *Luri-i Kulāghar* [cf. *SENNA*].

Still more confusing is the fact that some *Lurs* follow the profession of acrobats, bear-leaders, rope-dancers (cf. *Čirikow*, p. 277). As early as the xivth century, *Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umari* mentions the talent of the *Lurs* in these directions and in our own day we find wandering troops of *Lurs* as far north as *Tabriz* where there is a permanent colony of *Karāči* gipsies, professional actors and singers. It is possible that the special qualifications of the *Lur* and gipsy players differ somewhat; the *Sūzmāni* of *Kurdistān* (cf. *SARPUL* and *SENNA*) who excel in singing and dancing are not acrobats. But we must first of all wait till a special investigation settles to what precise section the wandering *Lur* artistes belong.

There is nothing impossible in a gipsy infiltration into *Luristān*. Whatever was the ethnical entity covered by the name *Zutt* (on the confusion of the *Zutt* with the *Lūri* see above: *Hamza, Tha'ālibi*) the existence of *Zutt* colonies in *Khūzistān* is known as early as the time of *al-Ḥadīdādī* [q. v.] (cf. *Hawmat al-Zutt* between *Arrādjān* and *Rām-Hormūz*; the modern town of *Hindiyān* ["the Indians'"] may have a similar origin). According to *Balādhuri*, p. 382, when in the second quarter of the first century A.H. the *Zutt* had apostacised from *Islām*, they were joined by the local *Kurds*, which provoked the punitive expedition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir to *Iḏhādī* (= *Mālamir*, the future capital of *Lūr*=*Buzurg*). The alliance of the *Zutt* and *Kurds* (= *Lurs*; q. v.) at so early a date is curious. Under *al-Rūr*, *Yāqūt*, ii. 833 mentions two places in *Sind* and a small district (*nāhiya*) under *Ahwāz* in *Khūzistān*. *Schwarz, Persien im Mittelalter*, v. 665, identifies this *Rūr* with the district of *al-Lūr* (cf. *LURISTĀN*). In the light of what has been said above one might suppose the existence in *al-Lūr* of a very ancient Indian colony. But as our sources contain no positive confirmation of this hypothesis [according to *Ibn Hawkal*, p. 176, the "Kurds" were predominant in *al-Lūr*] the questions of the origin of the name *al-Rūr* in *Khūzistān*, of the identity of this *al-Rūr* with *al-Lūr* and of the remoter origin of the name *Lur* must for the present be left open. In any case even if the name *Lur* came from the town of

al-Lūr, the origin of the name would not necessarily settle the question of the ethnical origin of this people.

As to the general question of the gipsies in Persia, their names in the provinces other than Kirmān and Balūčistān are as follows:

in Khorāsān: Kīrsh māl (in which a fantastic popular etymology sees *ghair-i shumār*, interpreted as "innumerable"; in Transcaucasian Turkish dialects *kīrshmal* means "vaurien"; cf. the comedies of Fath 'Alī Akhundow, q.v.);

in Astarābād and Māzandarān: Djūgi and Gāodāri;

in Ādharbāidjān: Karači (and ċaghatai Turk means "faithful servant, person near the *khan*"), Abu 'l-Ghāzi, p. 145 and Bugadow, ii. 45);

in Fārs (and elsewhere): Kāoli (= Kābuli).

The names mentioned may correspond to slight local distinctions not yet fully known. Gobineau collected the following names of particular tribes leading a nomadic life in the north of Persia: Sanādi (?), Kāsa-tarāsh, "cup-makers", Budāghī, Adeneslri [Adhar-narsē ?], Zargar-i Kirmānī, "goldsmiths of Kirmān", Shahriyāri (winter at Hamadān, summer near Damāwand), Karzi, Toār-ṭabīb (*dawar* + *ṭabīb* "sheep-doctor" ?), Gāobāz, Bash-kāpān (in Turkish *bash* "head" + *kāpān* "he who seizes" ?), Gāodāri (bold hunters in Māzandarān; cf. de Morgan), Kāshi, Badjumbūn. According to Newbold the Persian gipsies fall into two classes: Kāoli (or Ghurbati) and Gāobāz.

As names applied to Persian gipsies in general Gobineau gives Beshāwān/Peshāwān (cf. the name of the Armenian and Transcaucasian gipsies, the Boshō) and Odjūli (?). The following names have a general and neutral character: Ghurbati, "living in a foreign land"; according to Ivanow, the Persians who confuse *gh* and *k*, see in *ghurbati* an offensive allusion to the promiscuity (*ghurbat*, "relationship, consanguinity") of which isolated communities in all ages have been accused; the name is sometimes transcribed *kurbati* and *kurbāti*, Fiyūdj (from the Arabic, *fuyūdj*, "couriers"), Ustākār, Aghā, Gharbāl-band ("sieve-makers").

The number of gipsies in Persia may be estimated at 20,000 families, or 100,000 souls, of whom 5,000 families are in Ādharbāidjān and 300—500 families in Kirmān (Sykes). The gipsies have an organisation of their own at the head of which is the chief of the Shāh's runners (*shāhīr-bāshī*) under whom are the provincial deputies (*kalāntar*). In western Persia the gipsies are very little different from the Persian peasantry (Sykes, Ivanow). In Khorāsān they play a considerable part in the life of the rural community as artisans, making and repairing sieves, chains, combs etc. In Astarābād the Gāodāri are coppersmiths, carders of wool and cotton (de Morgan). Throughout Persia one sees the black tents of the nameless *ilāt* who must be gipsies. It remains to be seen also if the Kurd tribes bearing names like Kharrāt ("turners"), Lurr-i Kulāghar ("hatters") are not of gipsy origin (cf. the article SENNA). In the towns, such as Sabzawār, Nishāpūr and Tabriz, the gipsies have quarters of their own. There are troops of gipsy dancers and musicians in Persia but they do not seem to be very popular. Ouseley gives a description of the dances and of the marionette theatres of the Karači (Tabriz). The dancers and singers of the Sūzmānī tribe in Kurdistan have

often been described by travellers; cf. notably: Lycklama and Nijeholt, *Voyage*, iv., p. 30—70; Ćirikow, *Putewoi Journal*, p. 282, 299, 330; Khurshid-Efendi, *Siyāhet-nāme-i Hudūd*, Russian transl., p. 119; cf. T. Thomson, *The Soomancee: are they Gypsies*, *Journ. Gipsy Lore Soc.*, ii., 1909, p. 275—276.

The language of the gipsies of Persia (Sykes, de Morgan, Ivanow) has taken its morphology from modern Persian; its vocabulary also is full of Persian words (cf. the lists in de Morgan); Indian elements seem to be rarer than in the Romanī of Europe; the language of Kirmān and Khorāsān (Sykes, Ivanow) contains a large number of unrecognisable elements. Longworth Dames out of 96 words in Sykes's vocabulary found 12 Indian, 4 Arabic, 28 Persian and 52 of unknown origin. He would regard this dialect rather as an artificial secret jargon. Denys Bray (quoted by Ivanow) in any case confirms the fact that the Lōrī of Balūčistān is learned by the children as a separate language ("is at any rate acquired naturally by Lōrī children, as a language for the 'home circle'").

The Sūzmānī use Kurdish mainly. According to Ćirikow they are called Dummi, which must correspond to Dūmān (= Dōm, the name of a low caste in India from which comes the well-known name for gipsies: *Rom*). The vocabulary of the Dūmān (Baghdād, Aleppo?) as collected by Newbold, *J. R. A. S.*, 1856, p. 303 from an informant from Altun-köprü, is full of Kurdish words: *kāwar*, "stone", *khoi*, "salt", *lāwak*, "boy". A Kurd tribe in the east of Bohtān bears the suggestive name of Sindi/Sindiyan (the "Sindians"). According to the *Sharaf-nāma* the chief of the Kurdikān clan (of the Zrakī) had married a gipsy woman. In discussing the relationships of gipsies and Kurds, it should be remembered that in 220 (835) a section of the Zuṭt settled in Khāniḳin, i.e. at the gate of Kurdish territory; cf. de Goeje, *Mémoire*, p. 30; Tabari, iii. 1168.

According to Sampson, two categories of gipsy speech may be distinguished according to the fate of the primitive Indian aspirated *mediae*: the one changes them into aspirated *tenues*, i.e. Prākṛit, *bhāini* > *pher* (Armenia, Europe), the other deprives them of aspiration, *bhāini* > *ben* (Persia, Syria, Egypt). The interest of the Persian dialects lies in the fact that Persia was the first country in which the gipsies sojourned after leaving India (probably in the Sāsānian period). In the gipsy dialects of Persia, as yet very insufficiently studied, we may expect to find traces of a rather archaic phonetic system. Ouseley for example found among the Karači of Tabriz the word *behn* "sister" which must be older than *phen* or *ben* (cf. also *ghorā* in Gobineau).

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(V. MINORSKY)

LU'LU', BADR AL-DIN ABU 'L-FADĀ'IL AL-MALIK AL-RAHĪM, Atābeg of al-Mawṣil. Lu'lu', who had once been his slave, had great influence with the Zangid Nūr al-Din Arslān Shāh I and when Nūr al-Din on his deathbed (607 = 1210—1211) confirmed the nomination of his son al-Malik al-Kāhir 'Izz al-Din Mas'ud as his successor, he appointed Lu'lu' as regent of the kingdom, while the younger son Imād al-Din Zangī was given the two fortresses of al-'Akr and Shūsh near al-Mawṣil. At the end of Rabi' I, 615 (end of June 1218) al-Malik al-Kāhir died after appointing his minor son Nur

al-Dīn Arslān Shāh his successor and Lu'lu' his regent. When Imād al-Din seized the fortress of al-Imādiya in Ramaḍān of the same year (Dec. 1218), Lu'lu' sent an army against him. Lu'lu's troops besieged al-Imādiya but had to return with nothing effected, whereupon the other fortresses in al-Hakkāriya and al-Zawazān surrendered to Imād al-Din when the latter made an alliance with the lord of Irbil, Muẓaffar al-Din Kökbūri. Lu'lu' sought the assistance of the Aiyūbid al-Malik al-Ashraf, who ruled the greater part of Mesopotamia, and recognised his suzerainty, whereupon al-Ashraf sent an army to Naṣībīn to help Lu'lu' if necessary. In Muḥarram 616 (April 1219) Imād al-Din was defeated by Lu'lu's forces near al-'Akr and had to flee to Irbil. Peace was however soon afterwards concluded through the intervention of al-Ashraf and the Caliph al-Nāṣir, but when the sickly Nūr al-Din died in the same or the following year and his brother Nāṣir al-Din Mahmūd, who was some three years old, succeeded him, Imād al-Din and Muẓaffar al-Din began to raid and plunder the district of al-Mawṣil whereupon Lu'lu', who had first sent his eldest son with an army to al-Ashraf to help him against the Franks, appealed for help to Aibeg, al-Ashraf's general in Naṣībīn. Aibeg set out at once and joined Lu'lu'. On Raddjab 20, 616 (Oct. 1, 1219) Lu'lu' was defeated near al-Mawṣil; but while he was again collecting his followers around him Muẓaffar al-Din retired. After the conclusion of peace, Imād al-Din occupied the fortress of Kawāshā, and Lu'lu' had again to appeal to Ashraf. Muẓaffar al-Din however induced a number of emirs, among them Ibn al-Mashṭūb to secede from al-Ashraf and take up a position at Dunaisir to prevent the latter's passing. The emirs however soon changed their views with the sole exception of Ibn al-Mashṭūb who went to Irbil. He was twice defeated, first by the garrison of Naṣībīn and then by the troops of Farrūkh Shāh, lord of Sindjār, who took him prisoner. When he had been released, he collected a plundering horde around him and ravaged the country far and wide. He was defeated by an army of Lu'lu's and took refuge in the fortress of Tell A'far. The latter was besieged and Lu'lu' himself came up from al-Mawṣil. On Rabi' 17, 617 (June 21, 1220) he had to capitulate and Ibn al-Mashṭūb was taken prisoner and brought to al-Mawṣil. After al-Ashraf had made peace with Muẓaffar al-Din he handed over to Lu'lu' the fortresses of Djudaida, Naṣībīn and the governorship of Mesopotamia, to which other fortresses were later added. After the death of Nāṣir al-Din (619 = 1222—1223 or according to others not till 631 = 1233—1234) Lu'lu' was recognised as Atābeg of al-Mawṣil and assumed the name of al-Malik al-Rahīm. In 635 (1237—1238) he became involved in war with the Aiyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ Naḍīm al-Din. The latter took the Khwārizmians into his service and granted them Ḥarrān and Edessa whereupon they seized also the town of Naṣībīn. About three years later they were defeated by the ruler of Ḥalab and Ḥimṣ and Lu'lu' regained Naṣībīn with Dārā. Lu'lu' had also to fight the lord of Ḥalab, the Aiyūbid al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. In 648 (1250—1251) he was defeated and Naṣībīn, Dārā and Karkisiyā fell into the hands of the Aleppo forces. Lu'lu' died in 657 (1259) aged over 80, after recognising the suzerainty of Hūlāgu [q. v.].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg,

xii. 193 sq., 218—227, 247, 268, 275, 289—291; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, v. 268—276; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 443, 449, 469, 480; *Recueil des histor. des croisades*, *Histor. orient.* i. 86, 90—93, 98, 115, 120, 128, 138; ii. 362, 373 sq.; van Berchem, in *Orient. Studien*, Th. Nöldeke gewidmet, p. 197 sqq.; *Brit. Mus. Cat., Or. Coins*, vol. iii., p. 200—238.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

LU'LU', 1. A Mamlūk of Saif al-Dawla the ruler of Aleppo, vizier of his son Sa'īd al-Dawla and his grandson Sa'īd al-Dawla. On the latter's assassination, he became guardian of his sons and from 394—400 (1003—1009) independent governor of Aleppo under Fātimid suzerainty; cf. the article HAMDANIDS where the bibliography also is given.

2. A eunuch and the trusted adviser of the Saldjūk Sultān Riḍwān of Aleppo; on the latter's death in 507 (1113) he became Atābeg of his son Alp Arslān al-Akhras (lit. "the dumb"), so called on account of an impediment in his speech). Alp Arslān who left the government in the hands of Lu'lu' rendered himself hated by his court on account of his crimes and tyrannical conduct and fell a victim to a conspiracy in which Lu'lu' seems to have had a share. To retain a firm hold on the reins of government, he appointed Alp Arslān's six year old brother Sultān Shāh his successor who reigned in name till 517 (1123). Anarchical conditions prevailed in Syria throughout the whole period (cf. the art. ḤALAB). To retain his power Lu'lu' had to steer a course between the Crusaders, Syrian Atābegs and the Great Saldjūk Sultān Muḥammad. He promised to hand over Aleppo to the latter but at the same time secretly sought the help of the Atābeg Toghtikin [q. v.] of Damascus against him and of Ilghāzī of Māridin and on the other hand to prevent them becoming too strong betrayed their movements to the Crusaders who were able to inflict damage on them. He succeeded in retaining Aleppo with the help of Toghtikin's cavalry. To raise the necessary funds to pay these and his own troops he extorted the last farthing out of his viziers and the wealthier inhabitants of Aleppo. He himself never left the citadel for fear of conspiracies. When he was at last forced in 510 (1117) to make a journey, either to take his treasures to a friend's care or to get money stored with him, his Turkish bodyguard fell upon and killed him. The latter seized his treasure and tried to take Aleppo by surprise but were defeated by the garrison and had to give up the booty. Lu'lu' is a typical example of the anarchy in Syria, at the beginning of the Crusades which was only put an end to by the energy and ability of Nūr al-Dīn.

Bibliography; cf. the art. ḤALAB; Kamāl al-Dīn's *Geschichte von Aleppo*, transl. by Silv. de Sacy, in *Röhrich's Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, i., Berlin 1874, p. 243, 245—251.

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

LU'LU'A (A., "pearl"), a fortress near Ṭarsūs in Cilicia, which was besieged by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn in 217 (832). It was the strongest of the Greek citadels and the one that wrought most havoc among the Muslims; it had a large garrison and was well supplied with arms. The caliph, not having succeeded in taking it, blockaded it for a hundred days with two forts, the troops of which routed the Emperor Theo-

philus; as a result of this defeat, the people of Lu'lu'a appealed to 'Udjaif b. 'Anbasa who was their prisoner to negotiate for them and capitulated on obtaining safeguards (*amān*) granted by al-Ma'mūn.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*, 3rd part, in *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1871, p. 375; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vi. 297; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 371; Sāmī Bey, *Kāmus al-A'lām*, vi. 4022.

(CL. HUART)

LUR (in Persian *Lor* with *o* short), an Irānian people living in the mountains in S. W. Persia. As in the case of the Kurds, the principal link among the four branches of the Lurs (Mamāsani, Kūhgilū'i, Bakhtiyāri and Lurs proper) is that of language. The special character of the Lur dialects suggests that the country was iranised from Persia and not from Media. On the ancient peoples, who have disappeared, become iranised or absorbed in different parts of Luristān, cf. the latter article.

The name. Local tradition (*Ta'riḫ-i Guzida*) connects the name of the Lurs with the place Lur in the defile of Mān-rūd. This tradition is perhaps based on a memory of the town al-Lūr mentioned by the early Arab geographers (Iṣṭakhri, p. 195 etc.), the name of which survives in Šahrā-yi Lur (to the north of Dizfūl). There are several other place-names resembling Lur, namely Lir, a district of Djundai-Sābūr (Schwarz, *Persien*, p. 666; cf. the Kūhgilū'i tribe: Lirāwi), which may be to Lūr what *pil* in Luri is to *pūl* "money" in Persian; Lurdjān (Yāqūt: Lurdadjan, now Lurdagān) according to Iṣṭakhri, capital of the canton of Sardan (between Kūh-Gilū and the Bakhtiyāris) and lastly there is a place called Lurt (Lort) near Šaimara.

Mas'ūdi alone, in his list of "Kurd" tribes, speaks of the Lurriya tribe (which may mean the Lurs connected with the district of al-Lur). In the xiiith century Yāqūt uses the names Lūr, Lurr to mean the "Kurd tribe living in the mountains between Khūzistān and Isfahān"; he calls the country inhabited by it *bilād al-Lur*, or Luristān.

These facts show the stages of evolution of the geographical term (perhaps pre-Irānian) into an ethnical name. If however we seek an Irānian etymology for the name Lūr, its connection with the first element in Luhr-asp (already proposed by von Bode) at once suggests itself. According to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Luhr is explained by *rudhira "red". The place-name Rūr in Yāqūt may supply an intermediary form. The *Ta'riḫ-i Guzida* gives a popular etymology *Lur* < *lir* "wooded hill" in Luri.

Ethnology. If the linguistic data connect the Lurs with Fārs, local tradition only regards as true Lurs the tribes who came from the defile of Mān-rūd. According to the *Ta'riḫ-i Guzida*, p. 539, 547, there is in the *wilāyet* of Mān-rūd a village called Kurd near which there is a defile. The place called Lur is situated in this *kūl* (the word means in Luri a "little ravine", cf. O. Mann). The name Mān-rūd much resembles that of Mādiyān-rūd (the word *mādiyān* is found as mān/mūn in Luri; Żukowski, iii. 158) but certain historical considerations make us look for it near Māngarra-Mūngarra (cf. *Ta'riḫ-i Guzida*, p. 548 on the place lying between Mān-rūd, Samhā and Māngarra). The clans (*gurūh*) of the natives of Kūl-i Mān-rūd

were later called after the places where they had settled, like the Djangrū'i (Čangrū'i, Djangardi) and the Ūtari (Aztari). The governing family of the Atābegs of Little Lur belonged to the Djangrawi (the name of their clan, the Salbūri, Salghūri should be corrected from Salwizi, *Ālam-ārā*, p. 369; Saliwarzi, 'Alī Hazin, *Tadhkira*, p. 135 and Salawarzi in Houtum-Schindler). The *Tā'rikh-i Gusiḍa* concludes by enumerating the 8 clans (*shu'ab*) of the two principal *gurūh* and the 18 other tribes (*akwām*) of the Lurs.

A few names (Māngarra, Anāraki, Djūdaki) correspond to modern names. Finally 4 clans are mentioned: Sāhi (Sāmi), Arsān (Asbān, Asān), Arki and Bihi, who, although speaking Luri, are not Lurs; the people of the other villages of Mān-rūd were peasants (*rūstā'i*).

About 500 (1106), a hundred (or 400) Faḍlawi Kurd families arrived from Syria. They came by the north (Shuturān-Kuh) and settled at first on the lands of the Khūrshidi wazīrs (cf. the article LUR-I KŪČIK; cf. *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 70 under the word *girdākh*). At the beginning of the viith (xiii)th century new tribes flocked to the standards of Hazarasp of the Great Lur. Among them were two Arab tribes: 'Ukaili ('Akili; cf. the place of this name below Shūsh-tar), and Hāshimi and 28 different tribes (*mutaffarika*) among whom we find the Bakhtiyāri (Mukhtāri), the Djawāniki (Marāsili), the Gōtwand (cf. the village near Shūsh-tar), the Djāki, the Lirāwi, the Mamāsati (Mamāsani?) etc. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 26) all these tribes also came from Syria. These waves of immigration must have had a considerable effect on the ethnical composition of the Great Lur. It is probable that the immigrants were Kurds and that traces of them still survived among the Kurds whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 21—30) found at the beginning of the xvth century near Bahbahān and Rām Hormūz when on his way to the capital of the Grand Lur. There has long been a village of Kurdistān on the Djarrāhi and it had even given its name to this river. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ūmari (*N. E.*, xiii., p. 330—332) mentions the existence of Lurs in Syria and Egypt and tells how Saladin (563—589), alarmed by their dangerous ability to climb the steepest ramparts, had them massacred en masse. This anecdote throws a light on the causes which produced the arrival in (? return to) Luristān about 600 A.H. of numerous Irānian tribes.

The southern part of Little Lur was exposed to infiltration by Kurds, especially through the valley of Karkha (cf. LAK; just to the north of Susa is a tree *dār-i Bābū*, bearing the name of a clan of the Kurd tribe of Djuzkān, celebrated in the history of the Hasanwaihids; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 146, 219) and exposed to Turkish and Mongol invasions (cf. the desperate fighting of the Atābegs of the Lur-i Kūčik against the Bayāt and Aiwa [= Bahārlu?] Turks).

In the Šafawid period, Turkish tribes were introduced into Luristān from the direction of the Kūh-Gilū (where traces of them still exist) and Georgian and Armenian colonies to the north of the Bakhtiyāri country. On the movements of the population under Nādir, the Zands and Qājars see below. The ethnical situation gradually stabilised at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The names of the Lur tribes and groups are now quite well known and as we have lists going from 1836 to 1922 a comparison enables us to

note the changes that have taken place meanwhile. Regroupings seem to be taking place more rapidly among the Lurs than among the Kurds but the general framework of the tribal grouping remains essentially the same.

In 1881 (Curzon, ii. 274) there were 421,000 Lurs of whom 170,000 were Bakhtiyāri, 41,000 Kūh-Gilū, and 210,000 Feili. According to Rabino this last section numbered in 1904: 31,650 tents (or 130,000 individuals) in Pišh-Kuh, and 10,000 tents (or 50,000 individuals) in Pušt-i Kuh (this last figure seems too low).

The Mamāsani (Mamassani) group includes 4 main tribes: the Bakash, Djāwidi (Djāwi), Dushmanziyāri and Rustami (cf. the article SHUL). The Kūh-Gilū group (Kūh-Galū) includes 3 large tribes (Akādjāri, Bawī and Djāki). The first of these tribes (cf. the name of the old Turkish tribe of Aghadjāri) is of a composite character, for of its 9 clans four (Afšar, Begdālī, Čaghatai and Kara-Baghli) are Turkish (evidently the remains of the Shāh-Sewan to whom the government of Kūh-Gilū had been given under the Šafawis) and a fifth clan (Tilakūhi) bears the name of a district in Kurdistān of Senna [q. v.]. On the second tribe, Bawī, O. Mann notes that it bears the name of an Arab tribe of the neighbourhood of Ahwāz; but there is also a mountain called Bawī to the south of Khurramābād. The third tribe, Djāki, is purely Lur and is composed of two main sections: Čarbunīča and Lirāwi with very many subdivisions. This threefold composition of the Kūh-Gilū group is typical of many of the Lur tribes.

As to the Bakhtiyāri, Sawyer as long ago as 1894 said that their territory was "thoroughly surveyed on a scale of 8 miles to the inch, nearly every tribe visited in their own encampment, everything appertaining to the Bakhtiaris may now be said to be known". But Curzon's tables (1890) are still the last word available to the student. Of the two Bakhtiyāri groups: Čahār-lang and Haft-lang, the latter is the more important at the present day. The Čahār-lang, who used to be in the south are now mainly on the outskirts in the district north of the northern barrier (between Burūdjird and Gulpāyagān).

The main groups of Lur are: Tarhān, Dīlfān, Silsila (cf. LAK) and Bālā-giriwa. The tribes of the last group are the Lurs par excellence and have important subdivisions: Dirigwand, Sagwand etc. It is possible that the Dirigwand are the real nucleus of the Lur race. Their chiefs are called *mir*.

In contrast to what we find among the Kurds, where the individual members of the tribe are usually much attached to their hereditary chiefs, the Lurs proper (Bālā-giriwa) are distinguished by a more democratic feeling. The power of the hereditary families of khāns is based on their 'guard' (*kaitul*) but this power is considerably reduced by the authority of the chiefs of the clans (*tushmāl*). The khāns are forced to court the favours of these wild, petty chiefs (Edmonds: "uncouth headmen"); the latter are amenable to the solicitations of their neighbours and in this way the tribes are broken up and new groupings take place.

Little is known of the ethnology of the Lurs. The notes of Duhoussert (who commanded a Lur regiment in 1859), *Études sur la popul. de la Perse*, p. 23, of Khanikoff, *Mém. sur l'ethnogra-*

phie de la Perse, Paris 1866, p. 15, 110 and 138, and of Danilow only touch the surface of the subject. Duhousset particularly notes the peculiar (compressed) form of the skull of the Lurs. Edmonds emphasises the difference between the Lurs and the Laks; the latter are taller, have purer features and aquiline noses. Their women are more beautiful than those of the Lurs. The hair of the Lurs is often chestnut-coloured; very heavily bearded men are found among the Lurs. (The Persians call Luristān: *ma'dan-i rīsh*, "mine of beards"). The women do not seem to have such liberty among the Lurs as among the Kurds. According to Edmonds there are no cases among the Kurds of women acting as chiefs of tribes. But v. Hammer (ii. 239) mentions under the year 1725 the warlike exploits of the two daughters of the Wālī 'Alī Mardān Khān.

The domestic life and manners of the Bakhtiyāris have found enthusiastic panegyrists in Layard, Mrs. Bishop and Cooper, *Grass*, New York 1925. On the other hand the Lurs have been very severely judged by most travellers, cf. Edmonds, *Geogr. Journ.*, 1922 (*ibid.* the speech of General Douglas who was wounded by the Lurs in 1904).

Bibliography: for the Mamāsānī (cf. the article *SHUL*) and the Kūh-Gilī, cf. especially Hasan Fasā'i, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāqiri* on which are based Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, *R. M. M.*, 1913, xxii. and B. Miller, *Koēwlye plemena Farsa*, *Wost. sbornik*, St. Petersburg 1916, ii., p. 213-218. Cf. also the lists in Bode, Layard, Sheil, Baring etc. (summed up in Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 317) and those of O. Mann, *Die Mundarten d. Lur-Stämme*, p. xv.-xxi. For the Bakhtiyāri: Rawlinson, *A March from Zohab*, p. 102-106 (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 210-215); Layard, *Descrip. of Khuzistan* and especially *Early Adventures*; Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 286-288. For the Lurs: the lists of Rawlinson (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, iv. 215-219), Bode, Layard, Čirikow, Houtum-Schindler, O. Mann, *l. c.*, p. xxiii. and especially the articles by Rabino, *R. M. M.*, 1916, and Edmonds, *Geogr. Journ.*, 1922.

Religion. The Christian and Jewish colonies (cf. the evidence of Benjamin of Tudela) settled in the village of Karkha since the Sāsānian period (cf. MĀSABADHĀN) may have left some traces in the country. A very curious tradition is the story of the conversion of the Bakhtiyāris to Christianity in the time of Constantine the Great (?) (Hanway, ii. 168). A mention in the *Ta'rikh-i Dīhān-gushā*, *G. S. M.*, xvi/2, p. 216 shows that in 650 the *mulhid* (Ismā'ilis) had gained a footing around Gird-Kūh. The Hurūfī heresy had probably also a following in Luristān, for the *murid* of its founder Faḍl Allāh who attempted the life of Sultān Shāhrukh in 1427 was called Ahmād Lur (Browne, *Pers. Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 366). In the Šafawid period the wālīs of the Little Lur claimed descent from 'Abbās, son of the Caliph 'Alī, whose tomb is shown near Sirwān (Māsabadhān); cf. Rawlinson in Ritter, ix., p. 402. The esoteric doctrines of the extremist Shī'a are wide spread in Luristān. The great majority of the Lak are Ahl-i Haḳḳ ('Alī-lāhi; q. v.). The Sagwand, Pāpi and Badrā'i tribes are also followers of this secret religion. In the belief of the Ahl-i Haḳḳ, Luristān is the scene of the activities of the third avatar of the divine

manifestation who is called Bābā Khoshn and numbers among his "angels" Bābā Tāhir [q. v.]. An important sanctuary of the sect, the tomb of Shāh-zāde Ahmād (the alleged son of the *imām* Mūsā Kāzīm), is in the district of Kūs near Bī-āw (territory of Qalawand) and is kept by Saiyids of the Pāpi tribe; these Saiyids wear red turbans which recalls the predilection for red of the old Muḥammira = Khurramiyya [q. v.] whose flags were of this colour.

The religion of the Lurs was so little orthodox even from the Shī'a point of view that at the beginning of the xixth century prince Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā had to send for a *mudjtahid* to convert the tribes to Islām (Rabino, p. 24). All the Lur and Lak tribes are officially Shī'is (contrast the attachment of the true Kurds to Sunna orthodoxy).

Language. Down to the beginning of the xxth century our knowledge of the Lur dialects was confined to 88 words collected by Rich, to 4 Bakhtiyāri verses in Layard and to some thirty words collected by Houtum-Schindler. As late as the *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, 1/2, 1898-1901, p. 249, we find the thesis stated that Lurī is closely related to Kurdish and may even be described as one of its dialects. The materials of Żukowski (collected in 1883-1886) were finally published the day after the death of the author (d. 4/1/1918). The merit therefore of having first established the important fact that Kurdish and Lurī are quite separate ("eine tiefgehende Scheidung des Kurdischen vom Lurī") is due to O. Mann. This scholar has shown that although there are Kurd tribes in Luristān (cf. the article LAK), the true Lurs speak dialects which belong undoubtedly to the S. W. Iranian group (like Persian and the dialects of Fārs) and not to the N. W. group (like Kurdish and the "central" dialects).

The Lurī dialects which have none of the asperities of Kurdish (cf. KURDS) fall into two categories. To the first belong the dialects of the Great Lur: Mamāsānī, Kūhgīlu and Bakhtiyāri (the latter has a few insignificant peculiarities of its own); to the second belong the dialects of the Little Lur, i. e. of the Feilī Lurs.

Even the first group possesses very few special features compared with modern Persian. From the point of view of phonetics: -am at the end of a word becomes -om, -um (*mikunām/ikunom*; *ādām/ādom*); *ū* changes into *i*: *pūl/pil*; intervocalic *d* gives *dh* (*y*): *midihām/idhim*; the combination -kht -ft give -hāh and -ht (*t*): *dukhtār/duhdār*, *rāft/rāht*; initial *kh* becomes *h*: *khānā/honā*, etc. Peculiar to Bakhtiyāri are the change of intervocalic *m* to *v*: *dūwā-djāmā* and the occasional change of *sh* to *s*: *isā = ishān*. It is remarkable that some of these phonetical peculiarities were long ago noted by Hamdallāh Mustawfī (*Ta'rikh-i Gusāda*, p. 537-538). He says that Lurī (although full of Arabic words) does not have the peculiarly Arabic sounds, like *kh*, *sh*, *gh*, *f* and *k*. Inflection: Plural in -gāl, -yāl, -āl, e. g. *ānhā*, *āngāl*; accusative in -ā, -nā instead of *rā*: *yūnā*, *got = inrā-guft*; formation of the present: *i* instead of Persian *mi*-; first Persian plural ending in -imū(n): *ikhūrimū(n) = mikhārim*. Lurī usually forms the preterite of active verbs as in Persian with the help of personal endings (active construction) and not like Kurdish and the majority of Persian dialects (including those of Fārs) which

give the preterite a passive construction. Vocabulary. In the present and preterite stems Luri usually follows Persian but we find stems and words unknown in Persian: *iwānum*, *wāndum*, "to throw"; *tār-*, *ilārom*, "to be able"; *tia*, "eye", etc. From the Mongol period, Luri has kept several expressions like: *tushmāl*, "chief of a clan", in Mongol, *tūshūmel*, "official"; *kaitul*, "guard of the khān", in Eastern Turki "camp, laager", cf. Budagow, ii. 102; *kūrān*, "encampment", in Mongol, *küren*, "camp, tent".

As to the Feili group, their dialect differs very little from ordinary Persian (Mann: "weiter nichts als ein stark abgeschliffenes Persisch").

There are in Luristān a few islands of Kurds of some importance. Such are in the north the Lak tribes [q. v.]. Among the Feili, the Mahkī group (on the frontier of Kirmānshāh, at Hulailān, and farther south) speaks a southern Kurdish dialect like that of the Kalhur. The Kurdishhūhān group (to the south of Pusht-i Kūh) speaks a "kurmandjī" Kurdish. Linguistic conditions in the Pusht-i Kūh still require further study.

Bibliography: Lerch, *Islēdowaniya*, iii., p. xi.—xiv. (German transl., *Forschungen*, ii.); O. Mann, *Kurze Skizze d. Lur-dialekte*, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.*, 1904, p. 1173—1193; O. Mann, *Die Mundarten d. Lur-Stämme im süd-west. Persien*, *Kurd.-pers. Forschungen*, Berlin 1910, part ii. (bibliography, list of tribes, Mamāsani, Kūh-gālū'i, Bakhtiyārī and Feili texts); D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakhtiyārī*, publ. by the R. Asiat. Society, London 1922; Żukowski († 4. I. 1918), *Material d'l'a izuś. pers. narečii*, iii.: dialects of the Bakhtiyārī Čarlang and Haftlang, Petrograd 1922 (texts collected in 1883—1886, vocabularies Bakhtiyārī-Russian and Russian-Bakhtiyārī); Hadank in the preface to O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, Berlin 1926, iii/i. On the Mamāsani and Kūh-gālū'i materials of Romaskewiĉ, cf. *Bull. Acad. de Russie*, 1919, p. 452.

Literature. The Lur tribes and especially the Bakhtiyārīs have a rich popular literature, fairy tales, epic fragments celebrating the exploits of their heroes (like Muḥammad Taqī Khān Čarlang and Hādjdī Ilkhānī Haft-Lang), lyrics, songs sung at marriages (*wāsinak*) and cradle-songs (*lālā'ī*). These pieces are often pretty and full of sentiment; cf. the collections by O. Mann and Żukowski (the latter published an article on Persian and Bakhtiyārī lullabies in the *Journ. Min. Narodn. Prosweshe*, Jan. 1889); D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian Tales*, London 1919, p. 197—351; *Bakhtiyārī Tales* (translations only).

There are also Luri poets writing in the established literary forms: Ḥusain Kulī Khān Haft-Lang (killed in 1882), Nađīmā Mamāsani, Daftari, Fāyid (still alive in 1902), Izādī (d. 1905), 'Alī Asghar Khān Nihāwandī (cf. O. Mann). A *M'f'radī-nāma-yi Bakhtiyārī* by Shaikh 'Alī Akbar Mu'ammam was lithogr. at Teherān in 1314. A *ghazal* by Mullā Zulf 'Alī Kurrānī was published by Y. Marr in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. de l'U. R. S. S.*, 1922, p. 55—58; according to Y. Marr a *tadhkira* of Bakhtiyārī poets compiled by 'Ommān-i Sāmānī is in the library of Sālār-i Fātiḥ. Another similar *tadhkira* comes from the pen of Aḥmadī-yi Bakhtiyārī.

History. On the participation of the tribes of Khūzistān and Fārs in the fighting between Arabs

and Persians in the early centuries of the Hīdjra cf. the article KURDS. The Caliphs interfered directly in the affairs of the country, especially in Lur-i Kūtik [q. v.]. The fortunes of the Lurs were more closely associated with the Iranian dynasties ruling in Khūzistān, at Shīrāz, Isfahān, Hamadān and on the Zagros: the Šaffarids, Būyids, Kākwaihid, Ḥasanwaihids and their successors of the family of Abu 'l-Shawk (cf. the article KURDS).

We have coins of the Būyids struck at Idhadj (Codrington). In 323 the Būyid army marched through Luristān (Sūs — Shāpūr-kh'wast — Karadj). The Ḥasanwaihid Kurds whose capital was at Sarmādj (south of Bisūtūn) extended their dominions into the valley of the Karkha. Shāpūr-kh'wast (= Khurramābād) formed part of their possessions about 400 (1009) (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 89; *Tadhkirat al-Umam*, ed. Amedroz, ii. 291, iii. 451). The Kākwaihid Garshāsp sustained a siege by the Sal-djūks in Shāpūr-kh'wast (434 = 1042). The amīrs of this last dynasty later settled in northern Luristān: the family of Zangī b. Bursuk in Shāpūr-kh'wast before 499 (1105), Ḥisām al-Dīn Alpaghūsh at Diž-i Māhki on the Karkha before 549 (1154) (*Rahat al-Sudūr*, G. M. S., p. 285). A Turk Ḥisām al-Dīn Shūhla or Aḥsari is mentioned as lord of Luristān and of a part of Khūzistān between 547 and 570. A long inscription (Kūfic?) on a stele near Khurramābād is still undeciphered [cf. a copy in von Bode, ii. 298; Rawlinson thought he recognised in it the name of the Atābeg Shudjā' al-Dīn but according to Curzon it has an earlier date (517 = 1123)].

In any case all attempts from outside to subdue Luristān or to take parts of its territory affected the tribal system very little, the development of which came to a head at the coming of the Atābegs.

The principal source for the domestic history of the country is the *Tārīkh-i Guzida* (730 = 1330) based in turn on the *Zubdat al-Tawārikh* of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshānī (of which the Preussische Staatsbibliothek only has the first volume, No. 368 of Pertsch's Catalogue). The *Madjma' al-Ansāb* (c. 743) is based on independent oral tradition but is less accurate. The *Djahān-ārā* although late (its author Qādi Aḥmad died in 975) uses unpublished data. The *Sharaf-nāma* (1105 = 1596) is based on the *Zubdat al-Tawārikh* or perhaps a good copy of the *Tārīkh-i Guzida*. According to these sources which supplement the statements of the Arab geographers, the situation in Luristān about 300 (912) was as follows:

The Shūl [q. v.] — who are not mentioned by the Arabs before the Mongol epoch — occupied a part ("half") of Luristān. The wilāyet of Shūlistān proper (*Tārīkh-i Guzida*, p. 537 and 539, 13) had a governor named Nađīm al-Dīn Akbar (according to the *Madjma' al-Ansāb* the title Nađīm al-Dīn was hereditary among the Shūl) while the Lur territory under the Shūl (probably Kūh-Gilū) had a pishwā Saif al-Dīn Mākām whose family had been prominent in the country since the Sāsānian period; he was of the Rūzbihānī tribe which the *Tārīkh-i Guzida* mentions among the Lur tribes. The rest of Luristān was ruled by a family of Lur princes (independent of the Shūl) of whom Badr ruled in the Great Lur and his brother Maṣṣūr in the Little Lur. Their dates are uncertain. Badr's successor was his grandson Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad

b. *Khalil* b. *Badr* (according to the *Maḥma' al-Ansūb*, *Naṣir al-Din* was a nephew of *Awrang* [Rang] b. *Muḥammad* b. *Hilāl*). *Naṣir al-Din* was deposed by the *Faḍlawi* Kurds who founded the dynasty of the *Atābegs* of the Great Lur and relied for support on tribes who came from outside *Luristān* (cf. above under *Ethnology*). The same *Faḍlawi* drove the *Shūl* out of their settlements.

We know nothing of *Manṣūr*, brother of the above mentioned *Badr*. The tribes of Little Lur were directly under the caliphs and in the north were subjected to the invaders. The founder (about 580) of the native dynasty of the *Atābegs* of *Lur-i Kūtik* [q. v.] had to dispose of a rival *Surkhāb* b. 'Aiyār (probably a scion of the dynasty of *Abu 'l-Shawk* which was called 'Aiyār/Annaz; cf. the article *KURDS*).

The history of the two dynasties of the *Atābegs* is filled with feuds, murders and executions but in domestic affairs the state of the country was fairly prosperous. The *Atābegs* built bridges and madrasas (*Ibn Baṭṭūta*) and secured a peaceful existence for the inhabitants (cf. *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, p. 550). The revenues of each of the two *Atābegs* were estimated at a million *ḍinārs* while each of them paid to the Mongol treasury a tribute of 91,000 *ḍinārs* only (*Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 70).

In the interval between the Mongols and the rise of *Timūr*, the two *Atābegs* were vassals of the *Muzaffarids*. In 788 and 795 *Timūr* ravaged Little Lur but treated the lord of Great Lur more kindly. In 795 *Timūr* passed through *Kūh-Gilū* and *Shūlistān*. The *Timūrids* (cf. the article *BAIKARA*) consolidated their power in *Luristān* and in 837 the last *Atābeg* of the Great Lur disappeared.

Safawid period. The lords of the Little Lur maintained their position and by intrigue even succeeded in extending their power over the plain to the west of the mountains of *Puṣht-i Kūh*. After the execution of *Shāh-wardi Khān*, *Shāh 'Albās* installed in his place a *wālī* descended from a lateral line of the old family. The possessions of this *Wālī*, *Ḥusain Khān*, were, however, somewhat reduced.

After the disappearance of the dynasty of the Great Lur the power had passed to the chiefs of the tribes composing this federation. Under *Shāh Tahmāsp* we find the title of *Sardār* of the local *ulūs* conferred on *Tādj-mīr*, chief of the principal clan, the *Astaraki*. *Tādj-mīr*, having neglected his duties, was executed and replaced by *Mir Djahāngir Bakhtiyārī* (the *Astaraki* and *Bakhtiyārī* had come to *Luristān* after 600; cf. *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*). *Djahāngir* under the guarantee of *Shāh Rustam* of the Little Lur pledged himself to supply annually to the *Safawid* treasury 10,000 mules. In 974 the governor of *Hamadān* was sent to remind him of his obligation (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 48). Henceforth the *Bakhtiyārī* tribe becomes of the first rank and, as usual, gives its name to the whole confederation.

As to the *Kūh-Gilū* territory, it was governed by *Khāns* of the *Turkoman* tribe (*Shāhsewen*) of *Afshār* settled among the *Lurs*. In 988 (1580) a dervish impostor claiming to be *Shāh Ismā'il II* had a considerable success among the *Djāki*, *Djāwāniki* and *Bandāni* tribes who killed several *Afshār* governors. In 1005 as a result of the excesses committed by the *Afshār* as well as by the *Lurs*, the governor of *Fārs*, *Allāh-wardi Khān*, established the direct centre of his government in *Kūh-Gilū* (*Ta'rikh-i Alam-ārā*, p. 198, 358).

We do not know under what circumstances at the end of the *Safawid* dynasty (*Fārs-nāma-yi Nādiri*) the group of *Mamāsani* tribes, who had migrated into the Great Lur (after 600) occupied the ancient *Shūlistān* (cf. *Shūl*).

After the *Safawids*: During the troubles provoked by the appearance of the *Afghāns* before *Iṣfahān*, the *wālī* of *Luristān*, 'Alī *Mardān Khān Feili* (a descendant of the *Ḥusain Khān* appointed by *Shāh 'Abbās*), played a considerable part. With 5,000 of his men he took part in 1135 (1722) in the defence of the capital. He was even appointed commander-in-chief of the *Persian* troops but the other *Khāns* refused to take orders from him. When the *Turks* invaded *Persia* in 1725 'Alī *Mardān Khān* abandoned *Khurramābād* (which was occupied by *Aḥmad Pasha*) and retired to *Khūzistān* from which he undertook a diversion against *Baghdād*. The *Turks* who had gone through the *Bakhtiyārī* country and reached *Firūzān* had to retire. Cf. 'Alī *Hazin*, *Ta'rikh-i Aḥwāl*, ed. *Balfour*, London 1831, p. 115, 134, 137, 148, who was an eye-witness of the events; *Hanway*, *The Revolutions of Persia*, ii. 135, 159, 168, 238; *Malcolm*, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii. 60-61; *von Bode*, *Travels*, ii. 281-283; *Hammer*, *G. O. R.*, iv. 227.

About the same time several *Bakhtiyārī khāns* (*Kāsim-Khān*, *Ṣafī-Khān*) are mentioned as resisting the *Afghān* and *Ottoman* invaders but they did not agree well with 'Alī *Mardān Feili*. In 1137 (1724) 'Alī *Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Bakhtiyārī* recognised as his suzerain a certain pretender who claimed to be prince *Ṣafī Mirzā*. The latter's headquarters were in *Kūh-Gilū*; he was not taken till 1140 (1727) (*Hanway*, ii. 168, 238; *Mahdi-Khān*, *Ta'rikh-i Djahān Gushā-yi Nādiri*, *Tabriz* 1284, transl. into French by *Jones*, London 1770, p. xxvii.). The *Afghāns* do not seem to have penetrated into the *Bakhtiyārī* country and their expedition in 1724 against *Kūh-Gilū* was a fiasco. (v. *Hammer*, ii. 210; *Malcolm*, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 449). By the treaty of 1140 (1727) the *Afghān Ashraf* ceded *Luristān* to *Turkey* with other western provinces. The *Turks* kept it (nominally) till 1149 (1736) when *Nādir* re-established the status quo (*Hanway*, ii. 254, 347; *von Hammer*, *G. O. R.*, iv. 235, 317).

Under *Nādir* a certain *Turkoman* chief named *Bābā Khān Čapushlu* (*Čawushlu*) was appointed beglerbeg of *Luristān-i Feili*. On the other hand 'Alī *Mardān II Feili* was entrusted by *Nādir* with diplomatic negotiations in *Constantinople*. *Nādir* in 1732 passed through *Kūh-Gilū* with his troops where *Muḥammad Khān Balūč* (the claimant to *Shirāz*) was defeated. The local *Afshārs* had to support *Nādir*, who was one of their tribe. Several expeditions were sent against the *Bakhtiyārī* among whom a new chief 'Alī *Murād Mamtiwand* (*Čahār-lang*) had collected together the malcontents. In 1732 *Bābā-Khān Čapushlu* was sent against him for the first time. In 1149 (1735) *Nādir Shāh* took the field against him in person going via *Djāpalak* and *Burburūd*. The *Bakhtiyārī* country was several times invaded but the main blow was directed against the little explored country south of *Shuturān-kūh*. 'Alī *Murād* was captured and executed. The *Bakhtiyārī* were decimated and deported to *Djām* and *Langar* (in *Khorāsān*). A little later a *Bakhtiyārī* detachment distinguished itself in the assault on *Kandahār* (*Mahdi Khān*,

op. cit., p. 116, 134, contains interesting geographical details; transl. Jones, i. 185, ii. 18; 'Alī Hazin, p. 231, 253; Malcolm, ii. 21).

The deported Bakhtiyārī returned from Khurāsān immediately after the death of Nādir (*Ta'rikh-i bād Nādirīya*, ed. Mann, p. 26) and when the dynasty of the latter was extinguished the Bakhtiyārī chief 'Alī Mardān Khān (who is not to be confused with the two Wālīs of Luristān-i Feilī) attempted to play a big part. In 1163 (1750) along with Karīm Khān Zand he set up at Iṣfahān a scion of the lateral line of the Ṣafawids (Āl-i Dāwūd under the name of Ismā'īl III). The career of "guardian of the sovereign" acted by Nādir seemed to be certain for him also but Karīm Khān gained the upper hand; the troops of 'Alī Mardān who included Lak of the tribes of Kalhur and Zangana were defeated in 1752; he escaped to Baghdād but died there by the hand of an assassin; cf. Mirzā Ṣādiq, *Ta'rikh-i giti-gushā*, quoted by Malcolm, ii. 61 and note *r*; Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv., p. 475, 477; R. S. Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, London 1887, p. xxxv.; Curzon, ii. 289.

Karīm Khān [q. v.] who had disposed of his Bakhtiyārī rival was himself a Lak of the tribe of Zand, settled in the immediate neighbourhood of Luristān-i Feilī. On the movements of population in his time, cf. the articles KURDS and LAK. In 1200 (1785) when Dja'far Khān Zand had to fall back on Shirāz a number of Lurs and of Turks assembled at Iṣfahān under former partisans of 'Alī Murād Khān but the town was soon occupied by Ākā Muḥammad Kādjār who had nothing better to do than attack the Bakhtiyārīs ('Abd al-Karīm Shirāzi, *Ta'rikh-i Zendīya*, ed. Beer, p. 29; Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii. 179 sq.) which injured his popularity among the tribes.

The Lur Bakhtiyārī country was never completely assimilated during the century and a half which the Kādjārs reigned. A resumé of the history of the Bakhtiyārīs in the sixteenth century has been given by Curzon in Ch. xxiv. of his *Persia*. At first the Kunurzi family, descended from the brother of 'Alī Mardān Khān (cf. above), came to the front but the expedition of the governor of Iṣfahān Manučihr Khān Mu'tamid al-Dawla (whose real name was Yenikolopow; he was an Armenian from Tiflis) in 1841 put an end to the career of the Ilkhānī Muḥammad Taqi Khān and the family did not recover. About 1850 the Bakhtiyārīwand (or Baidarwand, a family which claimed to be descended from a shepherd named Pāpi) rose to prominence in the Haft-lang group and in spite of the assassination in 1882 of its chief Ḥusain Kulī Khān (Hādjī Ilkhānī) by order of prince Zill al-Sulṭān retained its wealth and its importance. The Bakhtiyārī played a considerable part in the Persian revolution which ended in the deposition of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh Kādjār in 1909. The Bakhtiyārī country all this time enjoyed perfect autonomy under the rule of its *ilkhānī* and *ilbegi*.

The centralising efforts of the Kādjārs had more effect in Luristān-i Feilī (formerly Lur-i Kūtik) in as much as, as a result of the governorship in Kirmānshāh of the energetic prince Muḥammad 'Alī at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the old family of the wālīs of Luristān found its rights reduced simply to the possession of Pusht-i Kūh (q. v. and Čirikow, p. 227). The Piṣh-Kūh formed the Persian province of Luristān. Muḥam-

mad 'Alī Mirzā with troops and artillery marched through this province. In 1836 Rawlinson followed him at the head of his Gūrānī regiment. After the famous expedition of Manučihr-Khān (1841), his nephew Sulaimān Khān Sahām al-Dawla, governor of Khūzistān, maintained order in Luristān but for the second part of the sixteenth century Luristān was plunged more or less into a state of anarchy. It was not till 1900 that prince 'Ain al-Dawla was able to restore order in Luristān and at this time several explorers travelled freely in the disturbed province. But in November 1904 two British officers (Col. Douglas and Capt. Lorimer) on their way to Khurramābād were attacked and wounded by Lurs. A considerable agitation was stirred up among the Lurs (and in western Persia generally) by the appearance among them of the rebel prince Sālār al-Dawla (several times since 1905). In spite of the efforts of the Persian government Luristān remained closed till 1917, when with the help of foreign representatives several caravans went from Dizful to Burūdjird. About the same time the Persian government conferred the rank of wālī of Piṣh-Kūh on Nāzar 'Alī-Khān Amrā'i (cf. the article LAK); cf. Edmonds in the *Geogr. Journ.*, 1922.

It is only since the accession of Riḍā Khān (later Shāh Riḍā Pahlawī) that the situation in the region inhabited by tribes of Lur origin changed radically and the authority of the Central Government enforced respect for itself through the whole of the south-western provinces.

(V. MINORSKY)

LUR-I BUZURG, a dynasty of Atābegs which flourished in Eastern and Southern Luristān between 550 (1155) and 827 (1423) the capital of which was Idhadj (= Mālamir; q. v.).

The eponymous founder of the dynasty, also known as Faḍlawī, was a Kurd chief of Syria named Faḍlōya. His descendants (the *Djihān-ārā* mentions 9 predecessors of Abū Tāhir) migrated from Syria and passing through Maiyafāriqin and Ādharbāidjān (where they made an alliance with the Amīra Dībādī [?] of Gilān) they arrived about 500 (1006) in the plains north of Uṣturān-Kūh (Luristān).

Their (1) chief Abū Tāhir (b. 'Alī) b. Muḥammad distinguished himself in the service of the Salghurid Sunḥur (543—556) in an expedition against the Shabānkārā [q. v.]. As a reward Sunḥur gave him Kūh-Gilūya and agreed to send him to conquer Luristān. He succeeded in this. Abū Tāhir assumed the title of Atābeg and later quarrelled with Sunḥur and made himself independent (c. 550). (The *Maqjma' al-Ansāb* seems to confuse several individuals under the name Kā'id 'Alī, to whom it attributes the following successes: the defeat of the Shūl [q. v.], the deposition of Nāṣir al-Dīn, last descendant of Badr, ruler of Luristān, and the defeat of the Khūzistān troops commanded by the Turk Eshek).

Under the son of Abū Tāhir, (2) Malik (sic) Hazārasp (600—626 or 650?), Luristān prospered and new Arab and Iranian tribes flocked into it. Hazārasp drove out of Luristān the last remnants of the Shūl and invaded Luristān proper. The Shūl migrated to Fārs. Hazārasp disputed with the Salghurids the possession of the fortress of Māndjashṭ (Mungasht, S. W. of Mālamir). The possessions of Hazārasp were extended up to a distance of 4 farsakhs from Iṣfahān. The Caliph

Nāṣir (575—622) confirmed to Hazārasp the title of Atābeg. On the other side Hazārasp maintained friendly relations with the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Ghīyāth al-Dīn (*Djīhān-gushā*, G.M.S., xvi/2, p. 113, 204). [The *Djīhān-ārā* mentions two sons of Hazārasp: 'Imād al-Dīn (d. 646) and Nuṣrat al-Dīn Kalḥa (? d. in 649); the former bought Zarda-Kūh, where several members of the family were afterwards interred].

(3) Tikla (c. 655—656), son of Hazārasp and his Salghurid wife, successfully withstood four attacks on him by the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, who was indignant among other things at the expulsion of the Shūl from Luristān. Tikla took from Ḥisām al-Dīn Khalīl (? d. in 640) certain districts of Lur-i Kūṭik. He defeated the generals sent against him from Khūzistān by the caliph. During the Baghdād campaign of Hūlāgū Khān (655), Tikla accompanied him in Kitbuḡa-noin's division (*tuman*). He did not however conceal his feelings about the treatment inflicted on the caliph and Muslims. Hūlāgū took umbrage at this and Tikla fled to Luristān and shut himself up in Māndjasht. Hūlāgū pardoned him but later changed his mind and had him executed in Tabriz. Tikla was buried at Zarda-Kūh.

(4) Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghūn succeeded to his executed brother and ruled for 15 years. He led a nomadic life. His winter residence was at Idhadj and at Sūs (probably Sūsan on the Kārūn above Shūshṭar) and his summer one at Djūy-i sard (on the upper waters of the Zanda-rūd) and at Bāzuft (source of the Kārūn).

His son (5) Yūsuf Shāh had spent his youth with Abaḡa-Khān (663—680) and even after appointed in his father's stead remained at the Mongol court with 200 horsemen. He took part in the war against Burāḡ-khān [q. v.] and distinguished himself in a skirmish with the Dailamis. To the possessions of Yūsuf Shāh Abaḡa added Khūzistān, the region of Kūh-Gilūya and the towns of Firūzān (7 farsakhs above Isfahān) and Djārbādhakān (Gulpāyagān). Yūsuf Shāh went to Kūh-Gilūya and attacked the Shūl settled in the modern Mamassani country east of Kuh-Gilūya. After the death of Abaḡa, Yūsuf Shāh was forced against this will to go with 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 foot to the help of Ahmad Takādir. The latter was defeated (683) and the Lurs retreated from Tabas to Natanz across the desert where the majority died of thirst. After the accession of Arghūn, Yūsuf Shāh went to pay him homage and interceded on behalf of the former vizier Khwādja Shams al-Dīn who had taken refuge in Luristān (cf. d'Ohsson, iv. 5).

His son (6) Afrāsiyāb sent his brother Ahmad to the court of Arghūn while he himself remained in Luristān where he put to death the members of the former vizier family. Their relatives having taken refuge in Isfahān, Afrāsiyāb sent his kinsmen in pursuit of them. At this moment arrived the news of the death of Arghūn (690). The Lurs killed the Mongol governor of Isfahān. Afrāsiyāb appointed members of his family to govern in Hamadān, Fārs and in the territories reaching to the Persian Gulf and even began to march on the capital. The Mongol general Amīr Turak was defeated at Kūhrūd (Kohrud, near Kāshān). Kaikhātu Khān sent Mongol troops against Afrāsiyāb and troops from Lur-i Kūṭik. Afrāsiyāb shut

himself in Māndjasht but after some time went to Kaikhātu who pardoned him. Returning to Luristān, Afrāsiyāb massacred his own relatives and a number of the notables. Ghāzān Khān (694—703) at first showed himself favourable to Afrāsiyāb but in 696 on the complaint of the Amīr Hurkudāk of Fārs, Afrāsiyāb was tried and executed at Mahāwand (?) of Farāhān.

The rank of Atābeg was next conferred on his brother (7) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad (from 695 to 730 or 733) who had spent most of his life at the court of the Ilkhāns. According to the *Madjma' al-Ansāb* he introduced Mongol institutions (*āyin-i moghūl*) into Luristān. Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī praises his able and prudent administration which repaired the damage done by Afrāsiyāb. He was a friend of men of religion and several books were dedicated to him, like the *To'rīkh Mu'djam fi Ahwāl-i Mulūk-i 'l-'Adjam* of Faḍl Allāh Kazwīnī. The *Madjma' al-Ansāb* gives him the title of *pīr*. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa he built 160 madrasas ("hermitages") of which 44 were at Idhadj and he had roads cut through the mountains.

His son and successor (8) Rukn al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh II (733—740) was also a just ruler. His lands (*Madjma' al-Ansāb*) extended from Basra and Khūzistān to Lālalmūstān (?) and Firūzān. He was buried in the madrasa of Ruknābād.

His successor was his son (according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa his brother) (9) Muzaḡfar al-Dīn Afrāsiyāb II (Aḥmad). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelling via Mādjūl-Rāmuz-Tustar, visited the capital Idhadj or Mālamīr. He found the prince given to wine. The Arab traveller describes the peculiar customs of the Lurs which he witnessed at the burial of the son of the 'sultān'. The latter's possessions included Tustar (Shūshṭar) and extended to Garīwā' al-Rukh (the modern Kahvarukh in Čarmahāll west of Firūzān). During the ten days the Arab traveller took to cover this distance he found shelter every night in a madrasa. At the same time (740) Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī mentions among the possessions of the Great Lur Djābalak (apparently the district N.E. of Luristān and west of Gulpāyagān).

Next follows an obscure period. According to the anonymous historian of Mirzā Iskandar, the successor of Afrāsiyāb was his son (10) Nawr al-Ward ("rose-bud"), who ruled from 736 (?) to 756 and dissipated the treasures of his ancestors. According to the *Djīhān-ārā*, Muḥammad Muzaḡfar of Fārs (713—760) learning of his dealings with Abū Ishāk Indjū had him blinded at Sūs in 756. His cousin (the *Djīhān-ārā* has: nephew) (11) Shams al-Dīn Pashang b. Yūsuf Shāh II (?) succeeded him and ruled from 756 to 780. At this time Luristān became involved in the civil wars of the Muzaḡfarids. When Shāh Maṣṣūr, making Shūshṭar his headquarters began a series of raids on the lands of Pashang, Shāh Shudjā' (elder brother and rival of Maṣṣūr, d. 786 = 1384) came to the help of Pashang. We have coins of 762 and 764 struck at Idhadj in the name of Shudjā' (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Oriental Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, vol. vi. [London 1881], p. 235, 237). After the death of Pashang a struggle began between his two sons (12) Malik Pīr Aḥmad and his younger brother (12bis) Malik Hūshang in which the latter was killed. (According to the anonymous historian of Iskandar, if he has been rightly understood by Howorth, Aḥmad and Ilū-

shang were sons of Nawr al-Ward and the former was the immediate successor of his father). Shāh Maṣṣūr drove out Pīr Aḥmad and appointed in his stead a notable named Malik Uwais. When Timūr passed through Luristān in 795 Pīr Aḥmad came to meet him at Rām-Hormuz. Timūr later received him graciously at Shīrāz, confirmed him by a decree (*āl tamgha*) in his hereditary possessions and allowed him to repatriate 2,000 families of Lurs deported by Shāh Maṣṣūr. In spite of this in 798, Timūr took as hostages to Samarkand the brothers of Pīr Aḥmad Afrāsiyāb and Maṣṣūr-shāh. Timūr afterwards divided Lur-i Buzurg (?) between Pīr Aḥmad and Afrāsiyāb. After the death of Timūr, Mirzā Pīr Muḥammad imprisoned Pīr Aḥmad in Kuhandiz. He was restored in 811 but met his end in a popular rising. The son of Pīr Aḥmad (13) Abū Saʿīd, kept for two years a hostage at the court of Mirzā Iskandar at Shīrāz, succeeded his father and died in 820. His son (14) Shāh Ḥusain died in 827 by the hand of his relative (15) Ghīyāth al-Dīn b. Kāʾūs b. Hūshang (12bis). The latter seized the power but the Timurid Sultān Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh sent troops to expel him and thus ended the rule of the Faḍlawī family. Later the power passed into the hands of local notables of the Bakhtiyārī tribes (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 48).

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère; Waṣṣāf, *Tadhīyat al-Amṣār*, Muḍjallad II, history of Yusuf-shāh and Afrāsiyāb; *Taʾrikh-i Guzida*, with the history of the Muẓaffarids in appendix, *G.M.S.*, p. 537—547, 723, 725, 745, based on Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Zubdat al-Tawārikh* of Djamāl al-Dīn Kāshānī; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shabānkārī, *Maḍjmaʿ al-Ansāb* (in 743): appendix [owing to the liberality of the Royal Asiatic Society I have been able to consult the MS. Cat. Morley, N^o. xv., which contains the appendix on the Lur-i Buzurg (fol. 142—145); the author's statements are somewhat confused]; *Zafar-nāma*, i. 438, 599; 619, 811; Mirkhond, *Rawḍat al-Safā*, vol. iv.; Kāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī, *Djihān-ārā* (in 972), MS. British Museum, Or. 141, fol. 137—140 [I owe the copy to Muḥammad-Khān Kāzwīnī], contains some useful information; *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 23—32, based at the beginning on a good text of the *Taʾrikh-i Guzida*; Khusrāw Abarkūhi, *Firdaws al-Tawārikh*, passage on the Great Lur in the transl. of the *Sharaf-nāma* of Charmoy, i/2, p. 328—337; Ḥādjdī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 286 (cf. Charmoy, *ibid.*, i/1, p. 100—116); Münadjjim-bashī, ii. 597—598; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 24, 28, 230, 259, 400, 455, 589; iv. 5, 12, 62, 94, 114, 169—170, 580; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 140, 407, 751—754, which uses the statements of the anonymous history of the grandson of Timūr Mirzā Iskandar, written in 815, MS. of the British Museum, Or. 1566; MS. of the Asiatic Museum of Leningrad 566^b c.

(V. MINORSKY)

LUR-I KÜÇIK, a dynasty of Atābegs which ruled in Northern and Western Luristān between 580 (1184) and 1006 (1597) with Khurramābād as their capital. The Atābegs were descended from the Lur tribe of Djangrūtī (Djangardī?). The dynasty is also known by the name of Khurshidī from the name of the first Atābeg. (It remains to be seen if this name is connected with that of Muḥammad Khurshid, vizier of the former rulers

of Luristān before the rise of the Atābegs of Lur-i Buzurg). After 730 the power passed to another line which later claimed to be of ʿAlid descent; at this time also the title *malik* succeeded that of *atābeg*.

The ancestors of the Khurshidī had entered the service of Ḥisām al-Dīn (of the Turk tribe of Shūhli or Shūhla) who ruled Luristān and Khūzistān about the end of the Saldjūk period (c. 550—580?).

(1) Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Khurshid b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Khurshid was at first *Shikna* of a part of Luristān on behalf of Ḥisām al-Dīn but after the death of the latter (in 570 or 580) became independent lord of the whole of Lur-i Küçük. He waged war on the Djangrawī (the tribe in which he had originated, but which was then being ruled by his rival Surkhāb b. ʿAiyār) and besieged their stronghold Diz-i Siyāh (in the district of Mānrūd and in the "wilāyet" of Samhā?). The inhabitants handed all Mānrūd over to him but the caliph ordered Shudjāʿ al-Dīn to deliver up to himself the stronghold of Māngarra (Mūngerre north of Kīlāb). In compensation Shudjāʿ received the district of Tarāzak in Khūzistān. Shudjāʿ al-Dīn drove back the Bayāt Turks who were ravaging Luristān. He led a nomadic life and spent the summer at Kīrīt (in Bālā-Gīrwa) and the winter at Dulur (Dih-i Lurān in Pusht-i Kūh?) and at Malāh (?). He died a centenarian in 621 and his tomb was venerated by the Lurs. His son Badr was killed by his nephew (2) Saif al-Dīn Rustam b. Nūr al-Dīn who became Atābeg and was a good ruler. Rustam was succeeded by his brothers first (3) Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Bakr and next (4) ʿIzz al-Dīn Garshāsp. The latter married the widow of Abū Bakr, Malika Khātūn, who was the sister of Sulaimān Shāh Aiwa, later commander-in-chief of the caliph al-Mustaʿsim [Abūh should be altered to *Aiwa*, name of a tribe or a district in the time of the last Saldjūks; cf. *Rāhat al-Sudūr*, *G.M.S.*, p. 346; *Djahān-gushā*, *G.M.S.*, xvi/2, p. 153; *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, *G.M.S.*, p. 107; Defrémery, *Recherches sur quatre princes d'Hamadan*, *J.A.*, 1847, p. 177]. When (5) Ḥisām al-Dīn Kh alīl b. Badr b. Shudjāʿ killed Garshāsp, a struggle ensued between him and Sulaimān-shāh (Shihāb al-Dīn?). The Lurs took Bahār (near Hamadān) but finally Kh alīl was defeated and killed near Shāpūr-khwāst in 640 (1242).

His brother (6) Badr al-Dīn Masʿūd went to the court of Mangū and returned in the train of Hūlagū. This devout man, an authority on Shāfiʿī law, ruled till 658. He showed great kindness to the family of Sulaimān-shāh, when the latter was executed at the taking of Baghdād. The sons of Masʿūd were executed by Abaka, who appointed Atābeg (7) Tādj al-Dīn b. Ḥisām al-Dīn Kh alīl (also executed by Abaka in 677).

He had two immediate successors, the two sons of Masʿūd of whom (8) Falak al-Dīn Ḥasan ruled a part of Luristān (*dīlār*, *wilāy*) and (8bis) ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusain ruled the crown domains (*indjū*). The number of their troops was 17,000. They chastised the Bayāt and reunited under their control all the lands between Hamadān and Shūshtar and between Isfahān and the Arab lands. Both died in 692.

Kaikhātū appointed as their successor (9) Djamāl al-Dīn Khidr b. Tādj al-Dīn, who was killed in 693 near Khurramābād by (10) Ḥisām

al-Dīn 'Omar b. Shams al-Dīn "Darnaki" b. Sharaf al-Dīn b. Tahamtan b. Badr b. Shudjā' who relied for support on the Mongol tribes settled in the lands adjoining Luristān. The other rulers did not recognise this usurper and he had to make way for (11) Šamšām al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Nūr al-Dīn b. 'Izz al-Dīn Garshāsp who slew a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Ilyās and in turn was executed by Ghāzān in 695.

(12) 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Izz al-Dīn (8bis) was a minor and his cousin Badr al-Dīn Mas'ūd (son of 8) obtained from Uldjaitū the title Atābeg and ruled over a part of Luristān (*dilār*) but later 'Izz al-Dīn fully established his authority. After his death (716 or 720) his widow (13) Dawlat Khātūn retained a semblance of authority while the real power was in the hands of the Mongols. Such was the state of affairs when Ḥamd-allāh was writing his *Tārikh-i Gusida* (c. 730). Later the *malika* (who according to the anonymous historian of Iskandar became the wife of Yūsuf Shāh of the Great Lur) found herself forced to surrender the throne to her brother (14) 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥusain who received investiture from Abū Sa'īd and ruled for 14 years. His son and successor (15) Shudjā' al-Dīn Maḥmūd was killed by his subjects in 750.

(16) The Malik 'Izz al-Dīn b. Shudjā' al-Dīn was only 12 when his father died. The vicissitudes of his life are known from the record of them in the *Ẓafar-nāma*. In 785 (1383) the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjā' with his army visited Khurramābād and married the daughter of 'Izz al-Dīn. Another of his daughters was married to Aḥmad b. Uwais Djalā'ir. When Timūr arrived in Persia in 788 he was told of the depredations of the Lurs of 'Izz al-Dīn. Setting out from Firūz-kūh, Timūr by forced marches reached Luristān. Burūdjird was laid waste, and the fortress of Khurramābād razed to the ground. The ringleaders were thrown down from the tops of cliffs. The fate of 'Izz al-Dīn is unknown and we do not know if he was one of the Atābegs of Luristān to whom in 789 Timūr granted an audience at Shīrāz, but according to the anonymous historian of Mirzā Iskandar, 'Izz al-Dīn was captured in 790 in the fortress of Rūmiyān (Armiyān, Wāmiyān, situated near Burūdjird) and deported with his son to Turkeṣtān. At the end of three years both father and son were released. In 793, 'Izz al-Dīn played a part in the aggrandizement of the Muẓaffarid Zain al-'Ābidīn, son of his old suzerain Shāh-Shudjā'. When in 795, Timūr returned to Persia, he went from Burūdjird to Shūshar. Luristān was overrun piece by piece and laid waste by the troops of Mirzā 'Omar but 'Izz al-Dīn escaped his pursuers. In 798 prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, governor of Fārs, extended his authority over all Luristān and Khūzistān. In 805 we find a mention of the restoration of the fortress of Armiyān (?) near Burūdjird ordered by Timūr and under 806 the *Ẓafar-nāma* mentions the arrival in Bailākān from Nihāwand of a courier, bearing the head of 'Izz al-Dīn, whose skin had been stuffed with straw and publicly exposed. His son (17) Sidi Aḥmad, whose irregularity in the payment of tribute seems to have provoked the punishment of his father, regained his possessions, after the death of Timūr in 807, and ruled till 815 (or 825). (18) Shāh Ḥusain ("Abbāsī", i.e. descendant of 'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), another

son of 'Izz al-Dīn, took advantage of the decline of the Timūrids to extend his territory. He plundered Hamadān, Gulpāyagān, Isfahān and even undertook an expedition to Shahrazūr where the Bahārlu Turks slew him in 871 (or 873). His son (19) Shāh Rustam supported Ismā'il I; at this period the lords of the Little Lur had already adopted the theory that they were of 'Alid descent. The son of Rustam (20) Oghur (or Oghuz) accompanied Shāh Tahmāsp on his campaign of 940 against 'Ubaid Allāh Khān and during his absence his brother (21) Djahāngīr seized the power. He was executed in 949. The governor (*lala*) of his son (22) Rustam Shāh handed over the latter to Tahmāsp Shāh who imprisoned him in Alamūt while Muḥammadī, another son of Djahāngīr, was hidden by the Lurs at Čangula. An impostor in Luristān gave himself out to be Shāh Rustam Tahmāsp, then released the true Rustam who recovered his fief but had to hand over a third of it (*do dang*) to his brother (22bis) Muḥammadī. At the instigation of the wife of Shāh Rustam, the governor of Hamadān seized Muḥammadī who was shut up in Alamūt. The sons of Muḥammadī plunged Luristān and the adjoining provinces into great disorder. Ten years later Muḥammadī escaped, and conquered Luristān while Shāh Rustam took refuge at the court of the Shāh. Muḥammadī established good relations with Tahmāsp and Ismā'il II but after their death submitted to Sulṭān Murād III (982—1003), which earned him an extension of his territory by the cantons west of Pusht-i Kūh: Mandali, Djesān, Badrā'i and Tursaq. But relations with the Ottomans soon became strained and Muḥammadī became reconciled with the Šafawīs.

(24) Shāhwardī b. Muḥammadī, who had escaped from Baghdād where he was living as a hostage, received investiture from Shāh Khudābanda after his father's death. At the time of the occupation of Nihāwand by the Turks Shāhwardī showed some signs of independence. In 1000 good relations with Shāh 'Abbās were re-established with whom Shāhwardī made the most of his alleged descent from 'Abbās b. 'Alī and his Shi'ism (*taṣṭaiyu' wa 'Abbāsgiri*). Shāh 'Abbās married his sister and gave him a Šafawī princess in marriage. In 1002 Shāhwardī in a pitched battle killed the governor of Hamadān Oghurlu Sulṭān Bayāt who was trying to levy taxes in Burūdjird. Shāh 'Abbās, filled with wrath, left the Khorāsān front and hastened to Khurramābād. Shāhwardī crossed the Šaimara (Karkhā) and escaped to Baghdād. Luristān was given to Sulṭān Ḥusain b. Shāh Rustam. In 1003 Shāhwardī was pardoned and restored but he was not long in relapsing. In 1006 Shāh 'Abbās took the field against him a second time. Shāhwardī was besieged and slain in the fortress of Čangula (in Pusht-i Kūh). Ḥusain Khān b. Maṣṣūr beg Salwizī (?) was given Luristān, except Šaimara, Hindmas (?) and Pusht-i Kūh which were given to Tahmāsp Kulī Inanlu. This may be regarded as the end of the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Little Lur, although the dynasty of "wālis" of Luristān (later of Pusht-i Kūh [q. v.] only) claims descent from Ḥusain Khān who was a cousin of Shāhwardī.

Bibliography: *Tārikh-i Gusida*, G. M. S., xiv/i., p. 547—557, 700; *Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 305, 438, 587—588, 594, 788, 811; ii. 515, 555; Anonymous history of Mirza Iskandar, grandson

of Timūr (utilised by Howorth); *Djihān-ārā* of Kādī Ahmad Ghaffārī; *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 32—55; *Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, Tih-rān 1314, p. 320, 342, 367—370; *Djihān-numā*; Münedjdjīm-bašhī, ii. 598—600; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 250—261; iv. 171; Hammer, *Gesch. d. Ilchane*, i. 161—163; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 140, 406, 754. (V. MINORSKY)

LURISTĀN, "land of the Lurs", a region in the S.W. of Persia. In the Mongol period the terms "Great Lur" and "Little Lur" roughly covered all the lands inhabited by Lur tribes. Since the Šafawid period, the lands of the Great Lur have been distinguished by the names of Kūh-Gilū and Bakhtiyārī. At the beginning of the xviith century the Mamasanī confederation occupied the old Shulistān [q. v.] and thus created a third Lur territory between Kūh-Gilū and Shirāz.

It is however only since the xviith century that Lur-i Kūcik [q. v.] has been known as Luristān (for greater precision it was called Luristān-i Feilī). In the xixth century Luristān was divided into two parts: 1. Pish-Kūh, "country on this side of the mountains" (i. e. east of Kabir-Kūh) and 2. Pušt-i Kūh (country beyond the mountains) i. e. west of Kabir-kūh. At the present day the term Luristān usually means Pish-kūh while Pušt-i kūh means the Feilī country.

The Mamasanī territory and the Kūh-Gilū form part of the province of Fārs. The capital of the Mamasanī is at Fahliyān (cf. SHUL). Kūh-Gilū (Kūh-Djilūya, Kūh-Gālā) stretches from Bāšht (west of Fahliyān) to Bihbahān; this last town is the main centre for the tribes of Kūh-Gilū. To the south the Kūh-Gilū tribes descend as far as the Persian Gulf. The mountains of Kūh-Gilū and the frontier between its tribes and the Bakhtiyārī are not yet well known. The chief rivers of Kūh-Gilū are the Āb-i Shirin which is formed by the junction of the Khairābād and the Zohra and in its lower course runs via Zaidān and Hindiyān, and the Āb-i Kurdistān or Djarrāhi, one branch of which later runs into the Kārūn [q. v.] and the other towards Dawrak. On Kūh-Gilū see the valuable *Fārs-nama-yi Nāzirī* of Ḥasan Fasā'ī (Tih-rān 1313), the itineraries of Stocqueler, Haussknecht (*Routen im Orient*, Map iv.), Wells and Herzfeld and the general account in de Bode, i. 251—289; ii. 327—398; Ritter, *Erkunde*, ix. 132—144 is now very much out of date.

The Bakhtiyārī lands stretch from Čahārmahāll (west of Isfahān) to Shūshar; to the south the Bakhtiyārī march with the Kūh-Gilū and to the north they go beyond the northern barrier of Luristān (Shuturān-kūh etc.). They are found at Faraidan, Burburūd, Djāpalagh, and in the cantons around Burūdjird (even before 1840 many villages had been purchased here by Muḥammad Taqī Khān Čahār-Lang). Roughly speaking the Bakhtiyārī occupy the upper basin of the Zandarūd and of the Kārūn [q. v.] above Shūshar. The works of Layard, Sawyer, Mrs. Bishop, Curzon etc. give a very accurate picture of this mountainous country, in the centre of which rises the Kūh-i Rang (12,800 feet high) which forms the watershed between the Persian Gulf and the central Persian plateau. (It may be asked if the name Kūh-i Rang is not the Mongol *küren*, "encampment, laager", found in Luristān).

The frontier between the Bakhtiyārī and the Lurs proper follows the western branch of the

Āb-i Diz, an important tributary of the Kārūn. Luristān (Pish-kūh) is bounded on the east and west by the convergent streams of the Āb-i Diz and the Karkhā, while in the north the range of the Čihil-nā-bālighān, Garrū etc. separates Luristān from Nihāwand and Silākhor (district of Burūdjird). To the west of Karkhā Pušt-i Kūh begins. In the northwest the frontier of Luristān runs to the southwest of the districts of Hulailān and Harsin which belongs to the province of Kirmānshāh.

The chief left bank tributary of the Karkhā is the Kashgān (Rawlinson: Kashaghan) which is formed by two arms. The northern arms with its tributaries drains the beautiful plains of Hūr-rūd, Alishtar and Khāwa. The southern arm, separated from the northern one by the Yafta-kūh range, takes the name of the town of Khurramābād [q. v.] near which it passes. After the confluence of the two arms, the Kashgān, running S. W., receives on the left bank the combined waters of the Kāwgūn and Tāyin, which flow from Kūh-i Haftād Pahlū (south of Khurramābād) and the northern slopes of the Kūh-i Gird. These two ranges are at right angles to the mountains which follow the right bank of the Āb-i Diz, which they separate from the valley of the Karkhā. On the right bank the Kashgān receives the Mādiyān-rūd, "river of the mare". Above Kashgān the Karkhā receives on its left bank several tributaries of less importance still little known (Rūbār etc.). Below Kashgān and also on the left bank, the Karkhā receives the Fānī, Leilum (Lehlum) and Āb-i Zāl. This last river with its tributaries Anārak etc. rises in the southern slopes of the Kūh-i Gird. The topography of the right bank of the Āb-i Diz is not well known. The sources of the Baladrūd and its right bank tributary the Kīr-āb lie a considerable distance to the north. The Balad-rūd flows into the Āb-i Diz between Dizful and Susa. The Kīr-āb receives on its right bank the waters of the Kūl-i-āb which come down from the high valley of Mūngarra, which with the peaks that surround it form a kind of natural bastion and separate the basin of the Balad-rūd from that of the Āb-i Zāl. The Šahrā-yi Lur plain formerly well irrigated lies north of Dizful and south of Kīr-āb ("pitch-water") whose naphtha spring has been known since ancient times. It was probably here that Darius settled a colony of Greeks (Ritter, ix. 201).

The interior of Luristān presents a series of mountain ranges, which stretch N. W. to S. E., the direction usual in Persia, and rise one behind the other between the plain of Susiana and the northern barrier (height about 9,000 feet).

Ancient history. The lands now occupied by the Lur tribes have been inhabited since the period before the arrival of Irānians in them. This region, being at a considerable distance from Assyria, was mainly under the influence of Elam; Susa where there have been found traces of occupation going back to the third millenium B. C., lies just at the entrance to the mountains of the Little Lur. The purest traces of the local culture and of this alone are found more to the south-east. Just as the Atābegs of the Great Lur had for their capital Idhādī (= Mālamir) so in very early times, the lords of this district, the kings of Aiapir (Hapirti?), whatever were their relations with the rulers of Susa had control at least of

the Kārūn valley. The site of Mālamīr (cf. de Bode, Layard, Jéquier in de Morgan, *Déleg. en Perse*, 1902, iii. 133—143 and Hüsing, *Der Zagros u. seine Völker*, Leipzig 1908, p. 49—59) with its purely indigenous (Elamite, non-Semitic) inscriptions and bas-reliefs is an important point. The recent discovery by Herzfeld (*Reisebericht*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1926, p. 259) in the Mamasānī region of a bas-relief and bricks bearing Elamite characters (1500—1000 B.C.) is valuable as indicating the extent of Elamite penetration into the Lur mountains. Kūh-Gilū lying between Susiana and Persis may correspond to the still unknown region of Anshan (Anzan) out of which came the ancestors of Cyrus the Great. On the survival of this name near Shūsh-tar, cf. *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 418 (according to Rawlinson: Assān).

The antiquities of the valley of the Upper Kārūn (the two Sūsan, Lurdağān, the mounds of Salm, Tūr and Iradj) are insufficiently known (Layard, Sawyer). According to Sawyer, the higher Bakhtiyārī lands are "singularly devoid of any ancient landmarks".

For the west part of Luristān in the strict sense of the word see the articles MĀSABADHĀN and PUSHT-I KŪH. No monuments of very great antiquity have yet been discovered in Pish-kūh except the caves (Median?) of Se-darān between Mūngarra and Khurramābād, Čirikow, p. 129. The early inhabitants of Luristān were the Kashshu = Kossaiōi who imposed their rule on Babylon between 1760 and 1650 B.C. The Achaemenids paid the Kossaiōi for the right of passage by the Babylon-Ecbatane route. These highlanders were temporarily subdued by Alexander the Great. Antigonus, pursued by Eumenes, traversed the heart of the Kossaiān country, according to Rawlinson on the route Pul-i-tang-Keilūn pass-Khurramābād (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix., p. 335). The Kossaiāns (who should perhaps be distinguished from the *Kossioi* = *Ōkzioi* = Uwadjia = Khūz) spoke a language different from that of their neighbours, but in it we already find proper nouns borrowed from Indo-European. Cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.*, 1/2, Berlin 1913, § 455; Hüsing, *Der Zagros*, p. 24 and Autran in *Les langues du monde*, Paris 1925, p. 283. [The name Kashshu has perhaps survived in that of the river Kashgān].

It is also probable that northern Luristān was more or less dependent on the land of Ellipi, often mentioned by the Assyrians. This region, which was considerably influenced by Media is now located in the province of Kirmānshāh. Cf. Andreas, *Alinza*, in Pauly-Wissowa²; Streck, *Z. A.*, xv., 379; *Cambridge Ancient History*, 1924, ii., cf. map.

We know very little about the *Matinyoi* people who (Herodotos, v. 49) were bounded on one side by the Armenians and on the other by the Susians (Reinach, *Un peuple oublié: Les Matiènes*, *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1894, vii., p. 313—318).

Here we can only call attention to these various ethnical elements buried in the later strata of Irānian invasions. In the name of Faraidan, a canton in the northeast of Bakhtiyārī, we have a reminiscence of the Median tribe of Paraitakenoi (Herodotos, i. 110) and of the province of Παραιτακηνή (Strabo, i., p. 80) which lay between Media and Persia (in Assyrian: Partakka, Partukka; cf. Streck, *Z. A.*, xv., p. 363). The Irānicisation must have been accelerated by the formation of

the great empires, Achaemenid, Macedonian, Parthian and lastly Sāsānian. There are many Sāsānian towns in the valley of the Karkhā. Many Sāsānian buildings are attributed by the natives to the Atābegs of Luristān, who were certainly nothing more than the restorers. The complicated system of bridges is very remarkable (cf. the photographs in de Morgan, *Études Geogr.*, ii. and *Études Archéol.*, Paris 1896—1897, p. 360—374) and the roads which may still be traced on the upper courses of the rivers of Susiana. The remains of roads, paved or hewn out of the rock, may be seen at Tang-i Saulak (between Bihbahān and Mālamīr) near the Sāsānian bas-reliefs (de Bode, i. 353, 364), to the east and west of Mālamīr (de Bode, i. 390, ii. 820: *djadda-yi atābakān*), between Dizful and Kīrāb (Rawlinson, *A march from Zohab*, p. 93), to the south of Khāwa (*djadda-yi Khusrāw*, Čirikow, p. 216—221). All these works are evidence of a systematic and continuous penetration. But since at the end of the fourth (tenth) century the inhabitants of the plain of Khūzistān had not yet forgotten the Hūz language (Muḳaddasī, p. 418) colonies of the ancient stocks may have survived in isolated corners of the mountains. The Lur highlands only assumed their present ethnical character under the Atābegs.

The knowledge of the Arab geographers about the Lur country is very summary although they describe the routes between Khūzistān and Fārs (cf. Schwarz, *Persien*, p. 173—180; Arradjān-Shīrāz, p. 190: Arradjān-Sumairam), between Khūzistān and Isfahān (the road started from Idhadj; Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 57; Muḳaddasī, p. 401) and lastly between Khūzistān and Dījībāl. As to these last routes, Isṭakhri, p. 196, reckons from al-Lur to Shāpūr-Khwāst 30 farsakhs, from there to Lāsh-tar (= Alishtar) 12 farsakhs, from there to Nihāwand 10 farsakhs (the road must be that which follows the upper waters of the Baladrūd). A few details of this route are cleared up by Muḳaddasī, p. 401, who gives the following eight stages: Karadj (cf. the article SULṬĀNĀBĀD)—Wafrawand—Dārḳān—Khurūdh (certainly = Hūrūd, Hūr-rūd, north of Khurramābād)—Sābur-khwāst (= Shāpūr-Khwāst = Khurramābād)—Krkūysh (?)—al-Khān—Razmānān—al-Lur. Muḳaddasī, p. 418 also makes one suspect the existence of a road along the Āb-i Diz: from al-Lur to al-Diz, two stages, from there to Rāyagān one stage, from there to Gūlpāyagān 40 farsakhs through uninhabited country (*mafāza*).

Among the inhabited places in modern Luristān may be noted the following: the town of al-Lūr, 2 farsakhs north of Dizful (Qanṭarat Andamish) the site of which should be sought in the plain of Shārrā-yi Lur near Shāliḥābād; the town of Lāsh-tar, now disappeared, was certainly in the plain of Alishtar and the town of Shāpūr-Khwāst. The exact location of the latter is important for the comprehension of certain events in the fifth (eleventh) century (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 89, 146, 211; x. 166; *Tārīkh-i Gusida*, p. 557). Rawlinson had identified Khurramābād with Shāpūr-Khwāst (cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, etc., p. 202, p. 668). The combined evidence of Isṭakhri, p. 196 and 201, of the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 70, 176 and particularly of the itinerary of Muḳaddasī, p. 401 fully justify Rawlinson's identification (against Le Strange). The change of name, or moving of the site (cf. Schwarz) must have taken

place in the xiiith century. The *Nuzhat al-Kutub* (740 = 1340) which does not include Shāpūr-Khwāst in its enumeration of the towns of the Little Lur is the first source to mention Khurramābād (a town in ruins). It is on the other hand not at all probable that the wilāyet of Mān-rūd, the alleged ancestral home of the Lurs, is near Khurramābād. It should be sought to the north of the town of al-Lur near Mān-garra (= Mūngarra). Samhā, mentioned in the *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, p. 548, was in Mān-rūd; its fortress Diz-i Siyāh must correspond to the fort of Diz which defends the entrance to Mūngarra and was destroyed by the wālī of Pusht-i Kūh in 1895 (Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-stämme*, p. 117). Finally the stronghold of Girit (*Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, p. 549, 552) is mentioned by Čirikow, p. 133, among the encampments of the tribe of Pāpi (to the south of Khurramābād).

Economic conditions. Apart from the Bakhtiāri districts near Isfahān where there are flourishing villages, the Lur territories inhabited by nomads or semi-nomads only export the products of their cattle-rearing. But the future of the mountainous country which lies like an amphitheatre around the plain of Khūzistān is very promising. The Lur lands are rich in minerals and especially in petrol. The famous wells of Masdjid-i Sulaimān (Maidūn-Naftūn), belonging to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company are in the middle of Bakhtiāri territory (between Shūshār and Mālamir). The same Company whose concession includes all the petrol-bearing lands in the whole of southern Persia is putting into operation its claims in the Kūh-Gilū region (to the north of the port of Ganāwa) etc. (cf. Schweer, *Die türkisch-pers. Erdölorkommen*, Hamburg 1919).

On the other hand the territories now occupied by the Lurs played a considerable part in ancient times, as they lay on the route between the great centres of the Persian empire. Their southern part (Kūh-Gilū) may become of great importance for air and railway communication between Mesopotamia and India. The Bakhtiāri country is now traversed by the caravan route connecting Khūzistān with Isfahān and controlled by Lynch Brothers. Finally Luristān proper seems destined to be crossed by the main line connecting the Persian Gulf (Mohammara or Khōrmūsā) with Teherān, and perhaps with the Caspian Sea. Before the war of 1914 surveys had already been begun for making the Mohammara-Dizfūl-Khurramābād railway by the Persian Railways Syndicate (cf. Litten, *Persien*, Berlin 1920, p. 63, 88). Since the change of dynasty in Persia, the Persian government proposes to carry through this task itself; cf. Millsbaugh, *American Task in Persia*, London 1926, p. 272.

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LŪṬ, the Biblical Lot has in Muslim legend, even as early as in the Qur'an, an importance which he does not have in the Bible or Haggada. As his story is associated with the downfall of the sinful Sadūm (not however mentioned in the Qur'an) he appears to Muḥammad as a prophet of punishment along with Hūd, Šāliḥ, Nūḥ and Shu'aib as predecessors of Muḥammad. When Muḥammad is accused of being a liar he can console himself with the reflection that before him the people of Nūḥ, 'Ād, Thamūd, the people of Ibrāhīm and the people of Lūṭ also called their prophets liars (Sūra, xxii. 43). Lūṭ's people (called *kaum Lūṭ*, l. 13: *ikhwaṇ Lūṭ*) are usually located between Thamūd and Madyan. Lūṭ in the Qur'an becomes a *mursal*, messenger of Allāh (xxvi. 160; xxxvii. 133), a *rasūl amin*, a reliable prophet (xxvi. 162), a participator in wisdom and knowledge (xxi. 74). When Ibrāhīm warns his people, Lūṭ believes him (xxix. 25). Lūṭ is sent to sinners who forbid hospitality (xv. 70), waylay strangers and practise sodomy and cruelty such as no other people had before them. They threaten him that they will banish those who lead such a moral life saying: "if thou preachest right, bring God's punishment upon us" (xxix. 28). God thereupon sends his angels of punishment; Ibrāhīm's intercession is in vain (xi. 77, 78). The

angels come to Lūṭ. His people demand the visitors for sinful purposes. In vain Lūṭ offers his daughters instead. He feels himself helpless. The angels calm him, saying: "We shall save thee, only no one must turn round; thy wife will do it". The city was turned completely upside down (xi. 84; xv. 74); *sidjil* stones, marked by God, rained upon it.

The Qur'an mentions no other name in the history of Lūṭ. The destroyed city is called *al-mu'tafika* (liii. 54) of which the plural is *al-mu'tafikāt* (ix. 71; lxix. 9) corresponding to the Hebrew *mahpeka*, which is used in the Bible of Sodom.

The Qur'an commentators also know the Biblical story quite accurately (Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 346, 347). They are able to fill all the gaps and give all names. The sins of Sodom are fully described. Sadūm has a king of the line of Nimrod. The inhabitants worship idols. Lūṭ admonishes them for 40 years (al-Kisā'ī). Then God sends three angels Gabriel, Michael and Isrā'īl (in al-Kisā'ī also the soul-taker Asriel). Ibrāhīm intercedes: "Will ye destroy a people among whom there are 300 believers?" No. — 300, 200, 100...? No. — 14 believers? No. — This number is assured, Ibrāhīm comforts himself, in the belief that Lūṭ's wife is one of the believers. The angels must not destroy Sadūm until Lūṭ testifies four times to its sinfulness. They at once meet Lūṭ, who testifies. After meeting others they encounter Lūṭ's daughter. She invites them into her father's house. Lūṭ orders his people to be silent, especially his wife who has disobeyed him for 40 years (al-Kisā'ī). But Lūṭ's wife deliberately makes a light to show they have visitors or she ostentatiously procures salt (this is why she becomes a pillar of salt) or she actually says: "Young men have come to stay with us, with more beautiful cheeks and sweeter fragrance than I have ever seen".

The people demand the young men; Lūṭ offers his daughters. "If we wanted thy daughters, we would know where to find them", they reply. Lūṭ bars the doors. At the bidding of the angel he opens them. Gabriel blinds the intruders with a blow of his wing. They tramp on one another. "Save yourself!", they cry, "Lūṭ's house is bewitched!" As the hour of destruction is at hand, Gabriel (according to others the Angel of Punishment Michael) turns the town upside down, and lifts it up so high that the angels in heaven hear the crowing of the cocks and the howling of the dogs of Sadūm. *Sidjil* stones fall; on each is marked whom it is to strike. As Lūṭ's wife looks sympathetically on her people, she is struck by a *sidjil*-stone. The number of killed varies between 4,000 (Tha'labi) and four millions (Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 342). All perished, except one who fled to Mecca, brought his *sidjil*-stone to the ḥaram where it hung for 40 days between heaven and earth, until it finally slew the man who brought it there (Tha'labi).

The Muslim legend gives names to everything and explains them all. Lūṭ takes his name from *lāṭa*, "to attach oneself", because Ibrāhīm's heart was affectionately attached to Lūṭ (Tha'labi). Lūṭ's wife is called Halsaka' or Wā'ila, his older daughter Rith (?), the younger Rariya (?) (Ṭabari), Zughar (Yāqūt), or Rawāya (?) (al-Kisā'ī). Not only is Sadūm mentioned, but also other four towns, in whose names may be recognised the Biblical

‘Amōra, Admah, Šeba’im and Šo’ar. Of Šo’ar, Tha’labi says it was saved (Gen. xix. 20—22) “because it believed in Lūṭ”.

The Muslim legend has a little in common with the old Haggada (Gen. *Rabba*, xlix., 1.; *Sanhedrin*, 109b), e. g. the fact that Abraham thinks he is sure of a certain number of devout people. When *Pirke R. Eliser* (xxv.) describes the daughters of Lūṭ favourably, when *Midrash Hagadol* (ed. Schechter, p. 287) calls the angels sent to Sodom, Gabriel and Raphael, Muslim legend may have had some influence on the later Midrash.

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LUṬ B. YAḤYĀ. [See ABU MIKHNAF.]

LUṬF ‘ALĪ BEG Adhar, a Persian poet and biographer of the xviiith century. He was born in Iṣfahān on the 20th Rabi’ I, 1123 (June 7, 1711) and spent his youth at Kūm and later at Širāz, where his father lived while governor of Lāristān and the coast of Fārs under Nādir Šah. After the death of his father, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and travelled in Persia, finally settling in Iṣfahān in the service of Nādir’s successors. He latterly adopted a life of seclusion and put himself under the spiritual direction of Mir Saiyid ‘Alī Muṣṭak. He died in 1781.

Luṭf ‘Alī Beg is best known for the collection of biographies of Persian poets which he compiled between 1760 and 1779 under the title of *Ātaṣh-Kāda*; in it he gives biographies of poets in Persian in alphabetical order arranged according to towns and districts. The last part deals with 60 contemporaries of the author and is followed by an autobiography. The *Ātaṣh-Kāda* was lithographed at Calcutta in 1249 A. H. and at Bombay in 1277 A. H. There is a Turkish translation printed at Constantinople in 1259 A. H. Among his poems was a mathnawī, *Yūsuf u-Zalikha*, from which the author quotes many verses at the end of the *Ātaṣh-Kāda*. Luṭf ‘Alī Beg was held in considerable esteem by his literary contemporaries; he was particularly intimate with the poet Ḥāfiṣ of Iṣfahān.

Bibliography: Ethé, in *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 215, 232, 313; E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 282—284. (J. H. KRAMERS)

LUṬF ‘ALĪ KHĀN was the last member of the Zand dynasty in Persia. He was born in 1769, the son of Dja’far, son of Karīm Khān Zand [q. v.]. Dja’far, who had seized the throne in 1785, had continued the struggle against the Kādjār Agha Muḥammad, who had forced him to retire to Širāz, where he died on Jan. 23, 1789 from poisoning. During the short period of the reign of his father, Luṭf ‘Alī Khān had been entrusted with the conquest of Lāristān and Kirmān, which he had successfully carried through.

But after the death of Dja’far he was forced to flee from his own army to Kirmān to seek refuge with the Arab lord Būšhī. With the latter’s help, he was able to make himself master of his capital Širāz where a certain Saiyid Murād had proclaimed himself king. It was chiefly through the efforts of his father’s minister Ḥājjdī Ibrāhīm who occupied the position of *kalāntar* (mayor) of the town that Luṭf ‘Alī succeeded in getting himself again recognised as sovereign. After his accession the character of the young man, whose nobility and generosity had hitherto been as much praised as his personal bravery seems to have changed. His acts of tyranny and cruelty decided Ḥājjdī Ibrāhīm to abandon the cause of the Zands and betray it to the enemy. This he did in 1791 when Luṭf ‘Alī Khān had set out against Agha Muḥammad Khān. Ḥājjdī Ibrāhīm seized Širāz and stirred up Luṭf ‘Alī’s own troops to mutiny against him. The latter fled to the coast and succeeded in collecting a small armed force with which he tried in vain to retake Širāz. Then followed several years of guerilla warfare waged with incredible vigour by Luṭf ‘Alī against the Kādjārs. He went up and down the whole of southern Persia, being for some time supported by the lord of Ṭabas and even temporarily taking Yazd. In 1794 being assisted by the chiefs of the district of Garmasir, he even took Kirmān. Here Agha Muḥammad besieged him with a large force. After four months the town capitulated; Luṭf ‘Alī Khān succeeded in once more escaping and reaching Bam but here he was treacherously delivered over to his enemy who had him taken to Tihirān where he was blinded and mutilated and finally put to death. Then came the terrible vengeance wreaked by the Kādjārs on the people of the town of Kirmān [q. v.].

Luṭf ‘Alī Khān, the “last chivalrous figure amongst the kings of Persia” (Browne), probably had the sympathy of most of his contemporaries and it is recalled that even Agha Muḥammad Khān openly recognised his bravery. But as his history was written under the new dynasty of the Kādjārs in Persia, the Persian sources could not show much sympathy for him. European sources give a more faithful picture of the course of events. The more modern Persian historians like Mirzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Khān (*Dawra-i Mukhtaṣar-i Ta’rikh-i Irān*, lith. Tihirān 1326, reproduced in Beck, *Neupersische Konversations-Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1914, p. 229—256) do not hesitate to describe the action of Ḥājjdī Ibrāhīm as treason. Ḥājjdī Ibrāhīm who soon afterwards became minister tried to justify his conduct to Sir John Malcolm.

Bibliography: *Ta’rikh-i Zendje*, ed. Beer, Leyden 1888; J. Malcolm, *The History of Persia*², London 1829, ii. 106 sqq.; H. J. Brydges, *The Dynasty of the Kadjars*, London 1833, p. cxx. sqq. of the introduction; the text contains a translation of the history *Ma’āthir-i sulṭāniya* of ‘Abd al-Razzāk b. Nadjaf Kūli; E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, London 1926, p. 143 sqq. (J. H. KRAMERS)

LUṬFĪ PASHA, properly ḤĀJJDĪ LUṬFĪ PASHA B. ‘ABD AL-MU’IN, an important Turkish statesman, scholar and historian, grand vizier in the time of Sultān Sulaimān I al-Kānūnī. He was of Albanian descent. The date and place of his birth are unknown. He was brought up in the imperial *serai*, which he had

apparently entered through the *dewshirme* for the Janissaries. Much may be learned of his career from his own biographical references in the "History" and in the *Asaf-nâme*. Even in the *serai* he devoted himself to theological studies, a fondness for which he retained throughout his whole life.

At the accession of Sultân Selim (1512—1520) he passed from the ranks of the pages as a *çokadâr* and filled in succession the following offices at the court: *çashnigir* (taster), *kapudî bashî*, *mîr-i 'âlam* (bearer of the imperial standard). He then became *sandjak beg* of Kaştamuni, beglerbeg of Karaman, of Anatolia and in 941 *kubbe wenzîrî*. He spent a quarter of a century in the foreign service of the Sultan; according to his own account, he was through all the wars and battles in the reign of Sultân Selim who was very favourably disposed to him, usually in his train: in Rumelia and Anatolia, in Arabia, Syria and Egypt; similarly in the reign of Sultân Sulaiman he took part in the campaigns against Belgrade, Rhodes, Hungary, Vienna, the *Kızılbaş*, Baghdad, Corfu etc. In 945 (1538) he took part in the campaign to Kara Boghdân as second vizier. In 946 (1539) he succeeded as grand vizier Ayâs Pasha, who had died of the plague, also an Albanian, at a period when the Ottoman empire was straining its strength to the utmost. (The year 944, which was suggested by Kiâtib Celebi's *Takwîm al-Tawârikh*, Constantinople 1146, p. 176 adopted by all later historians and so handed down, is incorrect as is proved not only by Lutfî Pasha's own statement but also by an analysis of events). He proved his ability in high army commands, in the fleet and in administrative offices.

He sought to carry through with a strong hand the reforms in internal administration which he had long recognised to be necessary, especially economies in the financial system, the abolition of oppressive institutions (*ulak*, privileges of couriers), the development and independence of the navy, the importance of which for Turkey his foresight recognised. Earlier than anyone else he saw the beginning of the collapse of the externally so brilliant political system. At the same time he conducted negotiations with Venice, Austria and France with great skill and firmness. It is noteworthy that he was the first to recognise the surpassing genius of Mi'mâr Sinân, whom he appointed state architect. He was a highly gifted statesman, an energetic inflexible personality, incorruptible and above all intrigue with high ideals and strong religious and scientific leanings. In spite of his violent temper he was regarded as a "good natured Vizier".

He was a brother-in-law of Sultân Sulaimân, whose sister Shâh Sultân he had married. Nevertheless he was summarily dismissed in 948 (1541) when in his rage he used threats to his wife when she reproached him with his inhuman treatment of a Muslim slave-girl. His eagerness for reform had naturally gained him few friends at court. It is said that only his rank as a *dâmâd* saved him from execution. Whether the deeper reason for the matrimonial dissensions lay in his love for boys is not clear.

Lutfî Pasha was banished with a pension to Dimotika where he had a *îşfîlik*. Here he gave himself entirely up to his studies, for which he was well qualified by his constant intercourse with theologians and scholars during his whole

political career. After his return from Mecca to Dimotika — his successor Rustam Pasha was successful in preventing a complete reconciliation with the Sultân — he used his enforced leisure to compose numerous works in Arabic and Turkish. He died in all probability after 970 (1562) (so also Münâddjim-bashî), in any case after 961, in Dimotika. The date 950 (1543) usually given is impossible as he continued his history down to Ramađân 15, 961 (Aug. 14, 1554) and there is no reason to suppose that any other continued the history; on the contrary there are references in the text to events of the year 961. He only left one foundation, a *teshime* in Constantinople, after which the quarter and the Lutfî Pasha mosque take their names; its builder was a defterdâr Ahmed Çelebi.

Lutfî Pasha is the author of 21 works, a list of which he himself gives in his "History", p. 1—4 (cf. also the list in Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osman. Reiches*¹, iii. 703; Flügel, *Katalog der Wiener Handschr.*, ii. p. 224; Tschudi, *Türkische Bibliothek*, vol. xii., p. xv.—xvii.). It includes 13 Arabic and 8 Turkish works, to which perhaps may be added the *Kanûn-nâme* ascribed to him which he perhaps does not mention as his own because it was the result of his official activities.

His theological works have not come down to us, so far as we know. According to sources — not however specially biased in his favour — he had only a moderate knowledge of the different branches of theological study and medicine, which he loved to display with a dilettante's exaggerated opinion of his powers. This is not quite convincing however as not only his perhaps quite mediocre theological works but also his really important historical writings, except for the *Asaf-nâme* have been almost unnoticed.

As a poet he is praised by Sehî, who completed his *Hesht Bihisht* in 945 in the time of his grand vizierate. But the numerous verses scattered through his history are not by him. Verses certainly by him are very mediocre. Besides, he does not show much sympathy with poets as the contemptuous attitude to 'Alî Çelebi, author of the *Humâyûn-nâme*, shows, to whom he makes the reproach that he had spent 20 years on this work instead of dealing with questions of *sher*.

His importance as a historian cannot however be too highly estimated. His *Asaf-nâme*, a kind of mirror for ministers, a textbook of ethics for viziers in which he sought to make available for his successors his wide experience of administration, obtained a certain success, as the not inconsiderable number of existing manuscripts suggests (ed. and transl. by R. Tschudi, Berlin 1910; ed. by 'Alî Amîrî, Constantinople 1326). But his history *Tawârikh-i Âl-i 'Othmân* is still more important. It is now accessible in a, however, rather mediocre, edition (Constantinople 1341, Lutfî Pasha, *Tawârikh-i Âl-i 'Othmân* Ma'arif Wakâlati Nashriyâtından, No. 28) from an incomplete copy found by M. Tâhir in Brussa supplemented by the formerly unique copy in Vienna by 'Alî used by von Hammer (Flügel, ii. 224, No. 1001).

Lutfî Pasha not only models his title on those of the old Ottoman chronicles but he copies this primitive style of historiography in his matter and style, which forms a striking contrast to the elaborate Persianistic court style. Down to Sultân Bâyezîd he is only a copyist. Then however fol-

lows, and this is what makes his history so remarkable, a description of the events of which he himself was an eye-witness in the reigns of three Sultāns (Bāyazīd, Selim and Sulaimān). His account of the reign of Sultān Sulaimān is naturally the most valuable, especially the period of his grand vizierate. In contrast to the *shahnāmadjī* and the official *waḳ'a nūwīstar*, he gives an absolutely untouched picture of the situation although he is not absolutely free from bias in dealing with other statesmen. His two historical works are one of the most important sources for our knowledge of the origins of the weakness and corruption of the Turkish empire in the xvth century.

Bibliography: Besides works mentioned above: Sahī, *Hasht Bihisht*, Constantinople 1325, p. 25; Mūnadjīm Bashī, *Ṣaḥā'if al-Akhbār*, Constantinople 1285, iii. 518; Kara Çelebi-zāde, *Rawḍat al-Abrār*, Constantinople 1248, p. 427; M. Sham'ī, *Ilāwālī Athmār al-Tawārikh ma' Dhail*, Constantinople 1295, p. 92; 'Abd Allāh Khulūṣī, *Dawḥat al-Mulūk*, Constantinople 1267, p. 20; Hāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadiqat al-Djawāmi'*,

Constantinople 1281, i. 190 and 256; Sa'ī, *Tadhkirat al-Bunyān*, Constantinople 1315, p. 24—25; Aḥmad Ṭā'ib, *Ḥadiqat al-Wurarā'*, Constantinople 1271, p. 27; 'Aṭā, *Ta'rikkh*, Constantinople 1293, ii. 19; Pečewi, *Ta'rikkh*, Constantinople 1283, i. 21; Brusall Mehmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānī Mi'ellifleri*, Constantinople 1343, iii. 132—134; Sāmī, *Ḳāmus al-A'lām*; Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*; Kilisli Mu'allim Rif'at in the preface to the history of Luṭfī Pasha; especially however: Köprülü-zāde Fu'ād, *Luṭfī Pasha in Türkiyāt*, Constantinople 1925, i. 119—150; Hādjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel; the various Catalogues of MSS.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osman. Reiches*; do., *Gesch. der osman. Dichtkunst*; do., *Staatsverfassung*, i. 358—360; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1791, iv. 351; Wickerhauser, *Chrestomathie*, Vienna 1853, p. 181 and 309; Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*. (TH. MENZEL LUXOR. [See AL-UḲṢUR.]

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MĀ' AL-'AINAIN AL-SHINGĪṬĪ, the name by which the famous agitator in Mauritania [q.v.] at the end of the xixth century and beginning of the xxth century is best known (several explanations of his soubriquet are given; the literal meaning is "the water of the eyes" but the most satisfactory seems to be that which sees in it simply a euphemism, like that in the expression *Kurraṭ al-'Ain*).

Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Mā' al-'Ainain was the twelfth son of a chief and marabout of great fame in his own country, Muḥammad Fāḍil b. Mā'mīn, born at Walāta at the end of the xviii century and chief of the Moorish tribe of Galāgima in the district of al-Ḥawḍ in the south east of Shingīṭ group. After breaking off from the Bak-kāya whose religious head was the chief al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī [q.v.], he founded a new brotherhood affiliated to that of the Kādiriya [q.v.], to which he gave the name of Fāḍiliya derived from his own. On the death of Muḥammad Fāḍil in 1869, Mā' al-'Ainain left the district of al-Ḥawḍ to complete his Islāmic studies in Shingīṭ (on this flourishing Moorish centre, see the long and interesting monograph by a native of the place resident in Cairo, Aḥmad b. al-Amin al-Shingīṭī, *al-Wasīṭ fi Tarāḍīm Uḍabā' Shingīṭ*, Cairo 1329 [1911]). Mā' al-'Ainain then settled for several years in al-Adrār [q.v.] but afterwards went further north to the al-Sāḳīyat al-Ḥamrā' country, which was his usual residence from 1884. All this region, which now forms the northern part of Spanish Rio de Oro, was being desolated by murder and brigandage. He succeeded in establishing security there, restored the land to cultivation, planted numerous palm-groves and encouraged trade by caravan to Senegal and Shingīṭ in one direction and to Morocco on the other. He chose

Šmāra as his permanent abode and later built a *ḥaṣba* for himself there in the Moroccan style on the Wādī Tarzāwā. Like the majority of religious leaders of the Saharan countries of North Africa, he practised commerce, politics and the proselytising activities of a marabout and was not long in gathering round him a considerable number of followers who became widely known throughout Morocco by their nickname of "blue men" on account of their costume, consisting of a *djallāba* of *khunt* (a cotton stuff from Guinea), a turban and a burnous, all blue in colour. They were also called 'Ainiya, from the name of their master, and *al-Shnāḡa* (*Shanāḡiṭa*), "the men of Shingīṭ".

Mā' al-'Ainain very soon entered into regular relations with the Sultāns of Morocco. He had already made a sojourn in the country on his journey to the holy places of Islām, in the reign of Mawlay 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hishām [q.v.] (1238—1276 = 1822—1859). Later and especially in the reign of Mawlay al-Ḥasan [q.v.] (1290—1311 = 1873—1894) he travelled regularly to Marrākush and to Fās and was welcomed by the Sultān, whom he supplied with slaves (in which he also dealt). When the young Mawlay 'Abd al-'Aziz [q.v.] ascended the throne in 1311 (1894), he sent him his homage and went to visit him in 1896 in Marrākush. The Sultān gave him a gift in his southern capital of a site for a *zāwiya* of his order and he hired him a steamer to take him with his suite from the Moroccan port of Mogador to that of Tarfāya, the natural harbour of the Rio de Oro for his capital Šmāra. This little port henceforth became of some importance: German ships, Greek and Spanish sailing-vessels disembarked there merchandise from Morocco and considerable cargoes of arms and ammunition, all consigned to the agitator to enable him to supply

his followers and arm the Moorish tribes to enable them to fight French expansion beyond the frontiers of Senegal. For several years Mā' al-'Ainain was able to maintain in all the vast area under his influence an atmosphere hostile to French penetration into Mauritania. He was largely the instigator of the anti-foreign outbursts, which after the assassination on May 12, 1905, near Tidjikdja of the explorer Xavier Coppolani decided France to occupy Tāgant in 1906.

After these happenings, Mā' al-'Ainain, having assembled the chiefs of the great Moorish tribes who were in alliance with him, took them to Fās to demand the alliance and assistance of Morocco against France in Mauritania. He was favourably received by Mawlāy 'Abd al-'Azīz and succeeded in getting a cousin of the Sultān, Mawlāy Idrīs, sent to al-Adrār as representative of the *makhzen*. At the same time Mā' al-'Ainain was authorised to install himself in the Moroccan *qasba* of Tiznit, to summon to the holy war and to rally around him all the warriors of the Sahara from al-Sūs to the region of Sākiyat al-Hamrā'. The hopes that Mawlāy 'Abd al-'Azīz had based on the plans of Mā' al-'Ainain were soon deceived. After the occupation of Ūjda and the destruction of Shāwiya by the French he had to disown Mā' al-'Ainain. The latter had no longer a chance even in his own country, where a fatal blow was struck at his power as a result of the al-Adrār expedition in the course of which French troops led by Colonel Gouraud completely scattered his forces. Mā' al-'Ainain had however not lost all hope of regaining his former influence in his old territory. He aimed even higher, when in May 1910 he did not hesitate to proclaim himself Sultān and to attempt the conquest of Morocco, which he thought had been sold to the infidels by the 'Alawid sovereigns. Having united around him all the tribes of the Anti-Atlas and of al-Sūs as well as his own followers, he reached Marrākush and from this town tried to take Fās by surprise, taking the road through the Central Atlas. But he was checked in his advance near Tādla [q. v.] by a column under General Moinier which routed him completely on June 23, 1910. He just managed to escape and reach al-Sūs where he was abandoned by all his followers and had to sell his slaves and flocks in order to live. He retired to the *qasba* of Tiznit, where he died on 17th Shawwāl 1328 (Oct. 28, 1910).

Two years later, the son of Mā' al-'Ainain, Aḥmad al-Hiba, in his turn attempted to proclaim himself Sultān. Proclaiming himself the Mahdī, he set out from Tiznit and entered Marrākush on Aug. 18, 1912, where he had himself proclaimed, while his troops put the city to fire and sword. But on Aug. 29, al-Hiba was defeated at Benguérir by Colonel Mangin, who after a second encounter at Sidi Bū 'Uḥmān entered Marrākush on Sept. 7 following.

Mā' al-'Ainain, who had very many open or secret followers in Morocco has left in the country the reputation of a true ascetic and a great doctor in Islām. "The hair shaved, the face veiled, always clothed in white, he only appeared in public on Fridays to go to the mosque. Mā' al-'Ainain led an austere life, lived exclusively on milk, dates and mutton. A well read man, he composed many pious works, books on theology, mystic Ṣūfism, astronomy, astrology, books full of contemplative reveries, on theological and dogmatic controversies,

on metaphysical theories, and of magical formulae to acquire riches and power by occult means. Like his father and his brother, he loved to spread among his disciples a reputation as a worker of wonders and a thaumaturgist. These magical practices much increased his prestige in Seguiet (al-Sākiyah al-Hamrā') and in Morocco (E. Richet, *La Mauritanie*, Paris 1920, p. 126—127).

Almost all the works of Mā' al-'Ainain, alluded to, were lithographed at his expense in Fās. He disseminated them widely for his marabout propaganda. They are as follows: 1. *Adab al-mukhālaṣa ma'a 'l-yatim*, on the margin of *Mufid al-samī'*, N^o. 20, 1321; 2. *al-Aḥdas 'ala 'l-anfas*, commentary on the *Warāqāt* of the Imām al-Haramain, 1320; 3. *Dalil al-rifāḥ 'alā shams al-ittifāḥ*, 1321, 3 vol.; 4. *Dirwān* of mystical poetry, 1316; 5. *Djāwāb al-muḥaqqiqa fī Akhbār al-khirkā*, 1302; 6. *Kitāb Fāṭik al-ratḥ 'alā ratik al-fatḥ*, 1296, 2nd ed. in 1309; 7. *Hidāyat al-mubtadi'in wa-naf'at al-muntahin*, urdjūsa on the *naḥw*, 1322; 8. *Hudūd al-murid fī 'l-djāhr bi 'l-dhikr 'ala 'l-marid*, 1321; 9. *Ibrāz al-la'ālī 'l-maknūna fī 'l-asāmī 'l-zāhira wa 'l-muḍmara*, 1322; 10. *Izhār al-ṭarīḥ al-mushṭahir 'ala 'sma' wa-lā taḡtarir*, 1321; 11. *al-Khalāṣ fī ḥaḳīkat al-ikhḫlāṣ*, 1320; 12. *al-Kibrīt al-aḥmar*, also printed at Fās in 1324; 13. *Kurrat al-'ainain fī 'l-kalām 'ala 'l-rū'ya fī 'l-darain*, 1321, on the margin of N^o. 10; 14. *Mā yatā'allak bi 'l-ḥasad*, on the margin of N^o. 36, 1320; 15. *Maḍjma' al-durar fī 'l-tawaṣṣul bi 'l-asma' wa 'l-āyāt wa 'l-suwar*, 1309; 16. *al-Maḥāṣid al-nūrāniya*, 1306, on the margin of N^o. 29, 2nd ed. in 1320; 17. *Mubṣir al-mutashawwif 'alā muntakhab al-taṣawwuf*, 1314, 2 vol.; 18. *Mufid al-ḥādira wa 'l-bādiya bi-sharḥ ḥādih al-abyāt al-ṭhamāniya*, 1316; 19. *Mufid al-rāwī 'alā annī mukhāwī*, 1309; 20. *Mufid al-samī' wa 'l-mutakallim fī aḥkām al-tayammum wa 'l-mutayammim*, 1321; 21. *Mughri 'l-nāṣir wa 'l-sāmī 'alā ta'allum al-'ilm al-nāṣī'*, 1294; 22. *Munil al-bashsh fi-man yuzillukhum Allāh bi-zill al-'arsh*, 1309; 23. *Munil al-ma'arib 'ala 'l-ḥamdu li'llāh kifā' al-wāḍiḥ*, 1309; 24. *Muntakhab al-taṣawwuf*, printed 1325; 25. *Muḥṣir al-dilālāt al-maḥsida fī al-fāz al-taḥiyyāt*, 1321; 26. *Muzilat al-nakad 'amman tā yuḥibb al-ḥasad*, on margin of N^o. 11; 27. *Naṣihat al-nisā'*, 1321; 28. *Na't al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣiṣ al-nihāyāt*, 1311, also publ. in Cairo in 1324; 29. *Sahl al-murtakā fī 'l-ḥathth 'ala 'l-tukā*, 1306; 30. *al-Saif wa 'l-mūsā fī ḥadiyat al-Khidr wa-Mūsā*, 1320; 31. *Saif al-mudjādil li 'l-ḥuṭb al-kāmil*, n. d.; 32. *Saif al-sakt li 'l-muta'arriḍ lanā fī awwal al-waqt*, n. d.; 33. *al-Ṣilat fī faḍā'il ba'd al-salawāt*, 1321; 34. *Ṣilat al-mutaraḥhim 'alā ṣilat al-raḥim*, 1323; 35. *Tabyin al-ghumūd 'alā na't al-'arūd*, 1320; 36. *Taḥyid yalā'allak bi-hadith 'innama 'l-a'māl bi 'l-niyyāt*, 1320; 37. *Tanḥīh ma'āshir al-muridin 'alā kaw-nihim li-aṣnāf al-ṣāhaba tābi'in*, 1321; 38. *Tanwir al-sa'id fī 'l-āmm wa 'l-ḥāṣṣ*, 1320; 39. *Thimār al-mushar*, collection of poems, printed 1324; 40. *Tibyān al-ḥaḳḳ alladhī bi 'l-bātil saḥḥ*, 1321.

A short monograph was devoted to Mā' al-'Ainain by his son Muḥammad Taḳiy Allāh entitled: *Mudhakkir al-mawārid bi-sirat Mā' al-'Ainain dhi 'l-fawā'id*, Fās 1316. A notice of him is also given in the *Wasit* of Aḥmad al-Shingīṭī, p. 360—362.

Bibliography: In addition to that of the article MAURITANIA, cf. the notice signed al-Moutabassir, *Mā' al-Ainin ech Changuity*, in *R. M. M.*, 1907, vol. i, p. 343—351 and *l'Afrique Française*, Bulletin du Comité et Renseignements Coloniaux, *passim*.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MA'ADD, a collective name for certain Arab tribes, in the traditional usage for those of North Arabian origin (Muḍar and Rabī'a) in contrast to the Yemen tribes. This contrast said to be inherent in the name Ma'add seems already to be found frequently in the early poets, always presuming the genuineness of the passages in question. Thus in a verse of Imru 'l-Kais (Ahlwardt, N^o. 41, l. 5) the term Ma'add is used apparently in the sense of excluding the 'Ibād, Taiy and Kinda, and in Nābigha (Ahlwardt, N^o. 18, l. 1, 2), the Ghassān. Tradition also records fighting between Ma'add and Yemen in the pre-Muḥammadan period (cf. Yāqūt, ii. 434; Ibn Badrūn, p. 104). At a later period the genealogical term Ma'add is even more sharply contrasted with South Arabia, when the rivalry between North and South Arabians had become the dividing political element in the fighting of the Omayyad and 'Abbāsīd period (passages quoted in Goldziher, see below *Bibl.*).

The fact that the name *Banū* is not found combined with Ma'add as well as the form of the word itself suggests that Ma'add may originally have been of similar foundation and meaning to *Ma'shar*, a general name for "people", body of people. Ibn Duraid (*Ishṭiqāq*, p. 20) long ago suggested the derivation from the root "add", "to count, number" not however without adding other very different attempts to interpret it. The usual genealogical scheme of Arab tradition has inserted in it the name Ma'add as the name of an ancestor of an eponymous series, namely a son of the traditional founder 'Adnān. Ma'add is brought into connection with the history of Mecca by the legend that he married Mu'āna, a daughter of the Djuhūmites. From this marriage were born Nizār, father of the tribal eponyms Muḍar, Rabī'a and 'Iyād. According to Abu 'l-Fidā', *Hist. Anté-islamic*, ed. Fleischer, p. 72 Ma'add is even said to have been a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar.

Bibliography: Tabari, i. 671 sqq.; Makdisi (Pseudo-Balkh), ed. Huart, iv. 101 sq. On the origin and history of the feuds between North and South Arabia cf. Goldziher, *Muḥammadanische Studien*, i. 78 sqq.; on the genealogy, *ibid.*, p. 179. (H. H. BRÄU)

MA'ARRAT MAŞRİN or **MİŞRİN**, capital of a nāḥiya of Ḥalab. The name is also written Ma'arrat Naşrīn which has been wrongly taken as an abbreviation of Ma'arrat Kinnasrīn (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 497). In Syriac manuscripts of the eighth century, the town is called Me'arret Meşrēn (Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 454^b, dated 745 A. D.; Agnes Smith Lewis, *The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion da-mepharreshē*, London 1910: a palimpsest under a collection of biographies of holy women, written by a monk Yōḥannan Stylites of Bēth Mari Kānūn, a monastery of the town of Me'arret-Meşrēn in the Kūrā of Antiochia).

In the year 16, 'Abū 'Ubaida defeated a large Greek army which had assembled between Ḥalab and Ma'arrat Maşrīn and then took this town,

which capitulated under conditions similar to Ḥalab (al-Balāḡhūrī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 149). In the reign of the Caliph Mutawakkil, 'Amr b. Hawbar, a native of Ma'rāthā al-Buraiḍiya (cf. Yāqūt, *Muḥṣatariḥ*, p. 400) near Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, was governor of the town; Kamāl al-Dīn (Freitag, *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, Paris 1859, text p. 24; transl. p. 18) quotes the beginning of a lampoon composed by him on the kāḍī of Ḥalab, Abū Sa'īd 'Ubaid b. Dījannād (d. 231). Nicephorus Phocas took the town in 357 (968) and deported its 1,200 inhabitants to Bilād al-Rūm (Kamāl al-Dīn in Freitag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 228). After the truce of Saḡar 359 (969—970) between the Greeks and Karghūya, the town passed to the territory of the latter (*op. cit.*, p. 232). In 415 (1024) the Kilābī leader Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās on his march against Ḥalab sent his follower Abū Maṣṣūr Sulaimān b. Taḥḥ against Ma'arrat Maşrīn; the latter took the town and made its governor prisoner (J. J. Müller, *Historia Merdasidarum*, Bonn 1829, p. 14; Rosen, *Zapiski Akad. Nauk.*, xlv. 378). Shortly before the death of Thimāl (454), the Byzantines took the town by treason (Kamāl al-Dīn in Müller *op. cit.*, p. 52). While Maḥmūd advanced on Baalbek (cf. ḤALAB), his uncle 'Aṭiya advanced with the commander of Anṭākiya and a Byzantine army against Ma'arrat Maşrīn, burnt its outskirts and killed a large number of inhabitants. In 491 Yaḡlī-Basān, prince of Anṭākiya, died in Ma'arrat Maşrīn, which was taken in Dhu 'l-Hidjja of the same year or Muḥarram 492 by the Franks (*Hist. Or. des Crois.*, iii. 483). They advanced on the town via al-Rūḍj, slew all its defenders and destroyed the pulpit of the mosque (*minbar*) (*op. cit.*, iii. 579). After the capture of Baldwin of Edessa, the Franks in the district of al-Djazz, in al-Fu'a, Sarmin and Ma'arrat Maşrīn were surprised and slain in 497 by the inhabitants (*op. cit.*, p. 592). In 507 (April 1114) a body of Ismā'īlīs (Bāṭiniya in Kamāl al-Dīn) who lived in Fāmiya, Ma'arrat Nu'mān and Ma'arrat Naşrīn (so written here) tried to surprise Şaizar while the Christians were celebrating Easter. But they were driven off by the Banū Munqidh (*op. cit.*, iii. 548). When Baldwin II approached in 513, the towns of Sarmin and Ma'arrat Maşrīn (*op. cit.*, iii. 623) capitulated. Tughtakin and Ilghāzi in 514 besieged the Franks in this town into which they had retreated. When Baldwin came to their relief, a treaty of peace was concluded by which the Christians were allowed to retain Ma'arrat Maşrīn, Kafarṭāb, al-Djabal, al-Bāra and other fortresses (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Recueil Hist. Or. d. Crois.*, i. 332; Kamāl al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, iii. 624 sq.). When Aksonkor of Mawşil in 520 invaded the country of Sarmin, al-Fu'a and Dāniṭh, the Franks encamped across his path at the reservoir (*ḥawḍ*) of Ma'arrat Maşrīn, until they withdrew in the middle of Radjab for want of supplies (*op. cit.*, iii. 653). The Atābeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī in 524 attacked the suburbs of al-Aṭḥārib and Ma'arrat Maşrīn, when Alice, the daughter of Baldwin II and widow of Boemund II, rebelled in Anṭākiya against her father (*op. cit.*, iii. 661). Sawār (or Aswār) of Ḥalab in 527 made a raid on al-Djazz and the citadel of Zardana, surprised the Franks at Ḥārim and invaded the territory of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and Ma'arrat Maşrīn from which he returned to Ḥalab laden with booty (*op. cit.*, iii. 667). In Djumādā I of the year 619 al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, the son of al-Malik al-Zāhir, received the lands

of Shughr and Bakās, al-Rūdī and Ma'arrat Maşrīn, which he exchanged about five years later for 'Aintāb, Rāwandān and Zūb (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, v. 64, 72; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales Muslemici*, ed. Reiske, iv., Copenhagen 1792, p. 312).

The town has not been much visited by modern travellers. Jullien describes Ma'arrat Maşrīn as a large village, lying among sesame fields and olive trees in a rich plain. Garrett is enthusiastic about the fertility of the country: "the soil there is unusually fertile, fig trees are numerous and roses are growing by roadside". In modern times the name of the town is often written Ma'arrīt il-Miṣrīn (with the article) e. g. by J. B. L. J. Rousseau (*Description du Pachalik de Haleb*, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vienna 1814, iv. p. 11), Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xvii., p. 1576), Garrett (*Publications of an American Archaeol. Expedition to Syria*, New York 1914, part i., p. 119) etc.

Not to be confused with our town is Ma'arrat al-Ikhwān (also called Ma'arrat al-Akhwān) east of it, sometimes called simply Ma'arra, e. g. by Seiff (*Zeitschr. f. Erdk.*, 1873, viii., p. 24: Maarat), according to whom it is a large village, "which lies bare and exposed with its white sugar-cone like roofs on a wide plain". According to al-Djibrīnī of Ḥalab (d. 843) and Ibn al-Shiḥna (edited by Abu 'l-Yumn al-Baḥrūnī in the eleventh century), Ma'arrat Maşrīn was earlier called *Dhāt al-Kuṣūr* (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxiii. 182; Ibn al-Shiḥna, ed. Cheikho, Bairūt 1909, p. 164 sq.; Lammens, *M. F. O. B.*, 1906, i., p. 240). But this statement is due to confusion with Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (cf. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 213, note 4).

Bibliography: al-Iṣṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, ii., xiv., Suppl. to *B. G. A.*, i. 61; Ibn Hawqāl, in *B. G. A.*, ii. 118; al-Makdisī, in *B. G. A.*, iii. 54 (*al-Ma'arratain*), 156 (*Ma'arrat Kinnasrīn*); Ibn Khurdādhbih, in *B. G. A.*, vi. 75; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 574; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāʾid al-Iṭṭilāʾ*, ed. Juynboll, iii. 120; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 231; Ibn al-Shiḥna, ed. Cheikho, 1909, p. 157, 165; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 497; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 109, note 3; H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousāma*, p. 78; Alexander Drummond, *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and several parts of Asia*, London 1754, p. 290 (*Martmishrīa*); J. Berggren, *Resor i Europa och Österländerne*, Stockholm 1826, part ii., p. 183 (*Maarrat Maşrīn*); Karsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien u. a. umliegenden Ländern*, Hamburg 1837, vol. iii., p. 100 (*Māad Maşrīn*); Thomson, *Bibliotheca sacra and theological review*, New York 1848, v., p. 665 (*Maanat* [!] *Nusrim* or *Musrim*), 671 (*Maarrat Musnīn* [!]); Jullien, *Sinai et Syrie*, Lille 1893, p. 284 (*Ma'arrat Moucerīn*); Melchior de Vogüé, *La Syrie centrale*, Paris 1861-1867, passim (*Ma'rrat megrīn*); Rob. Garrett, in *American Archaeol. Expedition to Syria*, New York 1914, part i., p. 119 (*Ma'arrīt il-Miṣrīn*).

(E. HONIGMANN)

MA'ARRAT AL-NU'MĀN, a town in northern Syria, often called simply AL-MA'ARRA. It is celebrated as the birthplace of the poet Abu 'l-'Alā' Aḥmad al-Ma'arri [q. v.]. According to al-Sam'ānī (*Kitāb al-Anṣāb*, reproduced by D. S. Margoliouth, *G. M. S.*, xx., 1912, fol. 536v. l.

4) the *nisba* from the place-name was *Ma'arnamī* to distinguish it from that of Ma'arrat Naşrīn, *Ma'arnasī*. The town probably lay on the site of the ancient Arra which is called Κάμνη "Ἀῖψαν οἰνοφορος" in an inscription. Yā'qūbī says that Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān is an old town in ruins. Naşir-i Khusraw in 438 (1047) found in the town wall a stone column with an inscription in some language not Arabic and Ibn al-Shiḥna also talks of old pillars being dug up in the town. Van Berchem notes the remains of a Greek inscription in the Madrasa (*Voyage*, p. 203, note 1).

The town received its new epithet, to distinguish it from the numerous other Syrian towns of the same name, from the Companion of the Prophet, al-Nu'mān b. Baṣhīr, who was governor of this district under Mu'āwīya and whose son died there. According to another tradition it is called after al-Nu'mān b. 'Adī al-Satī' of the tribe of Tanūkh. An earlier name of the town according to Ibn Baṭṭūta and Kḥalīl al-Zāhirī (ed. Ravaisse, p. 49) was *Dhāt al-Kuṣūr*, according to al-Dimashqī *Dhāt al-Kaṣrain*; al-Djibrīnī and Ibn al-Shiḥna wrongly give this name to Ma'arrat Maşrīn [q. v.]. The site of a citadel still bears the name Ka'lat al-Nu'mān (see below). We have much earlier evidence from another older name, *Ma'arrat Ḥimş* (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 131; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales Moslemici*, ed. Reiske, i., Copenhagen 1789, p. 226 etc.). The district of this town originally formed an *iklīm* (κλίμα) of the ḍjund of Ḥimş (Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B. G. A.*, vi. 75; cf. also — but this is an anachronism, — al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā*, iv. 142, transl. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 109); The Ḥimş gate (see below) is probably also a memory of this. It was only from the time of Hārūn al-Raşīd that the town belonged to the ḍjund of Kinnasrīn, the capital of which at a later date was Ḥalab (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 36, 39).

As early as 278 (891-892) we find Yā'qūbī giving the Banū Tanūkh as the inhabitants of the town. The district around it was one of the parts of Syria most strongly settled by Maronites (al-Ma'sūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 153). As there was no running water near the town, its inhabitants had to collect rain-water in cisterns. But the country round was rich in olive, fig, pistachio and almond trees; wine was also made here as in the ancient Arra. According to Ibn Djubair the orchards stretched for nearly two days' journey from the town and formed one of the richest and most fertile areas in the world. South of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, just beside the town wall was, according to local tradition, the tomb of Joshua son of Nūn; but Yāqūt says his grave was really at Nabulus (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Traditionen über den Grabesort des Josua*, in *Z. D. P. V.*, ii., 13-17). The Djāmi' Nabī Allāh Yūsha' in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān still bears the name of Joshua and has an inscription dated 604 (1207-1201) (van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, p. 202, note 4).

When Abū 'Ubaida came to Ma'arrat Ḥimş in the year 16 (637), the people came out to welcome him and promised to pay *djizya* and *kharāj* (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 131; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, iii., p. 794 § 284). The Caliph 'Umar II was buried in 101 in the monastery of Simeon (*Dair Sin'ān*) at al-Nakira (Νικέπραι) not far from Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (Honigmann, *Z. S.*, i., 1922, p. 17; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de*

la Syrie, Paris 1927, p. 184). 'Abdallah b. Tāhir appointed by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn in 207 as successor of his father in the governorship of Syria, destroyed the fortifications of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, while fighting against Naṣr b. Shabīth and many small towns like Ḥiṣn al-Kafr and Ḥiṣn Hunāk (Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, Paris 1819, p. 20). In 290 the Ḳarmaṭians under Ṣāhib al-Khāl ravaged the country round Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Ḥimṣ, Ḥamā and Salamiya, slew many inhabitants of these towns and carried off the women and children into captivity. The Banū Kilāb in 325 (936-937) entered Syria from al-Nadāj and advanced on Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. The commander there, Mu'adh b. Sa'id, went out to al-Burāghithī (site unknown) to meet them but was captured there with the greater part of his army, and only later released by the Kilābi Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. Sa'id, governor of Ḥalab. The latter and the Kilābi Yānis in 332 were driven from Ḥalab by al-Ḥusain b. Sa'id b. Ḥamdān, Saif al-Dawla's uncle and pursued beyond Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān as far as Ḥimṣ. Ikhshīd the governor of Egypt in 333, advanced against Saif al-Dawla as far as Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, which he took. Mu'adh b. Sa'id whom Ikhshīd had again installed there as governor was slain in battle at Kinnaṣrīn by Saif al-Dawla. In 357 (968) the emperor Nicephoros Phocas took the town and destroyed its chief mosque and most of the walls. When Karghūya seized Aleppo, Zuhair the governor of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān joined the Ḥamdānid Sa'd al-Dawla (358) and set out with him from Manbij against Aleppo; it was only when the Greek Turbasī brought help to Karghūya that the pair retired to al-Khunāṣira and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. In the treaty between Nicephoros and Karghūya (Safar 359) Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān was promised to the latter. Sa'd al-Dawla held out in it for three years. Bakdjūr had deposed and imprisoned Karghūya in Ḥalab and made himself sole ruler (364 = 975). Sa'd al-Dawla set out from Ḥimṣ against him and with the Banū Kilāb whom he had won over to his side by promising them lands at Ḥimṣ besieged Zuhair, who was an ally of Bakdjūr, in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. He forced his way with his followers into the town through the Hunāk gate; when they were repulsed, they burned the Ḥimṣ gate. Zuhair thereupon surrendered and was executed in the citadel of Fāmiya; the citadel of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān was plundered by the conqueror. When Rammāh, a Mamlūk of Saif al-Dawla ("al-Saifi") rebelled in 396 in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān against Sa'id al-Dawla, the latter with Lu'lu' went to besiege the town but retired to Ḥalab on the approach of Bandjuktakin (Freytag, *Loemani Fabulae*, p. 45, l. 6); Lu'lu' who had seized the power in Ḥalab in 392, next year had Kafr Rūma in the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and the fortress in the Arwādj (the two districts of al-Rūdj, cf. Rosen, *Zap. Insp. Akad. Nauk.*, xlv., p. 237, note 200) destroyed to prevent them falling into the hands of his enemies. When the Ḥamdānid Naṣir al-Dawla in 434 took the field against the Mirdāsīd Mu'izz al-Dawla Thimāl, he occupied Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. In 452 on his campaign against his nephew Maḥmūd, Thimāl spent eight days in the town; the inhabitants suffered severely as the Arabs on account of the severe winter were billeted in the houses and did much damage there. Maḥmūd after

occupying Ḥalab in 457 allotted Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān to the Turk chief Hārūn; on Shawwāl 17, 458, the latter entered the town with Turks, Dailamis, Kurds, and men of the tribe of al-Awdj, about 1000 fighting men besides camp-followers. They pitched their camp before the gate at which public prayers were said. Although excellent discipline prevailed among them and no one injured the olive-trees and vineyards or even took water for their animals without paying for it, the inhabitants breathed more freely when they left the town again to assist Maḥmūd on his campaign against the Kilābis. In 462 Turks in large numbers came out of Byzantine territory against Ḥalab, went via Urtiḳ to al-Djazr, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Kafartāb, Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ and Rafaniya, and laid Syria waste in dreadful fashion. The Turk Tutush in 472 undertook a campaign from Damascus against the north of Syria; he burned the region of Djabal al-Summāk and Djabal Banī 'Ulaim, extorted enormous sums from the people of Sarmin and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and plundered the country east of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān; he laid siege to Tall Mannas (Θελεμισσός) in vain and burned Ma'arratariḥa (the ancient Μαγαρταρίχων κώμη) in the district of Kafartāb. His son Riḍwān in 488 gave the town of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān with its lands to Suḳmān b. Urtuḳ. Soon after the taking of Antākiya (491) the Franks advanced on our town, supported by the people of Tall Mannas, and all the Christians in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān itself but they were defeated between these two towns. In the beginning of 492 they again besieged the town with a large army (then an *urbs munitissima*, Will. of Tyre, vii. 9) and took it, killing almost the whole population, 20,000 men, women and children (*Hist. or. des. Croisades*, iii. 482 sq.). Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān was, like Jerusalem in the same year, completely sacked and the walls and mosque destroyed. During the siege the Franks had destroyed all the gardens round the town and the Kilābis, who had come to the help of Riḍwān consumed all the supplies of the district so that the country was completely starved. In 496 Riḍwān reconquered the lost fortresses. At the end of 514, he concluded a treaty with the Franks by which the latter were allotted Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Kafartāb, al-Bāra and a part of Djabal al-Summāk etc. In 531 (1137) the Atābeg Zangī regained Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. When the inhabitants asked to have restored to them the estates of which the Franks had deprived them, he demanded the original charters of ownership from them but they had been destroyed. He therefore had search made in the books of the office of the financial department of Ḥalab (*Dafatir Diwān Ḥalab*) and found from the old payments of *kharaḍj* what families had owned property and restored them (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xi. 34 = *Hist. or. des Crois.*, i. 423; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales Moslem.*, ed. Reiske, iii. 470; v. 274). Zangī razed the walls. While King Fulco of Jerusalem was putting down a rising in Antākiya, Turkoman tribes entered the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and Kafartāb but were driven out again by the Franks who thereupon conquered Ḳubbat b. Mulaib (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Hist. Or. d. Crois.*, iii. 667, where our town is meant by al-Ma'arra, not Ma'arrat Maṣrīn as Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königr. Jerusalem*, p. 197 assumes).

The Byzantine emperor John II Comnenos in 532 (1138) invaded the district of Ma'arrat al-

Nu'mân and then turned suddenly against Shaizar [q. v.] which he besieged in vain. The earthquake of 552 (1157—1158) wrought great havoc in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, in *R. O. L.* iv. 529).

Salāh al-Dīn in 584 (1188) went from Ḥalab to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân from which he made a pilgrimage to the Shaikh Abū Zakariyā' al-Maghribi who lived at the tomb of the Caliph 'Umar. Towards the end of the reign of Salāh al-Dīn (c. 1191) the town formed part of the Syrian possessions of Taqī al-Dīn (*Hist. Or. d. Crois.* v. 14). Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân is several times mentioned in the wars between Salāh al-Dīn's sons. About 589 it belonged to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar b. Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar. Later we find its possession alternating between Ḥamā and Ḥalab. An old Shāfi'ī madrasa was built, according to the inscription on its gateway, in the reign of the Aiyūbid Sultān of Ḥamā, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad I (plan in Creswell, *B. I. F. A. O.*, xxi. 13); it is by the same architect as the lofty square minaret of the great mosque. Ibn al-Muqaddam in 596 (1159) owned the towns of Fāmiya, Kafartāb and 25 estates in the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân. In 597 the town was sacked by Sultān al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzi of Ḥalab and seems to have belonged to him for a period. An inscription dated 604 (1207—1208) still bears his name. Al-Malik al-Ādil in 598 went from Damascus via Ḥamā to Tall Ṣafrūn where al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Ḥamā joined him. His opponent al-Malik al-Zāhir of Ḥalab concluded a treaty with him by which he was to cede Kal'at al-Nadīm to Afdal and the part of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân which he held to al-Malik al-Manṣūr. About 619 and 692 the town belonged to the lord of Ḥamā, al-Malik al-Nāṣir; it then passed temporarily to al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā of Damascus who placed a governor in it. (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, v. 65; Makrizi and Ibn Wāsil, *R. O. L.*, ix. 497 sqq.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Mosl.*, ed. Reiske, iv. 312). During this fighting the lands of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân and Ḥamā were ravaged by a horde of Arabs under Mānī' (*R. O. L.*, v. 68). On the advice of Saif al-Dīn b. Abī 'Alī al-Hudhbāni, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar of Ḥamā in 631 (1233—1234) had the citadel of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân rebuilt, but by 635 al-Malik al-Nāṣir of Ḥalab seized the town again and after a brief siege the citadel also. The news of its fall was brought to Ḥalab by a carrier-pigeon (*R. O. L.*, v. 100, 105; Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, v. 404, 434, 596). The Khwarizmis, routed by Čingis Khān, entered Syria over the Furāt and advanced via al-Djabbūl, Tall A'zāz and Sarmin to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân which then belonged to Ḥalab. The geographer al-Dimashki also reckons the town to Ḥalab.

After the victory of Baibars over the Tatars at 'Ain Djālūt where the Mongol general Ketboghā' who had been left behind in Syria by Hülagū fell, Khosrawshāh the Tatar lord of Ḥamā left Syria. Sultān Kutuz thereupon restored this town along with Bārin and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, which had belonged for 23 years to Ḥalab in 658 (1259) again to its original owner al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Ḥamā.

Henceforth with slight interruptions Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân was in the possession of the lords of Ḥamā. In the years 710 (1310) the Sultān granted Bārin and our town to Abu 'l-Fidā' as a fief but he had to return them to Ḥalab by 713 (1313) as the conditions of ownership had become ex-

tre mely obscure on account of the frequent changes in the land-books and repeated grants by the Sultān (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales Moslem.*, v. 274). A journey by the prince to Egypt in 716 resulted in the restoration of the town and citadel to him and a charter of presentation was prepared (*op. cit.*, v. 302, 304). Abu 'l-Fidā' quotes a portion of a poem which the Aleppo secretary (*kātib al-inshā'*) Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd composed on the event (*op. cit.*, v. 306). But by the end of the same year he had again to cede the town to Muḥammad b. 'Isā (*op. cit.*, v. 310).

The district of Ḥamā was confiscated in 742 and placed under the Egyptian governor as a separate province (*djunud*); henceforth Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân formed a wilāyet of this province (al-Kalkashandī in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 233). In the Mamlūk period the town had seven gates (according to the *al-Rawḍ al-Miṣṭār fī Akhbār al-Aḥḥār*, quoted in al-Kalkashandī, Cairo, iv. 142): the Ḥalab gate, the great gate, that of Shihāb, called after the adjoining tomb of Seth, the garden gate, the Ḥims Gate and the like gate (*kadhā* probably a double gate of Ḥims). Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân was a station of the Egyptian pigeon-post (al-'Umari, *Ta'rif*, transl. R. Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx. 501; al-Kalkashandī, iv. 393).

After the battle of Mardj Dābiḳ in 922 (1516) the town passed to the Ottomans. Della Valle a century later found here (1616) a native chief under Turkish suzerainty and the Agha who lived there in Pococke's time while paying tribute to the Porte retained complete independence. Troilo found in the town "zwey schöne Wirths-Häuser, das eine war ziemlich baufällig, das andere aber noch wohl zugerichtet, ümb und ümb mit breiten langen bleiern Taffeln bedeckt". Seetzen describes Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân as the most northerly place in the Pashalik of Damascus (Suriya). Walpole was a guest of the mutasarrif of the town. The district of the town later became a *kaḍā'* of the liwā of Ḥalab. When Sachau passed through it in 1879, a *ka'immaḳām* was living there, the frontier with Ḥamā was at Khān Shaikhūn. After the world war the town was included in the territory under French mandate. According to Sachau it has about 40 well built houses and with its well cared for gardens and fields looks a peaceful and prosperous country town, while van Berchem calls it "a large village of rather dismal appearance"; it lies in a monotonous but well tilled plain at the foot of the eastern edge of the plateau of the Djebel Riḥā. In the north-west it is commanded by the high hill on which stand the ruins of the mediaeval citadel (on the map by R. Garrett and F. A. Norris, in *Americ. Archaeol. Exp. to Syria*, i. 50 and *Princeton Exp.*, Divis. ii., Sect. B. part 3, Kal'at in-Nu'mân is wrongly placed north-east of the town, cf. however also van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 202 and Eli Smith in Ritter, *Erdh.*, xvii. 1067 and Sachau, *Reise*, p. 94). Among the architectural features of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân the most notable, next to the great mosque, is the already mentioned Shāfi'ī Madrasa (built in 595). A notable building of the Ottoman period is a large square caravan-serai on the south side of which is a fine gateway with an inscription of 974 (1566—1567). Sykes was shown by the *ka'immaḳām* as one of the sights of the place the (alleged?) tomb of the poet Abu 'l-'Alā'.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

MA'BAD, ABŪ 'ABBĀD MA'BAD B. WAḤB, was one of the great singers and composers of the early Umayyad period. He belonged to Madīna and was a client of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Kaṭan (cf. *Aghānī*, i. 19) of the house of Wābiša of the Banū Makhzūm. He was a half-caste, his father being a negro. In his youth he was an accountant, but having taken music lessons from Sa'ib Khāthir, Naṣhīṭ al-Fārisī and Djāmila [q. v.] he adopted music as a profession and soon made a name for himself. During the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (65—86 = 685—705) he carried off the prize at a tournament of song organised by Ibn Šafwān at Makka. He sang at the courts of al-Walid I (86—96 = 705—715), Yazid II (101—

105 = 720—724), and al-Walid II (125—126 = 734—744), the second of these treating him with unheard of favour. On the death of Ibn Suraidj [q. v.] about the year 107 (726), Ma'bad became the leading singer, and when al-Walid II was called to the throne, Ma'bad, although an old man, was invited to his court at Damascus. Here he was honourably treated and received a gift of 12,000 pieces of gold. Shortly afterwards he was again commanded to appear at court, but he was very ill when he arrived. Paralysis intervened, and although he was lodged in the palace itself, and had every possible attention, he died (125 = 743). At his funeral, the caliph and his brother al-Ghamr, walked in front of the bier, whilst the renowned songstress Sallāma al-Qass, one of Ma'bad's pupils, chanted one of his elegies.

Ma'bad must undoubtedly be counted among the "four great singers" (*Aghānī*, i. 98, 151; ii. 127) whatever opinions may be held as to the others. A poet of Madīna said: "Ṭuwaish, and after him Ibn Suraidj, excelled [in singing], but pre-eminence belongs to Ma'bad". Iṣḥāk al-Mawṣilī (cf. ii. 439) said: "Ma'bad was a consummate singer, and his compositions reveal a talent superior to all his rivals". Poets like al-Buḥturī [q. v.] and Abū Tammām [q. v.] have shown the worth of Ma'bad in Arabian musical history. Among the compositions of Ma'bad his most famous were the seven known as the "Cities" (*Mudun*) or "Fortresses" (*Ḥuṣūn*), whilst five others were celebrated as the *Ma'badāt*. His fame was made by his adoption of a grandiose (*kāmil tamm*) style of composition in the rhythms (*ikḍā'*) called *ikḥāl* or "heavy". Among his pupils were Ibn 'Ā'isha, Malik al-Tā'ī [q. v.], Yūnus al-Kātib [q. v.], Siyat, Sallāma al-Qass and Ḥabbāba.

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(H. G. FARMER)

AL-MA'BARĪ, ZAIN AL-DIN wrote about the year 985 (1577) for Sulṭān 'Alī 'Adil Shāh of Bidjapūr (d. 987 = 1579) a brief history of the spread of Islām in Malabar, the coming of the Portuguese and their campaigns against the Muslims from 908 to 985 (1498—1578). The work is preserved in Brit. Mus. MS., N^o. 94, India Office N^o. 714 and 1044, 5 and in Morley, *Catalogue of Historical MSS.*, N^o. 13 and is entitled *Tuḥfat al-Mudjāhiān*; extracts were given by John Briggs in *Ferishta, History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India*, London 1829, iv. 531 sqq. and it was translated by M. I. Rowlandson, *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhideen, an historical work in the Arabic language*, London, Or. Transl. Fund 1833 and ed. by D. Lopez, *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar, por Zinadim, manuscripto arabe do seculo XVI publicado e traduzido*, Lisbon 1898.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MACASSAR, an important seaport on the island of Celebes, on the Bay of Macassar; it is the capital of the administrative district of "Celebes en Onderhoorigheden" and also of the division of it of the same name administered by an assistant-resident. By the native population the town which has made very great

progress in the last few years, is still often called by its original name of Ujung-pandang (Djumpang). The Dutch gave it the name Macassar from the kingdom of the same name. The heart of the Macassar country is the former principality of Gowa, which was put under the direct rule of the Dutch East India government in 1911 and is a remnant of the once very powerful kingdom of Macassar. The area inhabited by the Macassars in the wider sense stretches over the whole southern part of the southwestern peninsula of Celebes, as well as over the island of Saleier and several groups of island in the neighbourhood. The remainder of southern Celebes is inhabited by Buginese who are closely related to the Macassars and whose language, manners and customs are very similar.

The Macassars do not differ much in physical appearance from the Javanese; they are of above medium height and in general well built. Their mode of life, dress and dwellings are simple. The main industry is agriculture which is very successful on the generally fertile soil: in the plains rice is grown, often on wet fields, in the mountains maize particularly, but also vegetables and leguminous plants and cocoa-nuts. The cattle-rearing also is not unimportant. The native industries which are carried on in the houses of natives are not on a very high level; the work of the gold and silver-smiths is relatively good. An unfavourable verdict has often been passed on the character of the Macassars but this seems to be exaggerated; they find it difficult to submit to a regular life but for the rest they are not difficult to govern. Among their vices are their fondness for dice and cock-fighting. Originally three classes were distinguished in Macassar society, the princes and nobles, the people, and the slaves. Slavery has now been abolished even in the districts under independent rule.

The population generally professes Islām and its laws are on the whole conscientiously observed and the Muslim principal feasts faithfully celebrated. But one cannot of course say that Islām regulates the whole of their social and religious life. The customs which survive from an earlier period are very numerous and form a striking contrast to the ideas of Islām. In every village there is still to be found a little building which is used for the worship of the spirits of the animistic period (the chief of whom is Karaëng Lowe, i.e. the "great prince") and where heathen priests offer sacrifices. There can therefore be no question of fanaticism and the very simple mosques are in general in disrepair. The highest Muḥammadan office is filled by the *kali*, usually a man of princely descent, who used formerly to be appointed and dismissed by the king. He had control of all matters relating to worship and he also gave legal decisions in questions of inheritance and played an official part in marriages and divorces. There were lower officials under him who acted as preachers and preceptors, performed the offices of a sexton and gave elementary religious instruction. Their knowledge of Islām is usually very slight. The revenues of their clergy consists of the *sakka* (*sakāt*), the *pitara* (*ṣitṛa*) and of presents on all sorts of occasions at which they take part, and of a certain percentage (*ijuké*) on the division of inheritances. The *sakka* is irregularly and unsatisfactorily paid, the *pitara* much better.

No particulars are known of the earlier history

of Macassar and of the regions inhabited by the Macassars in general. In the middle of the xivth century they were under the rule of the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Madjapahit. According to the native chronicles of the royal houses of Gowa and Tello, which, at least so far as the earliest period is concerned, are largely mythical, the Gowa originally consisted of an alliance of nine small districts each under a noble; after the government had passed into the hands of one man and the kingdom had expanded, to include for example the lands of what was later Tello, Gowa is said, after the death of the sixth king (at the same time the first whom the chronicles represent to us as an ordinary mortal), to have been divided between his two sons; the one became ruler of Gowa and the other of Tello. It is certain that, so far as our knowledge goes, there were always close relations between these two kingdoms and that there was a certain degree of unity about them; they were known together to Europeans as the "kingdom of the Macassars". About the year 1512 Malays from Sumatra were given permission to settle in Macassar and it was perhaps they who first brought Muslim ideas to South Celebes. When the Portuguese appeared there in the middle of the century, they found only a few foreigners there, who were Muslims; it was not till the beginning of the xviith century that the Macassars in general adopted this new religion. During the reign of Tunidjallo (1565—90), Bābullah, king of Ternate, came to Macassar, concluded a treaty and at the same time attempted to introduce the Muslim religion into South Celebes. In 1603 Sulṭān 'Alā-uddēn and one of his brothers became converts to Islām, which thereupon spread rapidly over Gowa and Tello, chiefly through the influence of Karaëng Motawaiya, administrator of Gowa and prince of Tello. We find traditions about the first preaching of Islām in South Celebes, similar to those of other parts of the archipelago. There they are particularly associated with a certain Dato-ri-Bandang, a Minangkabau peasant from Kotatengah, who is said to have landed about 1606 in Tello and to have preached the Muslim faith, at the same time performing all kinds of miracles. Next to him, the two main apostles of Islām are said to have been his contemporaries Dato-ri-Tiro and Dato-Patimang. Their tombs are still much visited.

In the first half of the xviith century the kingdom of Macassar extended very much, so that it brought under its suzerainty almost the whole of Celebes, Buton, Flores, Sumbawa, Lombok and the east coast of Borneo. The Dutch East India Company, which had a good deal of trouble with the Macassars, did not succeed till 1637 in concluding a treaty with them which permitted freedom of trade but allowed them no permanent settlement. But as Macassar caused the Company further difficulties in the Moluccas, a war resulted in which the town was burned. By the peace concluded in 1660, the king lost a portion of his territory; the Portuguese were forbidden to remain in the kingdom while the Company were allowed to settle and trade freely in Macassar. Peace was again broken in 1665; the Admiral of the Dutch East India Company, Speelman, sailed with a large fleet to Celebes, destroyed the Macassar fleet and forced the king to sign a treaty of peace ("Bongaaisch Verdrag", 1667; confirmed in 1669), whereby

the suzerainty of Macassar over Celebes was finally destroyed. Even after this, the relations of the Company and later of the Dutch government with the kingdom were not good. Tello was incorporated in the government territory in 1856 and leased to the prince of Gowa. In 1905 an armed expedition was sent to Gowa; since 1911, it has been under direct rule.

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MADAGASCAR. With its area of 228,340 sq. m., Madagascar is the third largest island in the world after New Guinea (234,770 sq. m.) and Borneo (284,630 sq. m.). Its area is a little greater than that of France (207,000 sq. m.), Belgium (11,373) and Holland (12,740) combined. It is oriented from N.N.E. to S.S.W. and measures 1,000 miles in its greatest length and 350 in its greatest breadth with a coast line of 3,000 miles. The latest estimates put the native population at three millions.

The island was called *al-Komr* by the Arabs, *Bukini* (lit.: where there are (ni) *Buki*) by the Bantus of the neighbouring East African coast and by certain Malagasy tribes. The Portuguese called it "Island of St. Laurence" because they discovered it on that saint's day, August 10, 1506, and finally it became known as Madagascar from Marco Polo's name for it. The orthography جزيرة القمر unvocalised gave rise to the false etymology *Djāīrat al-Kamar* "island of the moon" with which the Portuguese historians became acquainted in the xvth and xvith centuries and which survived down to the end of the xixth century among the sailors of Southern Arabia.

The name *Komr* appears for the first time in the *Kitāb Šūrat al-Ard* of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kh̄wārizmī (d. 220 = 835 or 230 = 845), in which mention is made of the famous "mountain of Komr", جبل القمر in which the Nile was reputed to rise. But the interpretation by جبل القمر "mountain of the moon" was already old in the ninth century for it is found as early as the ὄρη σελήναια of Ptolemy which the majority of Arab geographers and notably al-Kh̄wārizmī took as a model. The mountain called "of Komr" or "of the moon" is mentioned by all the Muslim geographers who deal with eastern Africa. We shall see below how and to what degree the name of this mountain is connected with that of Komr = Madagascar.

In my memoir entitled *Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les Mers du Sud* (J. A., 1919, vol. 13 and 14), I have endeavoured to trace the origin of the name Komr; the documents there utilised enable it to be connected with the name of the Kmers and of the

崑崙 K'un-lun of the Chinese. The Chinese sources take us also to East Africa in which the *Cu fan tse* of Čao Ju-kua (1225) reproducing word for word two passages of the *Liñ wai tai ta* of Čow K'iu-fei (1178) locates a land of *K'un-lun ts'en-k'i kuo* "land of the Zangs of K'un-lun", which is close to a large island (= Madagascar) which is the regular home of the *pe'ñ* or *rokk* of the Arabs, whose feathers are so large that they can be used for holding a half-mudd of water. The old name of Madagascar has survived in modern geography in the name of the Comoro Islands, the little archipelago lying to the N.W. of the island.

In his *Exploração portuguesa de Madagascar em 1613* (Bol. Soc. Geogr. de Lisbon, 7th series, 1887, p. 313-356), Father Luis Marianno refers to the Malagasies as *Buque* (more correctly: *Būki*), which is also found in later travellers. It is the name given by the Eastern Bantu to the large African island: *Būki*, or with the addition of the locative suffix *-ni*: *Bukini*. *Būki* is to be connected with the Malagasy word *vāhūdā* "king-

dom, subjects" (phonetically: *wākwāki*), which is a plural Bantu form (*wā-Būki*) malagasised *va-* < Bantu plural form, *wa-* + euphonic intervocalic Malagasy *h* + *wāki*. This radical is identical with the reduplicated form used by the Arab geographers, *Wakwāk* or *Wākwāk* [q. v.] and phonetically equivalent to the *Būki* of the early travellers and the Eastern Bantu *wa-Būki*, "the Malagasies" and *Bukini*, "Madagascar". This explanation seems preferable to that which I had proposed in 1904 in *J. A.*, vol. iii., p. 496 sqq. I think we must agree that the Malag. *vākwāk* comes from *wā-Būki* and recognise a Bantu substratum in the Malag. word.

The present name of Madagascar is given by Marco Polo in the form *Madeigascar* (cf. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. Sir Henry Yule and Cordier³, ii., p. 411 sqq.). Yule long ago pointed out that Marco Polo had not visited Madagascar and only knew it by hearsay, and that the information he gave about it really related to the adjoining east coast of Africa. The origin of this name is as follows: As I have already pointed out in studying once more this chapter of Marco Polo, *Madeigascar* is undoubtedly a slightly erroneous formation of the form *Zang-bār* and should be corrected to *Madeigās-bār* = "land of the Malagasies", just as *Zang-bār* means "land of Zang or of the Zangs" (cf. *Mémoires Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, vol. xiii., 1905—1906: *Trois étymologies malgaches*, p. 418—422), where زنج بر should be corrected

to زنجبار. This correction is justified by the following facts: In the *Travels* already quoted, Father Luis Marianno mentions a kingdom of the S. E. of Madagascar which he calls *Mitacassi*, *Matacaci*, *Matacasi* (or *Matakasi*). Three years later in 1616, Father d'Almeida, travelling in the same country also mentions a kingdom of *Matacassi*. Cauche in his *Relation*, published in 1651 by Morisot (*Relations véritables et curieuses de l'Isle de Madagascar et du Brésil*, p. 10, 49, 99, 124, 127, 134), mentions a province called *Madegache* by some and by others *Madegasse*, the inhabitants of which he calls *Malegasses* and *Mallegasses*. He also uses the term *Madagascarois*, but with the wider sense of the whole island and its inhabitants. Flacourt (*Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar*, 1661, p. 1) says: "The island of Saint Laurens is called Madagascar by the geographers, by the inhabitants *Madecase*, by Ptolemy *Menuthias*, by Pliny, *Cerné*..., but its real name is *Madecase*". Later writers are all more or less inspired by the work of Flacourt and need not be discussed here. All these different readings go back to two forms: *Madagasi* and *Malagasi* which correspond exactly to two main categories of dialects: those with dental *d* and those with liquid *l*. It is the latter form that came to prevail over the whole island, sometimes with the sibilant: *Malagāsi* and sometimes with the palatal: *Malagāsi*. Both are paroxytons. The modern vernacular frequently uses the abbreviated form *gāsi* and even *gāsi*. These facts seem to justify the explanation suggested above for the name *Madagascar* which we owe to Marco Polo.

The doublet, *Malagāsi-Madagāsi*, *Malagāsi-Madagāsi* is obscure. According to the morphology of the language it may represent a form **mala* or **mada* + *gāsi* which recalls nothing, whether we take the form with soft letters *mada-gāsi* or that

with hard noted by the Portuguese: *mata-kāsi*. Nor do we know whether we have to deal with a western Indonesian root or a Bantu stem. In any case it is probable that we have to deal here with a foreign tribal name, the eastern or western origin of which can no longer be explained from an ancient or modern language.

In the Arab geographers the first detailed account of the island of Komr-Madagascar is found in the *Kitāb Nuḥat al-Muḥṭāk fī Ikhtirāk al-Afāk* (1154) of al-Idrisi who included the large African island in the country of the Zangs. "The people of the island of Zābag = Sumatra", he says, "in the seventh section of the first clime come to the country of the Zangs in large and small ships and use it as a centre for trading in their merchandise as they understand one another's language" (MS. 2221 of the *Bibl. Nat. Paris*, f. 29a, l. 15). This passage is very important as it shows that in the xiith century, Madagascar, wrongly located in the country of the Zangs, had been long before colonised by immigrants from Sumatra who had introduced their language into the island and Malagasy was derived from it. In the eighth section of the same clime the island of Komr-Madagascar is situated seven days' sail from the Maldives. Its king lives in the town of Malāy. This is an island four months' journey in length. It begins near the Maldives and ends in the north opposite the islands of China. The geographer of Roger of Sicily, as his map shows, has combined into one huge island Madagascar, Ceylon and a part of Sumatra. In the ninth section, we are told that the people of Komr and the merchants of the land of the Mahārāja (= Sumatra) come to the inhabitants of the east coast of Africa and are welcomed by them and trade with them (cf. my *Relations de Voyages*, Index, s. v. *Komr* and *Komor*).

Yāqūt in his *Muḍjam* (completed in 1224) says simply (vol. iv., p. 174): "al-Komr is an island in the centre of the sea of the Zangs, which contains no larger island than this. It contains a large number of towns and kingdoms. Each king makes war on the others. Amber and the leaf *al-komāri* (sic) are found on its shores. This is a perfume; it is also called betel flower. Wax is also obtained from it". The *Kitāb al-Muḥṭarik* of the same author contains identical information taken from the *Muḍjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 358) but the latter text has more correctly "the leaf *al-komri*".

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Maghribī, best known as Ibn Sa'īd, was born in 1208 or 1214 near Granada and died at Damascus in 1274 or in Tunis in 1286. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has a copy catalogued as Ms. n^o. 2234, a treatise on general geography which runs from f. 1 to 117 and is entitled: "The book collected and epitomised by 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Maghribī the Spaniard of the Book of the Geography (of Ptolemy) in seven climes; and he has added to it longitudes and latitudes from the book of Ibn Fāṭima". This copy of the original manuscript is dated 714 (1314—1315) and belonged to the celebrated geographer Abu 'l-Fidā'. The text contains in a few lines information of the highest importance to the following effect: "The Komr who have given their name to the mountain of this name situated in eastern Africa are brothers of the Chinese. They originally lived with the Chinese in the eastern regions of the earth, i. e.

in the interior of the Asiatic continent. Discord having broken out between them, the latter drove the Ƙomr to these islands. After a certain period of time, dissensions broke out among the Ƙomr who had migrated into these islands, the king and his family migrated once more and went to the large island of Ƙomr = Madagascar and the King settled in a town of this large island, called Ƙomriya. These Ƙomr immigrants to the large island increased in numbers and spread through the different centres of the island; but new dissensions broke out and provoked a new exodus and many of them went to settle in the south at the beginning of inhabited land along the mountain which bears their name" (cf. *Relations de Voyages*, ii. 316 sq.). If we translate these successive migrations into terms of modern geography, we get the following: The Ƙomr, related to the Chinese, originally inhabited Central Asia, migrated from the interior of the continent where they were neighbours of the Chinese to the adjoining maritime lands and islands (= Indo-China, Malay Peninsula and Indonesia; in Decade ii., Book ix., Chap. iv. of *Da Asia*, p. 352 of the little edition of 1777, the Portuguese historian Joan de Barros says that the Javanese claim to have originally come from China). They later migrated from Indonesia, more accurately from Sumatra (cf. my *Empire sumatranais de Çrivijaya* in *J.A.*, 1922, vol. xx.) to the large island which bears their name, the island of Ƙomr = Madagascar and from there to the land of the mountain of Ƙomr, the famous mountain in which the Nile was thought to rise = East Africa.

The first migration, that from Central Asia to the coasts of trans-Gangetic India certainly took place long before our era. Several centuries must have passed between the departure of the emigrants from the plateaus of Eastern Tibet, their expansion in the region of the coast, from Burma to Indo-China and their crossing to Indonesia. Ibn Sa'īd lived in the xiiith century. How then could he have known of events that took place several millenia before his time and are not recorded elsewhere? Neither the history nor legends of the Far East knows anything of such happenings. The Indianists, Sinologists, and Indo-Sinologists whom I have consulted cannot think of any text or inscription directly or indirectly referring to them. I am surprised at such a question being raised by a comparatively late Arabic text and I know no satisfactory answer. I was prepared by my studies on Madagascar to accept Ibn Sa'īd's statement that the large African island was colonised by Sumatrans whose ancestors had come from the Asiatic Continent; this is exactly what Ibn Sa'īd tells us. The agreement between the Arabic text and historical events is striking; but this undeniable agreement is unexpected for we do not know as well as we ought, how and where such information could have been obtained in the xiiith century. I put forward the hypothesis (*Relations de Voyage*, ii. 320) that Ibn Sa'īd might have got the information at the court of Hūlāgū where he spent some time in the xiiith century. But we know from his biographers that the Spanish traveller lived in Baghdād, studying assiduously at the 36 libraries of that city and making extracts from manuscripts. He may have found in these works the statements he has so fortunately preserved for us.

A contemporary of Ibn Sa'īd, Djamāl or Nađim

al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad, better known as Ibn al-Mudjāwir al-Shaibānī of Damascus, prepared his *Ta'rikḥ al-Mustabṣir* (Cod.: *al-Mustabṣir*) in 1230 (MS. 6021 of the Bibl. Nat. in Paris). In the 25 folios devoted to the history of 'Aden, 72 a, b deals with the voyages of the Ƙomr from their original home to 'Aden and notably in 626 (1228) from Madagascar to the African coast and to 'Aden (cf. *J. A.*, vol. 13, 1919, p. 469—483).

The following geographers: Shams al-Dīn Abu 'Abdallāh Šūfī al-Dimashqī (d. 1325), Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Nuwairī (d. 1332), Abu 'l-Fidā' (1273—1331), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1375), Maḳrīzī (1365—1442) tell us nothing particular about the island of Ƙomr. The towns, which some of them locate in the great African island, are really in Ceylon or farther east or cannot be identified (cf. *Relations des Voyages*, index, s. v. Ƙomor and Ƙomr).

In the xvth century Ibn Māđīd (cf. SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. MĀĐĪD) in his *Kitāb al-Fawā'id* (cf. my *Instructions nautiques et routières arabes et portugaises*, fol. i., p. 68a, b) includes the island of Ƙomr among the ten large islands of the world and mentions it after the Arabian peninsula: "The island which is the second in size", he says, "is the island of Ƙomr. It is now an island (sic). The information I have collected orally does not agree about its length or breadth for it is quite apart from the world and the inhabited climes of the earth. This is why there is doubt on the subject. In the large books on geography it is said to be the largest of the inhabited islands. Between it and the land of Sofāla and the islands dependent on it (= the Mozambique Channel) there are islands and reefs. In spite of this sailors are able to pass among the islands and reefs. The island of Ƙomr takes its name from that of Ƙāmraṇ, son of 'Amur son of Shem son of Noah. To the south it has the sea which the Greeks called Ōkīānōs, this is the ocean surrounding the world (*al-Muḥīṭ* in Arabic). It is the beginning of the southern darkness, which is to the south of this island of Ƙomr". Ibn Māđīd frequently mentions the island of Ƙomr in his other Nautical Instructions also and it undoubtedly is Madagascar.

With Sulaimān al-Mahrī (cf. below) our information becomes more definite. In his *al-'Umdat al-mahrīya* in Chap. iv., dealing with the islands and sailing routes along their coasts (cf. *Instructions nautiques et routières arabes et portugaises*, vol. ii., f. 22a), he says: "Let us begin with the island of Ƙomr because it is a large island which stretches along the coast of Zang and Sofāla. Its northern extremity is called Rās al-Milḥ (= Amber Cape); it lies in 11 *iṣba'* of Na'sḥ (α, β, γ, δ of the Great Bear = 8° 37' South; the true latitude is 11° 57'). Its southern extremity which is called Hūfā (? = Cape Sainte Marie) is in 3 *iṣba'* of Naḥḥ (= 21° 37' south; the true latitude is nearly 25° 38') according to some, in 1 *iṣba'* of Na'sḥ (= 24° 51' south) according to others. This latter latitude is the more accurate. There is a difference of opinion about the direction of the sea-routes along its coasts, because this island is remote from the inhabited earth. There are two opinions regarding the direction of the route along its east coast: according to some one should sail S. W. ¼ W. according to others S. W. There is a third opinion that one should go W. S. W. from one end to the other of the island. This last view is that of the older sailing

masters. In my opinion, adds Sulaimān al-Mahrī, it is possible that the route should be W. S. W., then S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W., then S. W. and in another direction still for two reasons: the first that it is a large island, that its coast is long and the route is also long. The second reason is that the directions given have not been verified on account of the fewness of the voyages made to this island and the insufficient nautical knowledge of those who have been there. Sailing-masters (*mu'allim*) of Zang have told me that the route on the east coast from Rās al-Milḥ to the place where Na'sh is 8 *isba'* (= 13° 30') south is to the south and from this place to the south end of the island is S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.W. I have recorded that the route on its west coast from Rās al-Milḥ to the place where Na'sh is 8 *isba'* (= 13° 30' S.) is to the south; and from this place to the south end of the island S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.W. On the west coast from Rās al-Milḥ to the place where Na'sh is 6 *isba'* (= 16° 44'), the coast is perfectly safe; from 6 *isba'* to its south end there is a *rikh* ("bank" or "shallow") about 2 *zām* (= 6 hours) sail or more in length to the neighbourhood of the coast. Between the island of ẖomr and the coast (east coast of Africa) there are four large inhabited islands, near one another, to which the people of Zang go. The first of these islands is Aṅgazīdya (= Great Comoro). It is in 11 *isba'* $\frac{1}{4}$ of Na'sh (= 9° S. approx.; Mroni, the capital of Aṅgazīdya, is in exactly 11° 40' South). Between it and the African coast it is 16 *zām* (= 48 hours) sailing. The second, Mulālī (our Mohali), is in 11 *isba'* of Na'sh (= 8° 37' S., true Lat. about 12° 20'); the third Dumūnī (capital of Anjouan) which is in 11 *isba'* of Na'sh (= 8° 37' S., true Lat. 12° 15') is to the east of Mulālī; the fourth Mawutū (our Mayotte) is in 10 *isba'* $\frac{1}{2}$ of Na'sh (= 9° 25' S., true Lat. 12° 46' 55"). To the east of these islands lies a great reef of rocks, about 4 *zām* (= 12 hours) sail, usually called 'Ain al-Baḥr ("eye" or "source of the sea"). The harbours of the west coast of ẖomr are Langāni (15° 17' S.), Sa'da [true Lat. approx. 13° 54'] and Manzalādji (= the bay of Mahadzamba, whose west point is in approx. 15° 12' Lat.). Those of the west coast are Bender Banī Ismā'il (in the same latitude as Langāni on the west coast), and Bimārūh (= Vohemar in 15° 21' 15"). All these ports are dangerous (for ships) except Langāni. Know that between Rās al-Milḥ and the coast of Zang, there are 50 *zām* = (150 hours) sail; and 20 *zām* (= 60 hours) to the east of Rās al-Milḥ there is an inhabited island called Munawwarā (one of the southern Maldives?). To the southeast of the island of ẖomr lie numerous islands called Tīrakhā (the Mascarene Islands); they are 12 *zām* (= 36 hours) sail from the island of ẖomr.

In his *Kitāb al-Minḥāj al-fākhīr* (f. 73b of the same MS.), Sulaimān al-Mahrī gives another description of the island of ẖomr which does not differ from that given above. Four pages earlier on f. 71b he mentions several other harbours of the island of ẖomr with their latitude calculated from the altitude of the Great Bear:

Island of Munawwarā by 11 *isba'*; Bender Ismā'il or Banī Ismā'il on the east coast and Lūlangāni or Langāni on the west by 10 *isba'*; Bimārūh on the east coast, Anāmīl on the west by 9 *isba'*; the island of Amber (*Qiasirat al-Anbar*) on the east coast and Bender al-Nūb on the

west by 8 *isba'*; Noshim (?) on the east coast and Malawīn (?) on the west by 7 *isba'*; Manakāra on the east coast (true Lat. 22° 08' 30") and Bender (al-)Shu'bān, "port of the banks", by 6 *isba'*; Bender Hadūda on the east coast and Bender Kūrī on the west by 4 *isba'*; Wabaya (according to the Turkish text of Sidi 'Alī; the name is illegible in MS. 2559) on the east coast and Bender Hit (or Hait) on the west coast by 3 *isba'*; Bender Hadūda (sic) on the east coast; no name known on the west coast in this latitude by 2 *isba'*; Bender Kūs (or Kaus) on the east coast and the bay of Kūrī on the west coast by 1 *isba'*; the majority of the names of harbours, which are sometimes found on both coasts recall nothing known elsewhere.

Malagasy undoubtedly belongs to the western Indonesian group of the Malayo-Polynesian family. Down to the adoption of the Arabic alphabet, the language was only oral and, so far as we know, never written down in any alphabet. The lack of epigraphic material on the one hand and of ancient monuments on the other deprives us of any chance of regaining the past history of this vast island. Before the xvth century, a few Arabic and Chinese texts would constitute our only documents, if the linguistic substrata did not yield us some valuable information. These substrata are of two kinds, Bantu and Sanskrit.

These former are divided into three categories:

1. The borrowings of relatively recent date from Swahili, which in turn got them from Arabic, of the type: Malag. *bahari*, "sea" < Swahili *bahari* < Arabic *baḥr*; Malag. *kamba*, "cocoanut fibre rope" < Swahili *kamba* < Arabic *kinbar*, *kanbar*; Malag. *sukani*, "rudder" < Swahili *usukani* < Arabic *sukkān*. These loanwords are practically only found in the maritime dialects of the N. W. and W. coasts.

2. The borrowings from Swahili of the type: Malag. *bāzu*, "baobab" < Swahili *mbūyu*; Malag. *bwāna*, "master", "sir" < Swahili *bwāna*; Malag. *kibāba*, "measure for rice" < Swahili *kibāba*, "measure of about a quart", etc. Like the preceding, these loanwords are found almost solely in the maritime dialects of the west coast; it may therefore be assumed that they also are of recent introduction.

3. The following words are, on the other hand, used either in the old and modern coast dialects or in the dialects of the centre and east, that is outside of the zone frequented by the sailors of the east coast of Africa, Zanzibar and the Comoros. They are found in manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale and in old records of travel; they are not borrowings, but belong to an old substratum of the language:

Malag. *ambāa* "dog" < Bantu *mbwa*;
Malag. *akānga* "guinea-fowl" < Bantu *kanga*;
Malag. *ampūndra* "ass" < Bantu *punda*;
Malag. *añōmbi*, *aūmbi*, *ūmbi* "ox" < Bantu *ngōmbe*;
Malag. *angānu* "tale, fable" < Bantu *ngano*;
Malag. *añōndri*, *aūndri*, *ūndri* "sheep" < Bantu

ñōndi;

Malag. *finēngu*, *fnnēngu* "green pigeon" < Bantu *ninga*;

Malag. *gūdru* "kind of lemur" < Bantu *ngedere* "little black monkey";

Malag. *kāzi* in the tribal name *Kazi-mambu* "madame" < Bantu *mkazi* "woman, wife";

Malag. *kūnguna* "bog" < Bantu *kunguni*;
 Malag. *kūnku, kōnko* "mangrove" < Bantu *mkoko*;
 Malag. *kūwra* "parroquet" < Bantu *kwaru*;
 Malag. *mūngo, mohūngo, mahōgo* "manioc" < Bantu *muhogo*;
 Malag. *mushāvi, musāvi* "sorcery" < Bantu *mshawi* "sorcerer";
 Malag. *mushungu* "poison" < Bantu *ushungu* "vegetable poison in which arrows are steeped";
 Malag. *ūsi* "goat" < Bantu *mbusi*;
 Malag. *papāngu* "milvus aegyptius" < Bantu *panga, kipanga* "falcon";
 Malag. *sambu* "ship" < Bantu *ḥombo*;
 Malag. *vahini* "stranger to the country or place where one is" < Bantu *wag'ni* "foreigners";
 Old Malag. *vasāka*, modern Malag. *vasāha* "stranger (means particularly foreigners of white race)" < Bantu *wusūngu* "white strangers, Europeans"; etc.

The place-names of Madagascar further show a certain number of names of villages on the coast and of rivers running into the sea which are also Bantu, some Swahili and others ordinary Bantu. They are referred to in my memoir on *L'Origine Africaine des Malgaches*, *J. A.*, 1908, vol. II.

The Sanskrit substratum contains many words of various classes:

1. Names of gods, spirits and of caste: Old Malag. *Yaṇa-hāri*, modern Malag. *Zaṇa-hāri*, "the supreme deity", lit. "the sun-god"; cf. *Čam Yaṇ-harī* < Indonesian *yaṇ*, "god"; Sanskrit *hari*, "sun", the sun deified.

Old Malag. *taivadey*, "god of evil", *čam debata* < Sanskrit *devata*, "deity" (for the inverse semantic progress, cf. Sanskrit *deva*, "god" > Zend *daēva*, Pahl. *dēv*, Pers. *dēv*, "evil spirit").

Old Malag. *Rau* in the expressions *hanin-rau vulan*, lit. "eaten by Rāhu the moon" = eclipse of the moon; *alin-rau masuanāru*, lit. "observed by Rāhu the sun" = eclipse of the sun.

Malag. *andriān*, *andriāna*, "noble", "of royal or noble caste" < Kawi *ārnya* < Sanskr. *ārya*, etc.

2. Names of the months:

The names of the months in the Indian calendar are found in the dialects of all the tribes of Madagascar. They have not however been preserved in the original order and a month that is placed at the beginning of the year by one tribe is put at the middle or end by another. On the other hand *śrāvana*, *āṣvina* and *phālguna* are not found in the Malag. lists; they are replaced by two *asāra*'s (large and small), two *fiśāka* (large and small) and a month called *bita* (?):

Skr. *pauṣa* > Malag. *fāuṣha, fōṣha, fūṣha, fūsa*;
 Skr. *māgha* > Malag. *māka*;
 Skr. *chaitra* > Malag. *aṣhūtri, aṣūtri, shūtri*;
 Skr. *vaiśākhā* > Malag. *fiśāka, fiśāka, shāka*;
 Skr. *jyaiṣṭha* > Malag. *tsihia, hiahia*;
 Skr. *āṣādhā* > Malag. *aṣhāra, asāra*;
 Skr. *bhādrapada* > Malag. *vatravātra*;
 Skr. *kārttika* > Malag. *hatsiha, hashiha, hashita*;
 Skr. *margasīrṣa* > Malag. *shitra* in *vula-shitra*

"the month or moon of shira";

cf. also Skr. *varṣa* "season of the rains" > Malag. *vāratsa, vāratra* in *faḥa-vāratsa, faho-vāratra* "season of hurricanes".

3. Common words:

Skr. *koṭi* "10 millions" > Malag. *kēti* "100 miles" > old Malag. *hēti* > modern Malag. *hētsi* "100 miles";

Skr. *kaca* "glass" > Malag. *kāca* > old Malag. *hātsa*;
 Skr. *alābu* "melon, pumpkin" > Malag. *lābu*, Batak *lābu* > Malag. *lāvu*.

Skr. *megha* "cloud" > Malag. *mēga* > old Malag. *mika*;

Skr. *tāmbūla* "betel" > Javanese *tēmbula* > old Malag. *tambūru*;

Skr. *tāla* "kind of palm-tree" > Batak *otal*;
 Malag., Javanese, Sundanese *lontar* > Malag. *dāra* "kind of palmtree";

Skr. *upavāsa* "fast" > Malag. *puwāsa* > old Malag. *afūce* "act of fasting";

Skr. *catur* "four" > Atchinese *čato* "a square game played by women" > Malag. *kātra*;

Skr. *maṇḍapa* "building erected on the occasion of a fête, a pavilion" > Mal. *mēndapa*, pavilion, building in which guests are received > Malag. *lāpa*, in composition *dāpa*, "royal residence, court, palace, tribunal, a roof in the centre of the village under which business is discussed";

Skr. *tantra* "manual, book, magic treatise" > Balinese *tantri* "story, fable, in which animals are the principal characters" > Malag. *tantrā* "story, legend, tale";

Skr. *tamraka* "copper" > Malag. *tēmbāga* > Balinese *barak* "red copper" > Malag. *varāhi, varāhin, varāhina*;

Skr. *śrīngavera* "ginger" > Malag. *shakarivū* and the form with metathesis *sakavūru*, etc.

Introduced by Muslims speaking Arabic, Islām has left numerous traces in Madagascar; the first and most important is the Arabic alphabet. The task of adapting the Arabic alphabet to the transcription of Malagasy was delicate and difficult. It was however satisfactorily accomplished. The Malagasy sounds *b, d, f, h, l, m, n, r, s*, were transcribed by the corresponding Arabic letter. The other sounds were rendered as follows: Malag. *g* by غ; guttural *h* by ح and sometimes by غ; the group *ng* also by غ; the sounds *dr* and *tr* which in Merina represent practically the *dr* and *tr* of the English *drive* and *travel* (they are pronounced a little farther back in the non-Merina dialects)

generally by ر, sometimes by ر with a *tanwīn* (e. g. *antendri*, "date-palm" is rendered by رَ رَ

and the context alone indicates whether ر is to be read *dr* or *tr*); Malag. *t* by ط with a point below; *ts* by Arabic ت; Malag. *v* by و but the Arabic ص is also pronounced *v*: Arabic رمضان, *ramaḍān* > Malay *ramavā*; Malay *z* by ز pronounced *z*: يَ "little child"; the sound *dz* by ج and in modern Arabic-Malay sometimes by ذ.

The islāmicised non-Semitic peoples, who have adopted the Arabic alphabet and who have to transcribe the occlusive *p* have employed various notations: The Malays have rendered it by ف; the Persian and following them the Muslims of the Comoro archipelago by پ; the Swahilis of East Africa by ب; the Malagasies adopted an unexpected solution of the problem: down to the xviiith century they rendered *p* by ف; i. e. ف,

surmounted by a vertical *tashdid*, then by ق. Contrary to Malay each letter is vocalised, which renders the reading of Malagasy-Arabic texts easy in spite of the variations in orthography, which are too numerous to be given here.

The Arabic-Malagasy alphabet was once used over a very considerable area; at the present day, it is only used on the S.E. coast where very many natives were still using it at the end of the 19th century. The Malag. Muslims of the N.W. and W. prefer to use the Arabico-Comoro or Arabico-Swahili alphabet. The latter renders by ت a *tr* identical with the Malag. *tr* but this form is only used in the island of Anjouan. The dialect of this island which has a *z* transcribes it by ج, the *z* of Persian and Turkish. The Arabic letters ق and ظ and ص, ز, ن, خ, ح, ث are only found in Malagasy, when Arabic words are quoted and they are pronounced respectively *s*, *h*, *k*, *dz*, *z*, *s*, *v*, *z*, and *k*.

Malagasy manuscripts in the Arabic character bear the generic name of *shura-be* "great writing", i.e. "sacred writing". They used to be difficult to obtain; the owners gave them an esoteric character which did not allow their contents to be communicated to a stranger. I was able to get some copied and to acquire a few others between 1890 and 1894. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has ten, of which eight are undoubtedly old. MSS. 2, 3, 4 and 5 came from the old Abbey of St. Germain des Prés; N^o. 6 is also old, although it was only acquired in 1820. Thanks to an interlinear transcription and Latin translation by a European, which can be dated on palaeographical grounds between 1595 and 1620, it may be presumed that N^o. 7 reached Europe in the second half of the 17th century and must therefore have been written before that date. According to an MS. note by Langlès, "MS. 8 seems to have been brought to France in 1742"; the MS. 5132 wrongly classed with the Arabic manuscripts is also an old Malagasy manuscript. MS. N^o. 1 given by the Duc de Coislin to the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés has coloured drawings, coarsely executed of men, animals, trees, and cabalistic figures but not a single line of text. MS. N^o. 13 is a copy of four short modern manuscripts. With the except of 1 and 13, all the manuscripts are on native paper, written with the *qalam* with native ink. Flacourt gives a detailed description of them in his *Histoire de la grande île Madagascar* (p. 194 *sqq.* of the edition 1661). The subject matter of the manuscript is very varied. There does not seem to have been a *shura-be* prototype out of which all the others proceeded. In an apparent disorder, the result of the fancy of the author or the copyist, we find collected *sūras* of the *Qur'ān*, interminable lists of the names of Allāh, and of names of angels, Arabic religious texts with interlinear Malagasy translations (cf. the facsimile publ. in *N.E.*, vol. xxxviii., 1904, p. 457); Arabic-Malagasy glossaries, magic texts, and invocations in large numbers, magic squares and formulae, texts showing the magic influence, good or bad of the planets, signs of the zodiac, lunar mansions, months, and days of the week, of the male and female character of the twelve Muḥammadan months (Muḥarram is male, Šafar is

female, and so on, in MS. N^o. 2 *sq.*, 26b), of patterns for amulets (*hirizi* < Arabic حِرْز).

The *sūras* of the *Qur'ān* are not reproduced in the order which was settled at the revision ordered by the Caliph 'Othmān. MS. 6 gives them in the following order: *fātiḥa*, cxiv., cxiii., cxii. and so on to xcvi. (f. 2a etc.). Then come verses 1—4 of *Sūra xciv.*, verse 256 of ii., verse 16 and beginning of verse 17 of iii. The same MS. also contains *Sūra xxxi.* (f. 136b) and f. 136b—138b, verses 158—159, 137, 256—259, 284—286 of *Sūra ii.* and verses 25—26 of *Sūra iii.*

Here we may mention several texts of particular importance, one of which is certainly unexpected. MS. 3 contains a bilingual glossary of 36 common words, Malagasy and Dutch, the two languages being transcribed into Arabic characters. It was published in *B.T.L.V.*, vol. lxi., 1908. I have suggested that it must have been compiled by the interpreter of Frederik de Houtman, "who had spent four years with the Dutch and spoke their language well". He had supplied Houtman with "his collection of Malagasy words".

MS. 5 contains from f. 85a to 88a an Arabic poem with Malagasy translation in honour of a certain Lailā (I have not yet been able to ascertain if this is the lover of Maḍjūnūn, or of some Lailā in Arabic literature). The piece begins "The poets said..." and ends "...the girl who possesses beauty and kindness". The Arabic verses are of an unusual inaccuracy and show that whoever reproduced them had a very superficial knowledge of the language and poetry.

MS. 8 (f. 52b to 56b) preserves a *khuṭba* in Arabic entitled *الْبَيْتُ الرَّائِبُ* (*sic*) pronounced *Aladua ra-lakatibu* (*ra* is the Malagasy article), "the *Khaṭib's* prayer". Not a line in it is correctly written and some words are absolutely unrecognisable. Under the transformations they have undergone however we still find the formulae used in this sermon. The following are successively mentioned in the *khuṭba*: the Prophet and his family, the first four caliphs, 'A'isha, Fāṭima, her sons Hasan and Husain, the two uncles of the Prophet, Ḥamza and al-'Abbās; then the Caliph Abū Aḥmad 'Abd Allāh al-Musta'ṣim bi'llāh (the text has *bi-l-dīn Allāh*) Amīr al-Mu'minin. Further on there is a re-

ference to Sulṭān قَائِمًا هَذَا, son of Sulṭān 'Othmān. The mention of the last of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs seems to indicate that the Malagasy converts to Islām, among whom this *khuṭba* was in use, had been converted by Arabs who had left Baghdād or a country under al-Musta'ṣim in this caliph's reign, i.e. between 640 and 656 (1242—1258). We cannot explain otherwise how his name appears with the title "Commander of the Faithful" in a *khuṭba* used in Madagascar. As to the Sulṭān قَائِمًا هَذَا (perhaps we should read قَائِمًا هَذَا and

translate "Sulṭān قَائِمًا who is here", the *khaṭīb* then indicating the Sulṭān in question), I have not been able to identify him. As it is written, the name is neither Arabic nor Malagasy. MSS. 7 and 8 contain two identical versions of a religious text which I published in *N.E.* (xxxviii. 449 *sqq.*). In a passage devoted to the glorification of the month of Ramaḍān, the anonymous author suc-

sively invokes the prophets of the Old Testament, Jesus and Mary, the Prophet Muḥammad, the first four caliphs, Ḥasan and Ḥusain and finally Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān, the great Sunnī Imām, and Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, the founder of the Sunnī school which bears his name. The mention of these two learned men and the *khutba* already mentioned are evidence of the orthodox character of certain Muslims of Madagascar and perhaps one may say of the generality of Muslims on the southeast coast. But the same manuscript N^o. 8 contains a Persian text which prevents us putting forward this conjecture. This latter text which is still unique is found on ff. 25a—27b. The last lines invoke the 'ashara mubashshara, then, the first eight imām's of the Shī'a sect of the "Twelvers" (cf. ITHNA 'ASHARIYA) to whom the author has added 'Alī Akbar ("Alī the elder"), son of Ḥusain and half-brother of 'Alī Zain al-Ābidin. The mention of these imām's of whom the last named, 'Alī al-Riḍā, reigned from 183 (800) to 202 (818) is valuable, for it implies that the writer of this text belonged neither to the schismatic sect of the Zaidiyya founded in 695 A. D. nor to the schismatic Shī'a sect of the Ismāʿīlīs which dates from 765 A. D., but to the orthodox Shī'a sect of the "Twelvers". This is important, for the Persians whom historical tradition makes come from Shīrāz and colonise Kilwa on the east coast of Africa and the island of Anjouan in the Comoro Archipelago were Zaidiyyas (cf. G. Ferrand, *Les Sultans de Kilwa*, in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, in the press) who cannot come into consideration in the present case. The Imāmiyya, whose presence in Madagascar is evident from MS. N^o. 8 thus form a separate group different from that of the Persians who had immigrated to the adjoining coast of Africa.

The Arabic-Malay manuscripts which I possess, those of the University Library of the Faculty of Letters in Algiers and the others which I have been able to see are, as a rule, similar in contents to those of the Bibliothèque Nationale, with the exception of the *khutba* and the Persian text, which so far as I know are found nowhere else. Quite a considerable number of manuscripts like MS. 13 contain genealogies of kings of the South-east, from which all these documents come, and local histories. One of them gives details of La Casa's campaign in the Imuru of 1659—1663 (cf. *N. E.*, 1907, xxxix.).

The majority of the religious texts which are found in the Arabic Malagasy MSS. of the Bibl. Nat. are translated into Malagasy. The Arabic part is very incorrect and the Malay translation shows that the exegists of Madagascar understood very little of it. The illustrious and lamented Goldziher, to whom nothing Islāmic was foreign, was interested in the texts which I published. Comparing three translations of the Malagasy text with the Arabic text he concluded that "the meaning of the fundamental ideas was most gravely misunderstood" (*L'École supérieure des Lettres et des Médersas d'Alger au XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, in *R. H. R.*, 1905).

The borrowings of the Malagasies from the Arabs who converted them to Islām are many and are found through all the tribes of the island without exception. The most notable are the names of the days of the week: *alatsinaini*, *talata*, *alarubia*, *alakamisi*, *zuma*, *asabutsi*, *alahadi*. We may note that the Arabic article has been retained

for Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday but dropped for Tuesday and Friday. The names of the days are here given in the Merina dialect; the forms of the other dialects show the regular phonetic variations.

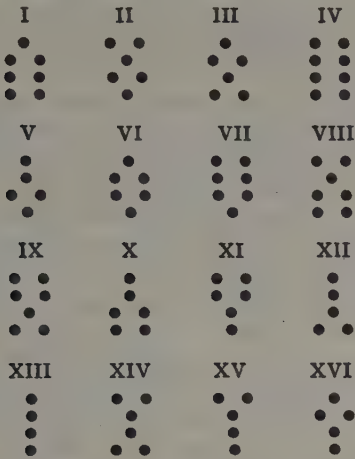
2. The names of the twelve months in Merina and in the dialect of some other tribes reproduce the Arabic names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac: *alahamadi*, *adauro*, *adizauza*, *asurutani*, *alahasati*, *asumbula*, *adimisana*, *alakarabu*, *alakausi*, *adidradi*, *adalu* and *aluhutsi* in which we can readily recognise: *al-hamal*, *al-thaur*, *al-djauzā*, *al-surufūn*, *al-asad*, *al-sunbula*, *al-mizān*, *al-akrab*, *al-kaus*, *al-djādī*, *al-dalū* and *al-hūt*. Quite a number of tribes do not know the Merina series, but still use the names of Sanskrit origin given above (p. 68, col. a).

3. The names of the 28 days of the month (the S. E. Malagasies however once had a year of 366 days) which are recorded by Flacourt (*Histoire*, 1661, p. 174) recall those of the 28 lunar mansions of the Arabs. According to the empirical method adopted by al-Sūsī and other writers, i. e. dividing the 28 mansions by 12 the latter are evenly distributed among the signs of the zodiac. "Know", says al-Šiklī, "that each of the signs of the zodiac has two mansions and a third" (A. C. de Motylinski, *Les Mansions lunaires des Arabes, texte de Mohammed al-Moqri*, transl. and annot., Algiers 1899, p. 68). In Madagascar to get rid of the fractions, three mansions have been attributed to the first fourth, seventh and tenth signs, and two to each of the eight others:

Signs of the Zodiac	Lunar Mansions
I. Alahamadi	1. Asharataini < al-sharatain 2. Alabutaini < al-butain 3. Azuriza < al-thurajā
II. Adauru	4. adabara < al-dabarān 5. alahaka < al-hak'a
III. Adizauza	6. alahana < al-han'a 7. azira < al-dhirāc
IV. Asurutani	8. anasara < al-nathra 9. atarafi < al-tarf 10. alizaba < al-djabha, etc.

The Arabic names of the lunar mansions thus become the names of the 28 days of the Malagasy months. Mentioned along with the day of the week, they take the place of the ordinal which the Arab-Malagasy texts rarely indicate by a figure. This method seems to have now fallen into disuse for ordinary purposes and is hardly used except in sorcery.

4. The *shiklī* (dialectal variants: *siklī*, *sikidi* < *shikl*, "figure") is the art of divination; its object is to find out what is not known and the means of discovering a remedy against it. Used throughout the island with slight variants from one tribe to another, *sikidi*, to take the form generally used, is a direct derivative from the *ilm al-raml*, lit. the science of sand or Arab geomancy (cf. the *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī Uṣūl 'Ilm al-Raml* of Shaikh Muḥammad al-Zanāṭī, lith. Cairo, n. d.). Shaikh al-Zanāṭī's table from which is derived all those in use in Madagascar comprises the following 16 figures:



Each figure of the table bears a name of its own and is composed of a certain number of dots, maximum eight (IV) and minimum four (XIII). Four figures have five dots (V, XII, XV and XVI); six have six dots (II, III, VI, X, XI, XIV) and four have seven dots (I, VII, VIII, IV). Each figure governs (حكم) a certain number of things or beings; according to the question put to the diviner, the latter considers very carefully the figure relating to the question asked. The influence of each of the figures comes from the sign of the zodiac, planet, day, Arab month and from one of the four elements to which it corresponds. It is also lucky or unlucky, male or female, *ḥalīb* (applying to the person consulting the fates) or *maṭlūb* (applying to the question asked); it is more or less strong and powerful شرفه in such and such conditions, and it also shows in what state the thing asked shall be realised. The 16 figures of the table are divided into different groups each bearing a particular name:

the *dawākhil*, "those who enter" which number three (XI, II, XV). If they are present in a large number in the *sidiki* effected by the diviner, it is a very auspicious sign and the questioner will certainly obtain what he seeks. If one of the *dawākhil* proves to be the first figure, the object sought enters, i.e. is obtained;

the *khawāridj*, "those who go out" are three in number (III, X, XII). If they are several times represented in the *sidiki* effected by the diviner, it is an unlucky omen and the object sought will be unobtainable. If one of the *khawāridj* proves to be the first figure, the object "goes out", i.e. is lost to the seeker;

the *munkālib*, "those who return" (IV, V, VI, IX, XIV, XVI) are sometimes lucky, sometimes unlucky, according to circumstances. If one of the *munkālib* is the first figure, the operation will remain without a definite result;

the *ṭhawābit*, "those who are fixed, who do not vary" are the figures I, II, X, XI, XIII, XV. They are lucky and assure that the seeker will gain his end;

the *manāḥis*, "the dismal" are figures III, VII, VIII, XI. If the first figure is one of the *manāḥis* the questioner will not obtain what he asks, or will not escape the misfortune he fears.

The figures I, IV, VII, X are called *awṭād* "the

pious". If the four figures found in it are similar, success is assured.

Figures II, V, VIII, XI are called *māiali al-awṭād*, "what concerns the pious". If the four figures found in it are similar the desire expressed, will be realised.

Figures III, VI, IX, XII are called *sailat al-awṭād*, "the end of the pious". If the four figures found in it are similar, the object desired is coming and will arrive or the desire is completely realised at the moment of consulting the diviner.

The sixteen figures are also divided into two groups of eight; one is called *shikl al-ḥalīb*, "figure of him who asks"; these are the eight who represent him who is consulting the fates; the other *shikl al-maṭlūb*, "figure of the thing sought", i.e. those who have to answer the request. If the first figure of the *sidiki* is among the eight *ḥalīb*, and the seventh among the eight *maṭlūb*, it is a very good omen. If on the other hand, the first figure is *maṭlūb* and the seventh *ḥalīb*, it will be impossible to avert the evil fate. It must also be enquired if the fifteenth figure of the operation of the diviner is *ḥalīb* or *maṭlūb*, if *ḥalīb*, it is lucky and if *maṭlūb*, unlucky.

If the *sidiki* is consulted on behalf of a sick man the presence of figures VIII, VI, V, XIV, IX, IV, XIII indicates his approaching end.

The four first figures of the table are also called *buyūt al-aiyām*, "hours of the days". Repeated several times they indicate that the thing sought will be realised in the course of a day. The four following (V—VIII) are called *buyūt al-djum'āt*, "houses of the weeks" and indicate an interval of a week; the four others (IX—XII) *buyūt al-shuhūr*, "houses of the months" indicate an interval of a month and the last four (XIII—XVI) *buyūt al-sinin*, "houses of the years" indicate an interval of one or several years. If one of the houses of the days occupies a position other than the first four, the interval increases in proportion as it is remote from the first four places. On the other hand if one of the houses of the weeks, months or years is found before its place, the interval diminishes in proportion to its nearness to the first figure.

The figures I, III, V, and X mark the direction of the east; VIII, XII, XIV and XV, the direction of the west; II, IV, VI and VII, the direction of the north, and IX, XI, XII and XVI, the direction of the south.

Figure I of the preceding table is called *al-haiyān* or *dāhika*. The first of these names has passed into Malagasy in the form *alahisani*. It represents the person who comes to consult the diviner; its zodiacal sign is Pisces; its planet Jupiter; its day Thursday and its element, the sea. The corresponding figure is the fifteenth. It is lucky, male and *ḥalīb*; i.e. it is one of the eight figures representing him who consults the fates. Its month is *Dhu 'l-Hijidja*. If in the preparation of the *sidiki* it occupies the first place, the thing demanded will be realised after an interval of three days. The amount of happiness and success which it brings will be greater if it occupies the first place.

Figure II (*ḥabdat al-dākhila*, Malag. *alakausi*) is that of wealth, riches, possessions and estates, and merchandise of all kinds. Its sign of the Zodiac is Sagittarius; its planet, the Sun; its day, Sunday; its element, fire. The corresponding figure

is the tenth. It is lucky, feminine and *maflūb*, i. e. it is one of the eight figures which represent the thing sought. Its month is *Djumādā al-Awwal*. If it occupies the fourth place, the desire of the seeker will be accomplished after an interval of 55 days; if it is in the fifth place, it is still propitious; if in the fourth it indicates greatness.

Figure III (*ḡabdat al-khāridja*, Malag. *adatu*) is that of the family, especially brothers and sisters. Its sign of the Zodiac is *Rās Djawzahīr* (< Pers. *gaw-i-sahr*: "the head of the Dragon"); its planet Saturn; its day, Saturday. The corresponding figure is the tenth. It is unlucky, male and *ḡalīb*. If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval necessary for the accomplishment of the desire formulated is 150 days. It reaches the maximum size in the ninth place and strength in the third. Its metal is gold.

Figure IV (*al-djama'a* > Malag. *dzama, zuma*) is that of the country, gardens and buriers of the dead. Its sign of the Zodiac is Virgo; its planet Mercury; its day, Wednesday. The corresponding figure is the fourteenth, its element black earth. It is good or bad according to circumstances and *maflūb*. Its month is *Djumādā al-Akhir*. If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before the realization of the desire expressed is 20, 55 or 150 days. It is large in the sixth place and strong in the fifth and tenth. Its metal is silver.

Figure V (*al-kawsadj* < Pers. *kūsadj* or *al-faraj*; Malag. *adikasadj*) is that of children and bearers of news. Its sign of the Zodiac is Libra, its planet Venus, and its day, Friday. The corresponding figure is the twelfth. The south wind is its element. It is neither good nor bad; it is *ḡalīb* and female. Its month is *Radjab*. If it occupies the fourteenth place the desire expressed is satisfied the day following. It is large in the twelfth place and strong in the fourth, eighth and eleventh. Its metal is gold.

Figure VI (*al-thikāf*, Malag. *alikula, alukula*) is that of the sick, of cries, of war, of slaves, of loss of property, of remedies and of ships (sailing ships of the Western Indian Ocean). Its sign of the Zodiac is Aquarius; its planet, Mercury; its day, Saturday. The corresponding figure is the seventh. Its element is the west wind. It is good or bad according to circumstances, *ḡalīb* or *maflūb*. Its month is *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da*; it is female. If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before accomplishment of the desire expressed, will be fifteen days. It is large in the ninth place and strong in the eighth, eleventh and twelfth. Its metal is silver.

Figure VII (*ankis* > Malag. *aliksi*) is that of husband and wife, of women and of sexual relations. Its sign of the Zodiac is Capricorn; its planet, Saturn; its day, Saturday and its element earth. The corresponding figure is the sixth. It is unlucky, *ḡalīb* or *maflūb*, and male or female according to circumstances. Its month is *Shawwāl*. If it is in the fourteenth place, it indicates an interval of 36 days before an answer to the question asked the diviner is obtained. It is large and strong in the second, ninth and twelfth. Its metal is silver.

Figure VIII (*homrā* > Malag. *alahumura, alai-mura*) is that of death and removal. Its sign of the Zodiac is the Ram; its planet Mars; its day, Tuesday. Its corresponding figure is the sixteenth, its element, fire. It is unlucky, *ḡalīb* and male.

Its month is *Muḥarram*. If it is in the fourteenth place, it indicates an interval of 21 days. It is large in the first and strong in the fourth. Its metal is iron.

Figure IX (*bayād* > Malag. *alibiava, adibidsadi*) is that of departure and of those who clothe the dead in white linen. Its sign of the Zodiac is Cancer; its planet, the moon, its day, Monday. Its corresponding figure is the thirteenth and its element is water. It is neither lucky nor unlucky but may be one or other according to circumstances. It is *ḡalīb* and female; its month is *Djumādā al-Akhir*. In the fourteenth place it indicates an interval of ten days for the accomplishment of the desire expressed. It is large in the ninth and strong in the eleventh. Its metal is copper.

Figure X (*naṣrat al-khāridja*, Malag. *asuralahi*) is that of strength and of rulers. Its Zodiacal sign is Leo, its planet is the sun; its day, Sunday; its element fire. It is male, *ḡalīb* and very lucky. Its month is *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da*. In the fourteenth place the interval before the accomplishment of the desire is 32 days. It is large in the tenth and strong in the thirteenth. Its metal is gold.

Figure XI (*naṣrat al-dākhila* > Malag. *asuravavi*) is that of life in towns, of return to the domestic hearth, of ambition, friendship and of children. Its sign of the Zodiac is Taurus, its planet Venus, its day Friday, its element, black earth. The corresponding figure is the fifth. It is male, lucky and *ḡalīb*. Its month is *Ramaḍān*. If it is in the fourteenth place, ten months will have to pass before the realization of the desire. It is strong in the fourteenth place and large in the eleventh. Its metal is copper.

Figure XII (*'otbat al-khāridja* > Malag. *karidza*) is that of enemies, cunning and ambushes. Its sign of the Zodiac is *Dhil al-Djawzahīr*, "the Dragon's tail", its planet Saturn, its day Saturday. The corresponding figure is the third, its elements are water and terra firma. It is unlucky, *maflūb* and feminine. If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before the accomplishment of the desire is 66 days. It is large in the twelfth and strong in the thirteenth. Its metal is iron.

Figure XIII (*ṭarik* > Malag. *ṭaraiiki*) is that of the road which leads to the house of death, to the cemetery. Its sign of the Zodiac is Cancer; its planet, the Moon; its day, Monday. The corresponding figure is the ninth, its element is water. It is lucky, *maflūb* and female. Its month is *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da*. If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before the accomplishment of the desire will be 50 days. It is large in the fourteenth and strong in the fifteenth. Its metal is copper.

Figure XIV (*idjtimā'* > Malag. *aditsima, aditsimai*) is that of learned men, of remedies, of knowledge, arms and medicine. Its sign of the Zodiac is Gemini; its planet, Mercury; its day, Wednesday. The corresponding figure is the fourteenth. Its element is the wind. It is lucky or unlucky, male or female, *ḡalīb*. Its month is *Djumādā al-Akhir*. In the fourteenth place which is its own, it indicates an interval of 6 months before the accomplishment of the desire. It is large in the fourteenth and strong in the fifteenth. Its metal is iron.

Figure XV (*'otbat al-dākhila*, Malag. *alikhutsi*) is that of the judge. Its Zodiacal sign is Pisces; its planet is Jupiter, its day, Thursday and its element, water. The corresponding figure is the

first. It is lucky, male or female and *ḡalīb*. Its month is *Shawwāl*. In the fourteenth place the interval before accomplishment of the desire will be 55 days. It is large in the fourth and strong in the eleventh. Its metal is iron.

Figure XVI (*naḡī al-ḡḡadd* > Malag. *kizu*) is that of the end of all things and the last of the *sikidi*. Its sign of the Zodiac is Scorpio; its planet Mars, its day Tuesday and its element water. The corresponding figure is the eighth. It is lucky or unlucky, male or female and *maṡlūb*; its month is *Djumādā al-Awwal*. In the fourteenth place it indicates an interval of seven days before the realization of the desire. It is large on the fourteenth and strong in the sixteenth which is its own. Its metal is copper.

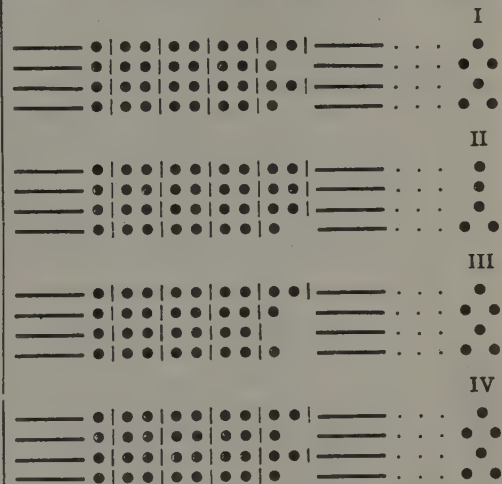
These are the sixteen figures of the *sikidi* and the signification given them in Madagascar.

As its Arabic name shows, this "science of the sand" was first practised by tracing lines or dots on the sand; in Arabic one says *ḡarab al-raml* "to strike the sand", to describe the preparation of the *'ilm al-raml*. On the east coast of Africa in Swahili the same operation is called *kupiga bao*, lit. "to strike the planchette" (which implies that the dots forming the sixteen figures are inscribed on a planchette) or *ramli*, a Bantuised form of the Arabic *raml* "sand". At the first the lines or dots were traced on the sand, then on a planchette of wood and lastly as in Madagascar on paper. According to another Malagasy method, the diviner also uses grains of sand, or seeds, especially those of the *fanu* tree (*Piptadenia chrysostachys*, Bth.).

When requested to consult the fates by the *sikidi*, the diviner first of all pronounces the invocation: "Awake, O God, to awaken the Sun! Awake, O Sun, to awaken the Cock! Awake, O Cock, to awaken Man (*ulumbeluna*)! Awake, O Man, to awaken the *sikidi*; not that it may lie, not that it may lead us to error, not that it may make a laughing stock, not that it may say foolish things, not that it may deal with any matter of no importance, but that it may search out secrets, that it may see what is beyond the mountains and the other side of the forest that it may see what no human eye can see. Arise! for thy skill which comes from the Muslims with long hair (sic! *silamu be vulu*), from the high mountains, from Raburubuaka, from Tapelaketsiketsika, from Zafit-simaitu (eponym of a tribe of the south-east converted to Islām), from Andriambavitalahi, from Rakelihuranana, from Ianakara (eponym of another south-eastern tribe, converts to Islām), from Andrinoni-Sulanatra, from Vazimba (a dwarf tribe, of African origin as the name shows; the old owners of the soil), from Anakandriananahitra, from Rakehilavavulu (lit. the little man with long hair)! Arise! for we do not have thee for nothing, for thou are dear and cause expense! We have taken thee in exchange for a fat zebu cow with a large hump. And for money on which there was no dust (i.e. coins which are still circulating). Awake! for thou hast the confidence of the ruler and thou expressest the judgment of the people. If thou art a *sikidi* that can speak, a *sikidi* that can see and that does not repeat (only) the gossip of people, the hen killed by its owner, the ox killed in the market, the dust which clings to the feet (i.e. a *sikidi* who does not repeat what everyone knows); awake, on the mat which is on this very spot!"

(cf. *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, 1886, p. 221). If the diviner operates with seeds, he takes up a few at random and counts them two by two until at the end he has one or two which are placed at the top of the figure. The operation is repeated four times which gives the four rows of dots of the first figure.

When the diviner works on paper, he traces with the *ḡalam* a line in the form of the arc of a circle, the centre of which is indicated by a dot. The sum of the dots and initial and final curves (each of which counts as a dot) must not exceed 14, although the *mpisikidi* is understood to make the dots without counting them. He then draws three other concentric curves in the same way. This done, the dots are counted two by two and line by line from left to right. A vertical line separates the groups of two dots from one another. After the last vertical line there remains either the final curved line which counts as a dot, either a point or a line, i.e. two dots. This or these are written opposite each line and given figures I, II, III, IV:



The four first figures are called in Arabic, *um-mahāt* "the mothers":

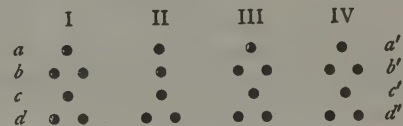


Figure V is obtained by transcribing vertically from right to left the line *a a'*, *b b'*, *c c'* and *d d'* give in the same way figures VI, VII and VIII. These four new figures derived from the four first are called *al-banāt* "the daughters":

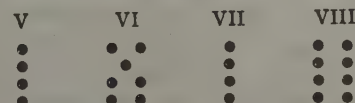
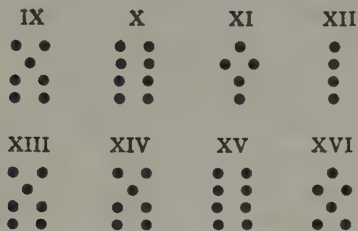


Figure IX is formed by adding horizontally the dots of I and II (in the addition $\bullet + \bullet = \bullet\bullet$, $\bullet + \bullet\bullet = \bullet\bullet\bullet$, $\bullet\bullet + \bullet\bullet = \bullet\bullet\bullet$). All the other figures are similarly formed: III and IV give X; V and VI give XI; VII and VIII give XII; IX and X give XIII; XI and XII give XIV;

XIII and XIV give XV; and XV and I give XVI. The eight last figures are called *banāt al-banāt* "the daughters of the daughters":



These sixteen figures contain the fate of the inquirer and the diviner has to give him the meaning of each of them by interpreting them from the table of *Shaiḫ al-Zanāṭi*, which was given above (p. 71a). We may therefore imagine what a high place the *sikidi* occupies in Malagasy life, and the very numerous circumstances in which recourse is had to it. The diviner was and undoubtedly still is the true manager of it. In practice it is consulted for every act of private and public life whether of the individual, family, clan or tribe. I have not been able to learn how one becomes a *mpisikidi*. It is the speciality of certain individuals without distinction of sex or birth. A diviner or a sorcerer may be man or woman (I have never known a woman sorcerer but have heard that there are such). The sorcerer may be of royal birth, noble or freeman (I have never heard of a sorcerer or diviner who was a slave, although slaves have been executed on charges of sorcery). The diviner or the sorcerer is very often the son or daughter of a diviner or a divineress, which assures him an extensive clientèle, for he or she is supposed to inherit the paternal (or maternal) secrets. The sorcerer or diviner may be either native or foreigner. I was taken for a diviner during a stay of forty months at Mananjary (S.E. coast) by the Muslim *mpisikidi*'s of the district, who treated me as colleague after I had shown them my knowledge of Islām. It was in this way that I was enabled to be initiated gradually into the practice of *sikidi* and appeal was sometimes made to it.

The area of dissemination of the '*ilm al-raml*' in Africa is considerable. It is found in Dārūr and the *Travels* of Burton in Dahomey reveal the existence of practices closely allied to *sikidi* among a West African people who are however not Muslim (cf. G. Ferrand, *Musulmans à Madagascar*, iii., p. 141 sqq.).

5. The great annual festival of the *fandruana* or the bath is only a survival under another form of the old '*id al-fitr*' [q. v.]. On this identification cf. G. Ferrand, *Note sur un Calendrier malgache et le fandruana*.

According to the evidence of the Portuguese discoverers and especially of Flacourt, the Muslim Malagasies of the S. E. of the xviith century fasted during Ramaḍān, recited the obligatory prayers, read the Qur'ān, but drank fermented liquors and raised and ate pork. There were *khafīb*'s in the S. E. so that assemblies of the faithful took place; but there is no mention of the existence of mosques in the early travellers and Flacourt says definitely in his preface that "the nation of which he is going to speak... has no idols or temples". As in Siam [q. v.] the success of Islām was only

mediocre in Madagascar. Malagasy does not readily assimilate foreign beliefs and customs and the latter do not profoundly modify native beliefs and customs. His whole philosophy is contained in the proverb *mami ni aina*, "life is sweet"; he thinks it good to be alive: the strict observation of the Qur'ānic prescriptions would have upset too much his usual life and customs. Allāh proscribes fermented liquors, standing stones, games of chance and consulting the fates as abominations invented by Satan. But these abominations are particularly dear to the Malagasies; they are particularly devoted to alcoholic liquors and to gambling, believe firmly in soothsaying and standing stones (*tsangambatu*) are held in honour throughout the whole island. No doubt they venerate Allāh, the Qur'ān, the Prophet and saints of Islām but it is a purely verbal reverence and they are not really islāmised to the degree, that for example are the negroes of the adjoining east coast of Africa.

The conversion of the Malagasies to Christianity was also a failure. At the time of the conquest of the island in 1895 they were quite disposed to be converted en masse to Roman Catholicism, thinking it would please us; they had to be warned that the French government only attached importance to respect for the laws and respected the religious convictions of every one whatever they were. This fact of which I was a witness is more eloquent than any other and throws an illuminating light on the past.

The evidence quoted above and especially that of comparative philology enable us to draw up the following scheme of the settlement of Madagascar so far as our knowledge at present goes:

I. Many legends give the old Vazimba, now disappeared, as *tumpu-n-lani* or ancient masters of the soil i.e. the autochthons. The name which is found in East Africa is clearly Bantu and represents an older *wa-zimba* Malag. *vazimba*. They are said to have been of small stature. They were perhaps negrillos.

II. There was an important immigration of African Bantus prior to our era of which we have an evidence in a certain substratum of African words which has survived in the modern language.

III. There was next an important immigration of Hinduised Indonesians from Sumatra (cf. G. Ferrand, *L'Empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*) in the second—fourth centuries A.D. A word like the Malag. *hētsi* < old Malag. *hēti* = 100,000 < Malay *kēti* 100,000 < Sanskrit *koṭi* 10,000,000 is over many others testifying to this fact. These Indonesians modified the somatological, cultural and linguistic type of the negritic Bantus who peopled Madagascar.

IV. Arrival of Arabs in the sixth—ninth centuries and conversion of the Malagasies to Islām. These Arabs probably came from the Persian Gulf and belonged to the Sunna.

V. Another immigration of Sumatrans at the end of the tenth century. I consider the Wākṭāk to be western Indonesians, as I shall explain in the article Wākṭāk. The *Book of the Wonders of India* ('*Adjā'ib al-Hind*', ed. by van der Lith. and transl. by M. Devic) mentions a piratical campaign by these Wākṭāk in 334 (945) in the Western India Ocean. It is probable that we have here a reference to the migration led by Raminī the

"Sumatran" or Raminia "the Sumatran" (fem.). His elder son Ra-Hadzi was the ancestor of the tribe of Zafin-d-Ramini, "the descendants of Ramini", of the S. E. coast of Madagascar. The younger son, Ra-Kuka, went into the interior of the island, reached the plateau of Imerina where he married a Vazimba woman. Ra-Kuba was the ancestor of Huva who bear his name.

VI. Coming of Persians of the sect of the "Twelvers" later than the reign of 'Alī al-Riḍā (183—202 = 800—818).

VII. Coming of other Arabs in the reign of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Musta'sim, in the middle of the thirteenth century of our era.

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do., *Les migrations musulmanes et juives à Madagascar*, *R. H. R.*, 1905; do., *Textes magiques malgaches*, *ibid.*, 1907; do., *Notes sur la région comprise entre les rivières Mananjara et Yavibola (sud-est de Madagascar)*, *Soc. de Géog. de Paris*, 1st quarter 1896; do., *Note sur le calendrier malgache et le Fandruana, Le destin des quatre éléments dans la magie malgache*, *Rev. des Études ethnographiques et sociologiques*, 1908, vol. i.; do., *Note sur l'alphabet arabico-malgache*, *Anth.*, 1909, vol. iv.; Hugues Berthier, *Manuel de langue malgache (dialecte merina)*, Tananarive 1922, 2 vol.; A. Grandidier, *Histoire physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, vol. iv.: *Ethnographie de Madagascar* by A. and G. Grandidier, 1908—1914, 2 vol.; *Bulletin de l'Académie malgache*, appearing since 1902. (GABRIEL FERRAND)

AL-MADĀ'IN, a mediaeval Arab town or rather a group of towns in al-'Irāk (Babylonia) about 20 miles S. E. of Baghdad lying on either side of the Tigris in two almost equal portions. The name al-Madā'in (plur. of al-Madīna) "the towns" is explained from the fact that the two capitals situated opposite one another, Seleucia on the west, the Greek city founded by Seleucus I between 312 and 301 B. C., and Ctesiphon on the east (the first reference to which is in 221 B. C.), the winter residence of the Parthian and Sāsānian kings, with several other places close at hand were regarded as forming a whole. The Semitic Aramaeans who formed the bulk of the population under the Arsakids and Sāsānians comprised the whole group under the name *Māhōzē* or *Medīnāthā* "the towns", which latter word the Arabs adopted in the plural form al-Madā'in peculiar to their language. Following the Sāsānians, the Arabs reckoned seven towns in al-Madā'in, the official names of which they partly arabicised.

On the west bank lay Weh-Ardesḥīr, corrupted by the Arabs to Behrasīr (often wrongly read Bahurasīr and Nahr Shīr or Sir; cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, p. 262, note 3). The name does not mean "good (is) Ardesḥīr" as it is often explained but "house (i.e. foundation) of Ardesḥīr" (cf. thereon, Nöldeke, *W. Z. K. M.*, xvi., 1902, p. 7: *Weh* = Aram. *Bē*). In Syriac and Talmudic literature Behrasīr is usually called *Kōkhē* (= Koche of the late classical writers) and *Māhōzā* (= "the town"). It occupied the lower southern half of the former Greek town. A parasang (c. 3 miles) north of it was the village of Darzanidān (also Darzidān), arabicised to Darzīdjān. On the east bank stood Ctesiphon. The Arab historians and geographers usually reproduce this name, which is not Greek but very probably indigenous (Irānian?) by *Taisafūn*; but we also find *Ṭusfūn* and *Ṭusbūn* corresponding exactly to the presumed Pahlavi form (*Tosfōn*, *Tosbōn*). On these place-names cf. the very full discussion by Streck in Pauly-Wissowa, *l. c.*, Suppl. vol. iv. 1102 sq. Not uncommonly the town on the east bank, much more important for the Muslims, is called al-Madā'in (e.g. in al-Iṣṭakhṛī, *B. G. A.*, i. 87, 1). About an hour's journey away, south of Ctesiphon stood Weh Antiokh-i Khosraw (= Antiochia, house of Khosraw). The Arabs usually called this city founded by Khosraw I Anusharwān, which was settled with the deported inhabitants of Antioch ad Orontem destroyed in 540 and is said to have been planned on the model of the Syrian capital,

Rūmiya = Rome or (New) Rome or Byzantium. The Syriac sources distinguish this new foundation from the older towns by the name *Māhōzā ḥ' dhattā* = "New town".

We know nothing further about the three other towns of al-Madā'in, which made up the number seven so popular in the east and was here no doubt deliberately chosen. The exact forms of their names are not even known.

As early as the Parthian period there was a stone bridge to convey the traffic between the two thickly populated banks of the Tigris, which the historian Ḥamza al-Isfahānī (cf. his *Tārīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 31, 10) describes as a marvel; but already in his day (beginning of the fourth = tenth century) there was no longer any trace of it. Under the Sāsānians a second bridge (of boats?) was erected. In the Muslim period however there was still only a bridge of boats.

In Ṭaisafūn-Ctesiphon two main quarters are distinguished, the northern "old town", Arab. *al-Madīna al-'aṭīqa* and the southern, Asfānabr (Asbānabr, Asfābūr, and other variants of the name).

The "old town" probably represents the oldest settlement on the east bank, the foundation of the Parthian period. In it was a royal palace which the Arabs called *al-Qaṣr al-abyaḍ* = "the white palace" (there were other palaces of the same name elsewhere; cf. the article *ḲAL'Ā-ISEFĪD*), probably the residence originally of the Sāsānian kings built by one of the last Arsakids or first Sāsānians. The southern quarter Asfānabr also included a royal residence, the *iwān* (= pillared hall, palace), usually described more definitely by the Arab authors of the middle ages as *Iwān Kīsrā* (= Pers. Khosraw, Chosroes, the general title of the Sāsānian kings among the Arabs; cf. Streck, *Seleucia u. Ktesiphon*, p. 37, note 1). Its builder is known with certainty to have been Sapor (Sābūr) I (241—272 A. D.). It may be noted that later Arab historians often confuse the "white palace" and the Iwān.

It can hardly be supposed that the site of al-Madā'in, so favoured by nature, at the point where the Euphrates and Tigris most nearly approach each other, was without any considerable settlement until the time of Seleucus I. There is on the contrary every indication that the town of *Akshak* (written ideographically *Uḥ-ki*) dating back to remote antiquity like its successor *Uḫi*, the *Opis* of the classics, cannot well be located anywhere else than on the site of the sister towns of Seleucia and Ctesiphon or in the immediate neighbourhood. What the Arab writers say about the founder of al-Madā'in is worthless. They ascribe the foundation to mythical kings of the old Irānian epic like *Dījamshīd* and *Tahmūrath* or other celebrated rulers of the east (like Nimrūd or Iskandar-Alexander; for Nimrūd see Abu'l-Faraj-Barhebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar*, Beirut ed., p. 20, 5).

For the pre-Muḥammadan history of al-Madā'in which does not fall within the scope of this work cf. Streck, *Seleucia und Ktesiphon*, and the pertinent articles in Pauly-Wissowa. The Arabic sources contain much valuable information for the Sāsānian period; the most notable is Tabarī's history (cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879). We may here mention that under the later Sāsānians, Ctesiphon, to some extent, lost its popularity as

the winter capital, for they, especially Khosraw II Parwēz (599—628), preferred Dastagerd to it, three days journey to the north on the very old "royal road" [cf. DASTADJIRD].

We have fairly full information about the conquest of al-Madā'in by the Arabs, especially the great chronicles of Tabarī (i. 2426—2456) and Ibn al-Aṭhīr (ed. Tornberg, iii. 396—403; cf. also Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii. 732 sq.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 68 sqq., and Streck, *Seleucia u. Ktesiphon*, p. 38—41). After the glorious battle of al-Kādisiya, which made the Arabs masters of 'Irāk west of the Tigris (cf. above, ii., p. 612b), the Caliph 'Omar ordered Sa'd b. Abī Waḳkās, who was then in command of the Muslim troops operating in the 'Irāk, to march on the Persian capital. Sa'd advanced, fighting several battles on the Tigris and appeared before Behrasir in the first half of January 637 (= end of 16 A. H.). The strongly fortified town which was bravely defended was besieged and stormed in vain for two months. In the end the Persians whose supplies were exhausted fled by night unnoticed over the river so that when the Arabs stormed the town soon afterwards they found it quite deserted. A few days later the invaders were able by using a convenient ford to cross the Tigris, much swollen by the spring floods. This almost miraculous crossing effected without any loss is a much celebrated event in Muslim history; it is one of the famous "days" of the period of the conquest. The Persians had not expected that the Arabs would win their way across. The king had taken refuge with his family and court in Hulwān [q. v.]; the army had retired to Djīsr Nahrawān (about 24 miles north of Ctesiphon). Only a few regiments remained at the palace in the capital. At the end of March 637 Sa'd made his triumphal entrance through the deserted streets. The progress of the Arab operations had not given the Persians sufficient time to carry off the vast treasures accumulated in Ctesiphon. These all fell into the hands of the victors. The Arabic sources give many interesting details of the very valuable objects which were captured not only in Ctesiphon but in the pursuit of the Persian army. The total value of the booty taken in Ctesiphon was estimated at 900 million dirhems (of a nominal value of nine pence but it varied a great deal).

The occupation of the Sāsānian capital, the greatest royal city in nearer Asia, may be said to be the most important event of the period of Islām's splendour, the period of the great campaigns of conquest. In the "Old town" the victorious Sa'd built the chief mosque — the first Muslim place of worship to be built in the 'Irāk.

Al-Madā'in was not destined to be the residence of the Arab governor of the 'Irāk; on the contrary it sank under Muslim rule to be a mere provincial town. It was soon overshadowed by the newly founded Arab military colonies of Kūfa, to which the gates of Ctesiphon were transported — a symbolic custom found elsewhere in the Arab east — Baṣra and Wāsiṭ. Baṣra and Kūfa now became the political and intellectual centres of Mesopotamia until the Caliph al-Manṣūr built Baghdād and the political and cultured centre of gravity of the land gravitated thither. The foundation of Baghdād dealt al-Madā'in its death blow: it was now called upon to yield the building material necessary for the new capital of the caliphate,

just as Babylon had done for Seleucia centuries before.

In the history of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods al-Madā'in was as a rule no longer of any prominence. It only played a part of some importance in the civil wars of the first two centuries of Islām, those provoked by the Khāridjis as well as those provoked by the 'Alids. The Muslim inhabitants of al-Madā'in were, it seems, always strong supporters of the Shī'a. They were also hostile to the Khāridji movement. As early as 658 there was fighting around al-Madā'in between 'Alī and the Khāridjis. An attempt by the latter (in 664) to seize Ctesiphon from Behrasir was thwarted by the commander there who had Shī'a sympathies, by destroying the bridge of boats. The Khāridjis however later succeeded in twice gaining temporary possession of al-Madā'in, e. g. in 688 when the Khāridji group of the Azraqiya [q. v.] wrought great slaughter among the Muslims who did not belong to their party. The second occupation of al-Madā'in in 696 was achieved by the Khāridji leader Shabīb b. Yazid. On these events cf. J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-polit. Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (= *Abh. G. W. G.*, N. F., vol. v., No. 2 [1901]), p. 21, 36, 43, 45; R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leyden 1884, p. 22, 92. With the death of Shabīb b. Yazid, the power of the Khāridjis was broken, but as late as 751 'Abbāsid troops had to be sent to suppress a leader of these rebels; cf. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendlande*, i. 440.

As regards the 'Alid wars in the 'Irāk the most important campaign was that of Ḥasan to al-Madā'in in the year 661. Ḥasan lived there in the "white palace". Cf. on this expedition, the Arabic accounts of which differ not inconsiderably: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i. 244; Flügel, *Gesch. der Araber*, Leipzig 1867, p. 158—159; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 336 and especially J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 67—68. In the later Shī'a troubles al-Madā'in appears in 684—686 and 744 as supporting the 'Alids; cf. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-polit. Oppositionspart.*, p. 72, 73, 80, 98. The importance of al-Madā'in as an objective in these civil wars is evident from the fact that in those days the military road from Baṣra to Kūfa did not go through the desert along the Arabian bank of the Tigris but went across the canals to the Tigris at al-Madā'in and from thence over further canals to the Euphrates; cf. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-polit. Opp.*, p. 85, note 3.

The Caliph al-Ma'mūn was repeatedly forced to lead an army against al-Madā'in: in 811, when in the troubles that arose over the succession on the death of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd the Barmecide 'Imrān b. Mūsā defended the town against Ma'mūn (cf. i., p. 665a) and in 815 when an 'Alid rebel Abu 'l-Sarāyā (al-Sarī b. Maṣṣūr, cf. iv., p. 170) who had seized the town was besieged in it. For the rest we do not hear much more of al-Madā'in in the 'Abbāsid period; its two main components, Ṭaisafūn and Behrasir, continued for several centuries more to enjoy the modest existence of small country towns. As regards Rūmiya which was included in the system of towns forming al-Madā'in, the Caliph al-Manṣūr had temporarily held his court there in 754 and had caused Abū Muslim [q. v.] to be treacherously murdered there (Yāqūt, ii. 867, 2; Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 268). But about

the middle of the tenth century this place according to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, ii. 200) was already completely deserted: the wall round it built of thick bricks was the sole relic of it left. When Yāqūt wrote in the early decades of the xiiith century (cf. his *Mu'djam*, i. 768; v. 447, 7) the whole of the east side of al-Madā'in, i. e. Ṭaisafūn in particular was already completely deserted; on the west bank still stood Behrasir, a small town, practically a village, inhabited by peasants who practised only agriculture. It was now known as al-Madā'in.

When Hūlāgū with his Mongol hordes was advancing to conquer the Caliph's capital in 1257, he pitched his camp in the ruins of the Iwān and in the following year, after he had been joined by the troops of the Mongol princes, he marched on Baghdad; cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1836, p. 266.

The author of the *Marāṣid al-Iṭīlā'* (ed. Juynboll, iii. 62) who wrote an epitome of Yāqūt and died in 1338 is also acquainted with Bahrasir as a little town inhabited exclusively by Shī'is, as is also Bakuwī who about 1403 prepared a synopsis of the geography of al-Kazwīnī [q. v.]; cf. the French translation of the latter *Talkhīṣ al-Aḥḥār* by de Guignes in *N. E.*, ii., 1789, p. 424. When Bahrasir became deserted is unknown. Presumably the disastrous invasion of the Mongols under Timūr at the beginning of the xvth century which was so fatal to so many once flourishing towns of the lands of the Euphrates and Tigris also caused the collapse of this last settlement in the territory of al-Madā'in.

It was not till the sixth century that a modest village arose on the site of Ctesiphon, a little north of the ruins of the *Iwān Kisrā*, in sight of the highly venerated sanctuary of *Salmān Pak* and called after him. This consisted on my visit in 1927 of a single street of mud-houses and Khāns where the numerous Shī'ī pilgrims who pass through here are put up. The building material is mainly supplied by the ruins of the *Iwān* especially of the north wing of its great hall which collapsed in 1888; cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 63.

In the Great War the site of al-Madā'in was the scene of desperate fighting, momentous in its results. This is usually called the Battle of Ctesiphon. When the Anglo-Indian army under General Townshend in the late autumn of 1915 began an advance from the fortress of Kūt al-'Amāra along the Tigris to the north to try to take Baghdad, it was defeated on the 22nd and 23rd November 1915 in the district of the ruins of al-Madā'in by the Turks. The fighting took place mainly on the east bank; the British line of battle ran on the east of the ruins of the *Iwān* and the little village near it. This reverse forced Townshend to retire to Kūt al-'Amāra, which was soon afterwards surrounded by the Turks and capitulated after a five months' siege on April 29th 1916. For further particulars of this battle, the greatest on the Mesopotamian front in the world war, see the works on this subject; cf. especially General Townshend's *My Campaign in Mesopotamia* (London 1919), p. 193 sq., 171—184, with plan of the battle (map 7).

In connection with this brief sketch of the history of al-Madā'in it may be mentioned that one of the most distinguished scholars in the

field of Arabic history was born here, namely 'Alī b. M. al-Madā'inī [cf. the next article], born 753, d. between 830 and 845. His work itself has not survived but may be partly reconstructed from the numerous extracts in Balādhuri, Tabarī, Yāqūt, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* etc. so that we have an idea of its contents; cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 140—141 and J. Heer, *Die hist. und geogr. Quellen zu Fāqūt's Geogr. Wörterbuch* (Strassburg 1898), p. 5—6, 67—68 (on the chapter al-Madā'in in Balādhuri). Darzanidān (Darzidjān), already mentioned above and included in the heptapolis of al-Madā'in, was the birthplace of the famous traditionist and historian al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463 = 1071): on him cf. vol. ii., p. 929 *sq.* and Bergsträsser, in *Z. S.*, ii. 207—208. In the introduction to his biographical lexicon he gives a brief sketch of the history of al-Madā'in, making a special point of noting the companions of the Prophet who came to this town and took part in its conquest; cf. G. Salmon, *al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Introduction topographique à l'hist. de Bagdad* (Paris 1904), p. 13, 25, 175—181, or p. 85—93 of the Arabic text.

As to the mint history of al-Madā'in, neither the name al-Madā'in, nor as we might perhaps expect, Taisafūn or Behrasir is found on the coins of the Muslim period; on the other hand we have a considerable number of pieces with the inscription *al-Bāb* "the gate" which undoubtedly belong to our city. The Arabs adopted the custom of the Sāsānians who gave their coins struck in Ctesiphon the mint name *Bābā* = "the gate", which is to be interpreted like "Sublime Porte" as an official epithet of their royal capital (cf. the official designation of Constantinople as *Dār-i S'ādet* "Gate of Bliss"). We have not only a series of Arabic coins with the mint name al-Bāb down to the end of the Umayyad period but also a few pieces of Sāsānian type with the legend *Bābā*; on the latter (specimens of the year 67—68) cf. Nützel, *Katalog der orient. Münzen in den kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, i. (1898), p. 102. Coins are also found occasionally with the mint *al-Madina al-'atīka*, the name of the northern quarter of Ctesiphon (with the Sāsānian Royal palace: cf. above). For the Arab coins of the mint al-Bāb cf. articles of various writers in *Z. D. M. G.*, xix. 394; xxxi. 148 *sq.*; xxxiii. 691; xxxix. 25, 38; xlii. 702; cf. also Streck, *Sel. und Ktes.*, p. 37—88 and the references there given.

Here we can only refer briefly to the important part which al-Madā'in played in the church history of the east independent of Rome, especially Nestorian Christianity. The see of Seleucia, said to have been first erected in the time of the apostles, was the premier diocese in the east. As supreme head of all the Nestorian bishops, in the Sāsānian period as well as in that of the Caliphs as patriarch of the east the occupant of the see of Seleucia bore the title *Katholikos*. A number of important synods were held at his official residence in the course of centuries. The episcopal cathedrals were in Behrasir (New Seleucia) which the Syriac sources usually called *Kōkhē* (cf. above): hence the official title of the patriarchate, "Church of *Kōkhē*". Besides the official church of the bishop there were in al-Madā'in in the quarters on either bank a whole series of other Christian churches, the names of which are occasionally found in Syriac and Arabic texts. From Seleucia

the Nestorian church developed considerable missionary activity, extending even to the Far East and reached its zenith in the period from the sixth to the ninth century. Under the 'Abbāsids 25 metropolites — the first in rank after the *Katholikos* was the bishop of Kaskar [q.v.] — each of whom in turn had 6—12 suffragans under him, acknowledged the authority of the see of Seleucia. All the metropolites received their investiture in the cathedral of *Kōkhē*. Soon after the foundation of Baghdād (762) the *Katholikos* also moved from Behrasir (*Kōkhē*), now declining politically and commercially, to the new capital of the empire in order, as religious and political head of the Christian community, the more effectually to champion their interests there at the court of the Caliph, where he usually enjoyed considerable prestige. But each new patriarch continued to be ceremonially installed in the mother church at *Kōkhē* (probably down to the end of 'Abbāsīd rule). For further information on the significance of al-Madā'in in oriental church history cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 274—275; do., *Sel. und Ktesiph.*, p. 42—7, 64 (sources in Syriac literature); J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, Paris 1904.

That al-Madā'in was also for some time an important centre of the gnostic sect of the Manichaeans may be mentioned here; but it is doubtful whether their founder, Mānī (Manes), as is often supposed came from Ctesiphon itself; cf. thereon most recently Schaefer, in *Isl.*, xiv. 23.

Finally it may be briefly recalled that al-Madā'in possesses considerable interest for the history of Judaism, especially for the Talmudic period of it. As in the Hellenistic period, the Jews under Sāsānian and Arab rule had also their main settlement on the west bank in Behrasir which in Jewish sources is usually called *Māhōzā*, "the town". There, as in the Greek Seleucia (cf. Streck, *Sel. und Ktes.*, p. 10, 21), they formed an exceedingly high percentage of the inhabitants, indeed at times they seem to have been in the majority. That they are described as very rich is not surprising in view of the great importance of al-Madā'in as a trading centre down to the time of the rise of Baghdād. At the same time their character is unfavourably described by the *Māhōzenes*; it differed from that of the other Jews of Babylonia which is perhaps mainly to be explained by the fact that there were many proselytes among them. They also had a famous college, which was however only the intellectual centre of Babylonian Judaism under Rabā bar Yoseph (b. 229 A. D.), a native of *Māhōzā*, and at other times was inferior to the other Jewish centres of learning in Babylonia, Nehardea, Sura and Pumbeditha. For further Jewish accounts of al-Madā'in, cf. A. Berliner, *Beitr. zur Geogr. und Ethnogr. Babylonien im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin 1883, p. 19, 23—24, 39—43; 61—62; see also Streck, *Sel. und Ktes.*, p. 27, 63 and 64 (Bibliography).

Apart from the wretched little modern village of Salmān Pāk the whole of the area of the town of al-Madā'in measuring about 60 square miles is quite uninhabited. It is only from the middle of the xviiith century that we have more or less full accounts of it by European travellers: cf. Streck, *Sel. und Ktes.*, p. 47—8. The first systematic topographical and archaeological examination of the extensive ruined site was made by E. Herzfeld, who visited it five times between 1903 and

1911. He dealt fully with the results of his examination in 1914 in the second volume (not published till 1920) of his and Sarre's *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*; cf. ii., p. 46—76 and the pictures on Plates xxxix—xliv (Vol. iii.) and cxxii—cxxviii (Vol. iv.). Herzfeld gives (ii. 51) the first plan of the whole area prepared by him in 1911; cf. this reduced to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the original also in Streck, *Sel. v. Babyl.*, p. 50 and in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, Vol. iv., 1106.

Of the towns on the west bank, notably Seleucia, there has survived from the Hellenistic period only remnants of the old city wall (*al-sūr*), a double wall of gigantic dimensions, on the north and (less considerable) south side. The whole west side of the old city is now sunk in a permanent swamp (*hōr*) formed since 1900 of the annual inundations. Within the south half of the ancient city walls, there now rise from the otherwise flat plain two mounds of rubble about 15 feet high (*djara'a*, which in the 'Irāk is practically synonymous with *tell*), namely the *Djara'at al-Bārūda* and the *Djara'at bint al-Kādi*. The former which takes its name (powder-millhill) from a powder-mill which used to stand there to supply the Turkish troops, may, from the finds of pottery, conceal an important part of the Sāsānian foundation of Behrasir. The second hill with the legendary name *Djara'at* (or *Qasr*) *bint al-Kādi* = "hill or castle of the Kādi's daughter" may very well mark the site of the several times mentioned citadel of Seleucia-Kōkhē. Beyond the above mentioned permanent swamp, further hills and walls may be seen: — Tell 'Umair (or *Djara'at 'Umar*), Khusāf or Abū Hulaifiya, al-Sūsfiya, al-Khiyāmiyāt and Tell al-Dhabab. They perhaps all fell within the area of Seleucia, and probably come from suburbs of it.

The ruins on the east bank, those of Ctesiphon, begin about a mile above the village of Salmān Pāk. After isolated wall-like ruins of walls and canals, the first considerable unit we reach is a large quarter of the town running for a mile along the Tigris opposite the Hellenistic Seleucia averaging 400 yards in breadth enclosed by a primitive much destroyed wall of clay: — hence the name *al-Ṭuwaiba*, "the little clay-wall". Within this area lie a few farmplaces with palmgroves, mulberry trees and fields. Al-Ṭuwaiba with its immediate vicinity must mark the site of Madīna al-'Atīka, the northern quarter of Ctesiphon. A second area filled with ruins is found around the village of Salmān Pāk and around the *Iwān*.

The village street of Salmān Pāk leads in a straight line to the much venerated tomb of Salmān al-Fārisī (Salmān the Persian) or, as it is usually called locally, of Salmān Pāk, "S. the Pure". He is said to have been the first Iranian to have adopted Islām and as "Apostle to the Persians" is one of the most popular Shī'ī saints. According to Muslim tradition he died at an advanced age in 656 or 657 in al-Madā'in, where the Caliph 'Omar appointed him governor; it should be noted however that the Arab stories of Salmān's share in the conquest of the 'Irāk and in the government of al-Madā'in are little credible. Cf. on Salmān vol. iv., p. 116 and Streck, *Sel. und Ktes.*, p. 53—54. The mausoleum with the alleged grave of Salmān which is crowned by a dome (it used to be shown in the vicinity of Iṣfahān!) stands on the south side of a court enclosed by a high white turreted wall and in its

present form may date from the first half of the xviith century, when it was renovated by Sultān Murād IV (1623—1640). In 1904—1905 the building was restored. A description of the interior by Kāzīm al-Dudjaili is given in Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 262, note 1.

South-west of Salmān Pāk about 1,000 yards from it close to the bank of the Tigris is a second Muslim tomb with a dome, that of Ḥudhaifa b. al-Yamān, one of the "councillors" of Muḥammad. The latter, an ardent champion of the 'Alid cause, obtained, we are told, great merit by building the first mosque in al-Madā'in and died in 657 in Kūfa; on him see Balādhuri, p. 289; Tabari, i. 2452; Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 262; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 59.

The tradition that these two companions of the Prophet are buried here is old and goes back to the third (ninth) century — the earliest reference is in Ya'qūbi, *B. G. A.*, vii. 320. Of the thousands of Persian pilgrims who annually visit the great Shī'a shrines of the 'Irāk (Kerbela', Naḡjaf, Kāzīmain and Sāmarrā) many chose to visit Salmān Pāk as one of the stages on the way out or home.

K. Niebuhr (cf. his *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1778, ii. 306) heard of a tomb of a third companion of the Prophet in al-Madā'in, namely that of 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, [q. v.] a Jew of al-Madīna. The latter — a strenuous opponent of 'Alī — never came to the 'Irāk so far as we know. The *Salmāne-i Baghdād* of 1317 (1906), p. 256 (according to Herzfeld, *op. cit.*) mentions in addition to Ḥudhaifa a certain 'Abd Allāh al-Ansārī, buried in al-Madā'in, but I think his statement like that of Niebuhr (or rather his informants) is not to be relied upon. There is possibly some confusion with 'Abd Allāh b. Sabā, who is said to have been of Jewish origin and accompanied the Caliph 'Alī to the 'Irāk, but was there banished by him, as his extravagant enthusiasm for him made him a nuisance, to al-Madā'in, where he may have died. Details of his end are not known. Herzfeld suggested 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥubāb, who, according to Mas'ūdi (iv. 410), was murdered by the Khārīdīs in 38 (658) while acting as 'Alī's representative in al-Madā'in. As the interior of Salmān's sanctuary is said to contain two graves, the second may be claimed as that of this uncertain 'Abd Allāh and not as that of the last Caliph Musta'sim executed by Ḥulāgū, as Mignon, *Travels in Chaldaea*, London 1829, p. 78 says: he is followed by W. Ainsworth, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1888, ii. 276. For the existence of a tomb of a Caliph at al-Madā'in there is no literary authority.

As to the second area of ruins, which begins south of Salmān Pāk, its centre is formed of the great hall of Ṭāk-i Kisrā ("arch of Kisrā"), the glory of the celebrated Iwān, which will be dealt with briefly below. In the immediate vicinity of the Ṭāk, four groups of ruins may be distinguished of which the most notable is an oblong mound 20 feet high in the south, called locally *Ḥarīm-i Kisrā* = "the harem of Kisrā" or *al-Dhā'i*, "the hyena-hill". It certainly conceals a single building. All these groups of ruins which fringe the Ṭāk on the four sides undoubtedly belong to the palace of the Iwān, which must have covered an area about 400 yards long and 300 broad. Some 500 yards S. E. of the ruins of al-Ṭāk, behind an irrigation canal the surface shows fewer but continuous remains

of buildings, which stretch to a corner of the wall, called *Bustān-i Kisrā*, "the garden of Kisrā", which perhaps enclosed a park for animals. A thousand yards S.W. of *Bustān-i Kisrā* rises another mound, 20—25 feet high, almost square at the base, *Tell al-Dhahab* = "Gold-hill" or *Khaznat Kisrā* = "Treasury of Kisrā". It is apparently one large building, perhaps the treasure-house built by Khosraw II (cf. Ṭabari, i. 1042).

In conclusion it must be emphasised that, for the proper appreciation of the ancient mediaeval and modern topography of al-Madā'in, the important fact must not be overlooked that the configuration of the whole country round was radically altered when the Tigris, since the end of the middle ages, completely changed its course here and now leaves its old bed immediately south of Ctesiphon for a stretch of 3 miles and describes a curve five times this length. We must further consider the possibility that not only has a considerable part of Seleucia disappeared in the Tigris, but smaller pieces of Ctesiphon have been gradually swallowed up by the floods of the river.

The most impressive memorial to its great past is now the *Ṭāk-i Kisrā*, which stands in the centre of the ruin of al-Madā'in. The surviving portion consists of a gigantic façade 102 yards long divided into two unequal portions by an arch 80 feet in width thrown boldly across. This, the front wall, originally over 100 feet high, divided into three stories is effectively relieved by open and imitated doors, arcades, pilasters and half columns. Through the gigantic archway one reaches a spacious hall 150 feet deep, on either side of which are five parallel side-chambers. A wide door in the back wall of the hall leads into a wide court apparently square in plan.

For the place of Iwān in the history of art and the date of its origin, the reader may be referred to Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 74 sq. According to him the building shows a mixture of Oriental and Hellenistic styles. Sapor (Sābūr) I (241—272) is the only possible builder; Khosraw I (531—579) seems to have undertaken a considerable restoration of the whole. The most characteristic part of Iwān, which clearly shows it was mainly intended for a palace of audience, is the great hall, in the Sāsānian period the scene of ceremonial public audiences and receptions by the sovereigns. Nothing has survived of the architectonic details of the Iwān, and the stucco or mortar coating in which these found expression has fallen off. The Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin possesses stucco rosettes, which Herzfeld (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxx., 1927, p. 226) identified as ornaments from the Iwān. In the interior, the palace, as we know from the accounts of the Arabs, was adorned with pictures and images in gilt relief. When the Muslims, pending the building of a mosque of their own, used the great hall of the Iwān provisionally after the capture of Ctesiphon, the paintings remained there intact and were still to be seen two centuries later. For example in the ninth century we find the poet Abū 'Ubadā al-Buḥturi (cf. i., p. 773), who was very fond of describing palaces, describing the Iwān in a famous poem from his own observations; see this poem in the edition of his *Diwān* printed at Sтамbul in 1300 (1882) (Vol. i., 108 sq.). Almost the whole text is also given in Yāqūt, i., 427—429; pieces of it in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī (ed. Salman, p. 90—91) and in Kaẓwini, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii., 304.

The majestic remains of Ctesiphon, which from early times have always made a deep impression on the Oriental mind, very soon inspired the imagination of the poets. The Persian poet Afḡal al-Dīn b. 'Alī Khākānī (d. 595 = 1200 [q.v.]) wrote an elegy on al-Madā'in, one of his best works; cf. Ethé, in *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 264. This was printed in Sтамbul in 1330 (1912) and in Berlin 1343 (1924). This latter edition entitled *Aiwan-i Medāin, un poème de Khākānī, adapté et augmenté par quelques poètes contemporains* (publ. No. 5 of the Iranschähr press) has a critical historical introduction by Dr. Riḏā Tewfīk and a commentary by the modern Persian writer Ḥusain Dāniš; on it, cf. E. G. Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge 1914), p. 307.

Muslims regard the abandoned and ruined remains of the Persian royal city as monuments of the victory of their religion (on the alleged omen of the collapse of 14 pinnacles of the Iwān in the night of Muḥammad's birth, see Streck, *Sel. una Babyl.*, p. 6) and as impressive symbols of fallen greatness. Like the pyramids, we find them in Arabic poetry as the regular symbol of the transitoriness of worldly power: cf. for example the verses of al-Tifḡḡḡ in Makrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*; the chapter on the pyramids, ed. by E. Graefe (Leipzig, 1911), p. 47 and 88 (and 94). The Būyid Sultān Djalāl al-Dawla (1025—1043) recorded his visit there by incising on the wall of the Iwān two verses proclaiming the transitoriness of worldly things (see Yāqūt, i. 429, 5); cf. also Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 61. The Arabs reckoned the Iwān, like the pyramids, among the wonders of the world (cf. e.g. Ibn al-Fakīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 255): indeed it was held to be not the work of man but of the demons, the Djinn [q.v.]. Quite early many legends became associated with the Iwān, most of which centre round the figure of Khosraw I Anūsharwān, still proverbial in the east for his generosity: e.g. the story of the old woman's hut which the king tolerated within the precincts of the palace (see Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 256—258; Streck, *Sel. und Ktes.*, p. 56 and *J. A.*, 1831, Vol. 15, p. 489) which Herzfeld (*op. cit.*, ii. 68) traces to the lack of symmetry in the façade; also the story of the "chain of justice" to which petitions were attached (imitated by Ilkhān in Tabriz: cf. J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, Darmstadt 1843, ii. 339) which according to Bermont still seem to be known among the people around al-Madā'in: cf. the legend published by him in *Le Liban, La Revue de Demain*, May 1926, p. 10—11: *La Légende du Melon d'eau* taken down from the lips of a Bedouin there.

Down to the accession of the 'Abbāsids the Iwān seems to have been practically intact; then they began to use it as a quarry but this was abandoned as too costly, the yield being far below the cost of obtaining it. As to the Caliph who ordered it to be taken down, authorities differ. Al-Mansūr is usually given (754—775) but very often Hārūn al-Rashīd also (788—809). In any case the partial destruction of the Iwān under the early 'Abbāsids is an assured fact; cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 255—256, 259; do. *Sel. und Ktes.*, p. 61—62; Herzfeld, ii. 63. The Iwān with the exception of the great hall and two wings of the façade had been destroyed by this time; for the part that was spared, the name *Ṭāk-i Kisrā*—now popularly pronounced *Ṭāk-i Kesre* as a rule—

came into use, first, I believe, in Rashīd al-Dīn (*Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. Quatremère, p. 266). Yākūt (i. 425), as well as Bākuwī (c. 1400) after him, know only the arched hall flanked by two wings as remains of the Iwān. The building remained in this state practically unaltered till 1888 when on April 5th on the occasion of a high flood the northern front wing collapsed, probably undermined by the ruthless robbery of bricks. An attempt was made a few years ago to save the threatened south wing by securing its foundations. Pictures of the Ṭāk-i Kisrā before and after 1888 may be found in Fr. Langenegger, *Die Baukunst des Irāk* (Dresden 1911), p. 16.

The *Kaṣr al-Abyaḍ*, the "White Palace", has completely disappeared. At the capture of Ctesiphon it was spared by the Arabs like the Iwān. The Muslim general Sa'd took up his quarters in it. It met its fate in the reign of the Caliph al-Muktafi (902-908) who had it destroyed to provide building material to complete the al-Tādj palace on the east side of Baghdād; cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, i. 122; ii. 259; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 63.

Systematic excavations have never been conducted on the site of al-Madā'in. The antiquities found here come from isolated chance finds; for a list of these see Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv., p. 1166-1167. The Deutsche Orientgesellschaft has just (the autumn of 1927) begun excavations here and it is to be hoped that this enterprise, which is on a considerable scale, will yield valuable results for the archaeology, history and topography of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, especially on disputed points which can only be decided by the spade.

Bibliography: B. G. A., ed. de Goeje; Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ṭabarī; Ibn al-Aṭhīr (ed. Tornberg); see the Indices to these works under al-Madā'in, Behrasir, Iwān, Kaṣr al-Abyaḍ, Rūmiya, Taisafūn; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, indices by Guidi, s. v. — There is valuable material for the Christian history of al-Madā'in in the *Kitāb al-Miḍḍal*, a history of patriarchs by Mārī b. Sulaimān of the xiith century and in the abbreviation of the work continued to the xivth century by 'Amr b. Mattā and Ṣalībā b. Yūhannā; see H. Gismondi, *Maris, Amri et Slibae de patriarchis Nestorian. commentaria* (text and Lat. transl.), 3 parts, Rome 1888-1899. Of late mediaeval Oriental works may be mentioned Ḥamd Allāh al-Kāzwinī, *Nuṣṣat al-Kutub* (G. M. S.) p. 44-46 or 50-52 (transl.) and the already mentioned Bākuwī (cf. N. E., ii., 1789, p. 424). A naive description of al-Madā'in is given in a Turkish account of the end of the xviiith century entitled *Kitāb Manāsik al-Ḥadjjī*; Bianchi translated this into French in *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, publ. par la Société de Géographie, ii., p. 81 sq. (or p. 131). On the references, which contain minor errors, in Firdawsī's *Shah-nāma*, see Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, p. 49 (in the *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, Vol. ii.). — For further information from Oriental authors s. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 33-35; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographem*, ii. (Leyden 1901), p. 246-279 and do., *Seleucia und Ktesiphon* (= *Der alte Orient*, vol. xvi., Hft 3-4), Leipzig 1917. See also the articles KOCHÉ by Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, xi. 943-944; KTESIPHON by Streck and Ho-

nigmann, *op. cit.*, Suppl. vol. iv. 1102-1119 and SELEUKEIA by Streck, *op. cit.*, ii. A, col. 1148-1184 and cf. thereon also V. Tschirikover, *Die hellenist. Städtegründungen* (= *Philologus*, Suppl. vol. xix., 1927, Hft 1), p. 90-92. — A historical topographical sketch of al-Madā'in from the earliest times to the present day is given by the Baghdād Carmelite Father Anastase in Arabic, in *al-Machriq*, v. (Bairūt 1902), p. 673-681, 740-746, 780-786, 834-840 (giving extracts mainly from Arab authors and European travellers); J. M. Patchatchy, *Le palais de Chosroes*, in the Arab. periodical *Lughat al-'Arab* (Baghdād), 1914, No. 8. — In Ritter's *Erdkunde von Asien*, xi. (1844), p. 852-865 the accounts of various early European travellers are utilised. For the modern topography of al-Madā'in and the questions of archaeology and history of art arising out of the buildings there, the main authority is now E. Herzfeld's *Seleukeia und Ktesiphon* in the already mentioned *Archäol. Reise*, ii. 46-76, 262, note 1 (suppl.). For further bibliography cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, loc. cit.; do., *Sel. u. Ktes.*, p. 64 and Herzfeld, p. 46, note 1 and p. 49, note 1. (M. STRECK)

MADĀ'IN ṢĀLIḤ. [See AL-ḤIDJR.]

AL-MADĀ'INĪ, 'ALĪ b. MUḤAMMAD b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. ABĪ SAIF ABU 'L-ḤASAN, an Arab historian and writer, a client of the Kuraish family of the 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf, was born in 135 (752) in Baṣra, where he was a pupil of the theologian Mu'ammār b. al-Ash'ath, but he became interested in *Adab* and history; he lived for a time in al-Madā'in but moved from there to Baghdād, where he was closely associated with Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī in whose house he died in 225 (840), according to the *Fihrist* in 215 (830), according to others not till 231 (845). His literary activity was very extensive and included works on the history of the Prophet, of the Kuraish, of the conquests and the caliphate as well as the history of poets and lighter literature (*adab*). The *Fihrist* gives 239 titles of works from his pen but this includes the *Kitāb al-Djawābāt* twice and many of the works may have been quite short. On the other hand this list is not complete. Although later writers using his works only rarely give their titles, we can add the following to the list in the *Fihrist*. Among historical monographs omitted is the *Kitāb Akhbār Zufar b. al-Hārith* used by Yākūt (*Mu'djam*, iv. 369) following a MS. of Sukkari (cf. Heer, *Die hist. und geographischen Quellen in Yākūts geogr. Wb.*, Strassburg 1898, p. 5). Among *adab* works is omitted especially the *K. al-Farajī ba'da 'l-Shidda* (cf. Wiener, *Isl.*, iv. 276 sqq.), often used by al-Tanūkhī, also the *K. al-Samir*, cited ii. 174, a by the same, the *K. al-Mughharribin* used by 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī (cf. *Khiṣānat al-Adab*, ii. 109, 1). The titles of his works seem to have varied often. Thus the *K. al-Nisā' al-Fawārik* cited by 'Abd al-Kādir, *Khiṣānat al-Adab*, i. 408, 11, is doubtless identical, one may say, with the *K. al-Nisā' al-Nāshizāt* cited *ibid.*, iv. 366, 5 below and 479, 15 and the *K. al-Nawākih wa 'l-Nawāshiz* of the *Fihrist*, 102, 1, as doubtless is the *K. Zakān Iyās* in al-Maidānī, i. 220, 12 with the *K. Akhbār Iyās b. Mu'āwiya* in *Fihrist*, 104, 15 and the *K. Akhbār al-Kilā' wa* in Mas'ūdī, ii. 70, 2 with the *K. al-Kilā' wa*

'*l-Akrād* of the *Fihrist*, 103, 14. There still exist only parts 1 and 2 of the *K. al-Ta'āzī* (*Fihrist*, 104) in the Ṭahiriya of Damascus (cf. Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khazā'in al-Kutub fī Dimashq wa-Dawāhīhū*, p. 28, N^o. 1, 3). Of his historical works his *K. Akhbār al-Khulafā' al-Kabīr* seems to have been the most comprehensive. It came down to the reign of al-Mu'taṣim. Ṭabari's account of the end of the reign of the caliph Hishām in 125 and the beginning of the reign of al-Walid seems to be based on it, although for Umayyad history he generally prefers Abū Mikhnaḥ. The *K. al-Dawla al-'Abbāsiya*, according to Yāqūt, *Irshād*, v. 315, 8, consisted of several books, some of which were still available to him in Sukkari's manuscript. He is wrong however in thinking that this work was unknown to Ibn al-Nadīm, for it is evidently the *K. al-Dawla* of the *Fihrist*, 103, 12, but it was omitted in the copy used by him. Of his historical monographs, the one used most copiously by Ṭabari was his history of Khurāsān, the title of which *K. Futūḥ Khurāsān* already given in the *Fihrist*, 103, 10, made its subject plain; it is a most important source for the history of Central Asia in the period of the Muslim conquest. His history of Baṣra (*Fihrist*, p. 103, 6) seems also to have been Ṭabari's main source for his account of this town. As his authority Ṭabari gives 'Umar b. Shabba; in one passage he definitely mentions the latter's *K. Akhbār Ahl al-Baṣra* (ii. 168, 10); perhaps he knew Madā'ini's work through the intermediary of 'Umar b. Shabba. Lastly Madā'ini's work on the Khāridjīs was used not only by Ṭabari but also by Balādhuri in the *K. al-Aṣhrāf* (Ahlwardt's *Anonymus*), by Mubarrad in the *Kāmil* and Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī in the *K. al-Aghānī*. His separate work on the battle of Nahravān may have been used by Ṭabari for the year 38. From his history of Madīna (*Fihrist*, p. 103, 23) al-Balādhuri seems to have taken his statements in the *K. al-Futūḥ*, p. 11, 2; 13, 6; 47, 17 and he seems to have been acquainted with Madā'ini's numerous other monographs on the history of the conquest. Among al-Madā'ini's pupils, al-Zubair b. Bakkār was the best known continuer of his work, which was however rendered obsolete in the next generation by the systematic works of Balādhuri and Ṭabari.

Bibliography: Kitāb al-Fihrist, p. 100-104; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, v. 309-318; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, N^o. 47; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 140.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MADĀR. [See GHĀZĪ MĪYĀN.]

MĀDDA (A.), a philosophical term = *hayūlā*, Gr. *ύλη* is, like its correlative *ṣūra*, Gr. *εἶδος*, a word of varied significance. In general it means that which can possibly exist (*δυνάμει*) but which really is not (has no form) but may become something through the adoption of opposed determinatives (forms). As the realisation of the possible is conceived as advancing by stages, a lower stage of form may again be conceived as material for a higher form of development. The question is further complicated even in Aristotle by the distinction between a physical and a logical material (this consists in the conception of species, which is formed by the specific differentia) and by the division of the physical into a heavenly and an earthly material. In addition there were further different, especially neo-Platonic, influences among the Arab philosophers.

The fourfold division of matter is very common, e.g. in the *Ikkwān al-Ṣafā'*: 1. prime matter, either directly or indirectly an emanation from the divine being, i.e. an intelligible matter conceived, according to Pseudo-Empedocles, as the first emanation but usually explained as in neo-Platonism as the last in the series (spirit, soul, nature), often defined as the efflux of light from the light of God; 2. the matter of the universe as a whole, especially and permanently, of the heavenly spheres, which first of all adopts the indefinite form of corporeality (extent) or at once the three definite dimensions; 3. the matter of the four earthly elements, fire, air, water and earth; 4. energy, which is already formed in some way, but can be used for definite purposes, e.g. wood, stone etc.

In agreement with Aristotle the philosophers regard God as pure immaterial form. Only an extreme mystic like 'Abd al-Karīm al-Djili, can call Him the *hayūlā* of the world. As regards the lower spirits (spirits of the spheres, angels etc.) opinions differ, but most thinkers find it easy to assume an intelligible matter, and even to recognise in the first created, the highest world spirit, a material principle; next however they are fond of distinguishing this intelligible matter as receptive and the earthly sensual matter as passive. — Different opinions are expressed regarding the *principium individuationis*: in the comparatively speaking purer Aristotelians we find the tendency to seek it in matter and in those who are more inclined to Platonism in form. All insist, although with varying emphasis, upon the desire of matter for form more than the love of form for union with matter.

As to logical matter, it may be noted in conclusion that the three modalities of judgment (necessity, possibility and impossibility) are described as "matters" (Ibn Sīnā). — Cf. also the article 'UNŠUR. (TJ. DE BOER)

MA'DHANA. [See MANĀRA.]

MADHHAB. [See FIḤIL.]

MADHHĪDĪ, an Arab tribe of Yemen origin, traced by the genealogists to Mālik b. Udad, who is said to be descended in the fourth generation from Kaḥṭān and to have received his name Madhhīdī from a hill of this name on which he and his brother Ṭaiy were born. His sons are said to have been: Sa'd al-'Ashīra, Djald, Yuhābir called Murād, and Zaid called 'Anz. The Madhhīdī whose tribal lands are said to have lain near Tardj "on the road to Yemen" (Yāqūt, s.v.) and whose brother tribes were Khath'am and Murād, were, according to tradition, at war with the 'Amir b. Ṣaṣ'a'a about the time of the appearance of Muḥammad; in the course of this war was fought the battle of Faif al-Rih. In the Muslim period, families of the tribe of Madhhīdī were predominant in Kūfa along with those of Kinda and Hamdān.

Bibliography: Ṭabari, *Indices*; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāḥ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 237; al-Bakri, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 721; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen I und Register*; Wellhausen, *Sturz des arab. Reiches*, p. 248. (H. H. BRÄU)

MADĪD, the second metre in Arabic prosody, very little used on account of a certain heaviness in its rhythm. In theory it consists of four feet in each hemistich and the prosodists quote in support of this several anonymous verses. In practice there are only three.

to Samhūdi (Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 37) was especially associated with a place west of the tomb of Ḥamza where the Banū Ḥāritha settled. The town which arose in this way was not surrounded by a wall so that its defences were the thick groves of palms and the orchards which surrounded the houses. As they were less thick on the north and west sides, these were most exposed to hostile attacks. The little forts (*uṣum*, plur. *uṣām* or *uṣjūm*, plur. *uṣjām*) which were built in considerable numbers formed a substitute for a wall and the inhabitants could retire into them in times of trouble.

There were in later times no reliable traditions regarding the origin and earliest history of Madīna and the historians endeavoured to fill the gap themselves and as elsewhere made the *Djurihum* (q. v. and also Krauss, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx. 352) and the quite unhistorical 'Amalekites play a part in it (cf. also Ḥassān b. Thābit, ed. Hirschfeld, N^o. 9, verse 6). It is only with the coming of Jews to Madīna that we are on surer ground, but the historians know so little of the exact period of these settlements that they connect them sometimes with Moses, sometimes with the deportation of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar, and sometimes with the conquest of Palestine by the Greeks or by the Romans. According to various references in the Talmud there were Jews in Arabia in the early centuries of the Christian era and this certainly means North Arabia in the main (see Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Koran*, p. 49 sq.) and that they were numerous is evident from the existence of Jewish communities in Taimā', Ḥidjr (Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission*, p. 150, 242), Khaibar, Wādī 'l-Ḳura, Fadak and Maḳnā, to which may be added that in Madīna. Everywhere in these oases they took over and developed the cultivation of the soil, and it was probably due to them, that these scattered settlements each developed into a kind of town; evidence of this is found in the Aramaic name Madīna for Yathrib. According to the definite statement of Ḥassān b. Thābit (N^o. 9, verse 8 in Hirschfeld) they built a number of small forts in this town. But that they were not the first to do this may probably be concluded from the fact that the earliest inhabitants were not pure Beduins (according to Lammens, *Tā'if*, p. 72, these forts were built after the model of those of the Yemen). The Jewish tribe of *Ḳainuḳā'* played a prominent part in the immigration, as at a later period one of the principal markets in the western part of the town was called after it. But gradually the tribes of *Ḳuraiza* and *Naḍir* came to be the leading ones in Madīna Jewry. The former dwelled with the Bahdal on the W. Maḥzūr, the Naḍir on the W. Buḥān (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xix. 95, where the Jewish tribes and the judaized Arab tribes are detailed). While in this passage, as usual, the *Ḳuraiza* and the *Naḍir* are numbered among the pure Jews, according to a notable statement in the historian Yaḳūbī (ed. Houtsma, ii. 49, 52) they were not pure Jews but judaized clans of the Arabic tribe of *Djudhām*, which Nöldeke has repeatedly emphasized as a genuine tradition. Now it is historically certain that at that time there were many Jewish proselytes (cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, p. 299) but in spite of this there are decisive reasons for believing that the Jewish element in Madīna did not arise in this

way. It is of special significance that the *Ḳuraiza* and *Naḍir* are frequently called the *Ḳāhinānī*, the "two (tribes of) priests", which shows that the Jews knew their genealogy and laid stress upon their descent (cf. e. g. Ibn Hishām, p. 660, 18: "thou revilest the pure of the two tribes of priests"). The same thing is seen from the fact that Naḍirī Ṣāfiya married by Muḥammad is described as belonging to the family of Aaron (Ibn Sa'd, viii. 86, 1). But the decisive fact is the way in which the Prophet speaks in the Madīna sūras to the Jews there. He apostrophises them as sons of Israel and reminds them that God has raised them above all men (ii. 44, 116); he brackets them with the ancient Israelites as if they had taken part in the Exodus from Egypt (ii. 46 sq.); Allāh gave Moses the scriptures so that they might be rightly guided (ii. 50); they break the laws which he bound them to observe at the treaty of alliance (ii. 77 sqq.) etc. Such expressions suggest as clearly as possible that he regarded them as true descendants of the ancient Israelites. There must therefore have been in addition to the judaized Arabs a stock of true Jews, and indeed it is obvious that without such there could have been no proselytes. Wellhausen moreover has aptly pointed out that the Arabian Jews by their language, their knowledge of the scriptures, their manner of life, their fondness for malicious mockery, secret arts, poison, magic, and cursing, and their fear of death, make an unusual impression which cannot be explained simply by the judaizing of pure Arabs. But on the other hand it must not be forgotten that the Jews in Arabia were very much influenced by their surroundings and had assumed a character of their own. For example we find among them the division into tribes and families, characteristic of the Arabs, with the obligations associated with this. The names of these tribes cannot be traced to old Jewish names but are thoroughly Arabic in appearance, which is also true of their personal names among which true Jewish names like Samaw'al and Sāra are rare. The arabicisation of the Jews is particularly notable in the poems which are ascribed to Jews, most of which might have been equally well written by Beduins (see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, p. 52 sqq.).

While the Jews were supreme in other places like Khaibar, al-Fadak etc., the position was changed in Madīna as a result of a new immigration which the Arabs associate with the bursting of the dam at Ma'rib [q. v.] and the migrations of South Arabian tribes produced by it. In this way the two so-called *Ḳaila* tribes, *Aws* and *Ḳhazraj* [q. v.], came to Madīna. No particulars of their coming are recorded, but from an interesting verse in Ibn Ḳhurdādhbih (*B. G. A.*, vi. 128) and Yāḳūt, iv. 460, it is evident that they were for a long time subject and tributary to the Jews and that this part of Northern Arabia was at this time under Persian rule, in keeping with the usual Jewish policy of maintaining friendly relations with Persia. Later the *Ḳaila* Arabs however succeeded in casting off the Jewish yoke and bringing the Jews under their rule. According to tradition the occasion of this was that a powerful Jewish king named Fityaun, who exercised the *jus primae noctis*, was murdered by a *Ḳhazrajī* Mālik b. al-ʿAdjlān to save his threatened sister — a widely disseminated motif (cf. K.

Schmidt, *Jus primae noctis*, 1882, and also R. E. F., 1883, p. 156 *sqq.*) on which too much stress should not be laid. As to later events there are two different traditions: some make Malik after his deed seek the help of a Ghassānid ruler, Abū Djabaila (cf. the name Djabula among the Ghassānids), others of a South Arabian Tubba', As'ad Abikārib (c. 430; M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 482, 497). In this second story, Wellhausen finds some support in some old verses and assumes that Tubba' is here an erroneous popular name for a later Abyssinian viceroy. There is however nothing in these verses about an attack of the South Arabians on the Jews of Madina alone but on the inhabitants of the town together, so that Wellhausen further supposes this attack may have so weakened the Jews hitherto predominant that the Arab inhabitants succeeded in breaking their supremacy; but this is of course no more than an attractive hypothesis. In any case the name Abrahā in Kais b. al-Khaṭīm, N^o. 14, verse 15, cannot be used as a basis for further hypotheses for it is certainly not the celebrated Abrahā [q. v.] who is meant. Besides, these stories contain legendary allusions to Muḥammad's future appearance in Madina, which betray at least a later recasting by Muslims.

The new lords of Yathrib took over the forts occupied by the Jews and built several more (Samhūdī, p. 37). They also learned "Nabataean" arts from them and began to cultivate palms and pursue agriculture. The Khazradjis, whose principal family was Naḡjdjār (or Taim al-Lāt), as the most powerful tribe assumed the leadership and occupied the centre of the town where the modern Madina lies. West and south of them lived other Khazradji tribes while the territory of the Hārith ran to the east. The Awsis, who also comprised several families, settled south and east of their brethren, the Nabit in the northeast separated by the Hārith from their kinsmen. The two principal Jewish tribes Naḡr and Kuraiza preserved a certain amount of independence and retained their lands under the Awsis while the Kaīnuḡa retained their lands in the southwest although their main industry was practising the goldsmith's art. Further details of the parts occupied by the tribes and families are given in Samhūdī (Wüstenfeld, p. 29 *sq.*, 37 *sq.*) but these can only now be partly identified. Besides there were in Madina, in addition to the Jews and the immigrant Kaila tribes several Arab tribes, some of which were already there when the former came. They were closely connected with the Jews and were partly judaized. The settlement of affairs reached in this way gave the town a period of peace, which was however gradually broken as an increasing enmity arose between the two Kaila tribes, as was not infrequently the case with Arab brother-tribes. At first it was individual families that fought one another but the conflagration gradually spread until the existence of the whole town was threatened. The quarrel began with the feud of Sumair, so-called after an Awsī named Sumair. This was settled by an arbitrator but it was not long till renewed friction led to renewed hostilities, of which the so-called feud of Hātib was the most serious. We are introduced to this second period by the poems of Kais b. al-Khaṭīm of the Awsī family of al-Nabit. The fighting throughout ended unfavourably for the Awsis and the Nabit were finally driven from

their possessions. In their need the Awsis appealed for help to the two principal Jewish tribes. They at first refused it; but when the Khazradjis had foolishly slain some Jewish hostages, they concluded an alliance with the Awsis and declared themselves ready to assist them. It was no longer a fight between a few families but a struggle between the two great rival tribes in their full strength and other inhabitants of Yathrib, even the Beduins of the country round also took sides. At Bu'āth [q. v.] after long preparations a decisive battle was finally fought. It at first looked as if the Awsis were again to be defeated. The tables were turned and the Khazradjis suffered a severe reverse. It is interesting to note that 'Abdallāh b. Ubaiy of the Khazradjis on this occasion displayed the same irresolution that he did later in his opposition to Muḥammad; he took the field with the others but did not enter the battle. On the day of al-Sarāra he actually ran away. The battle of Bu'āth restored the equilibrium between the principal tribes, but the continual fighting had sapped the strength of the town and the bitter feeling which continually revealed itself made the lives of the inhabitants more and more unendurable. Then a momentous change took place when the people of Madina, who required a leader with a strong hand, and Muḥammad, who had only to a slight extent succeeded in winning over the Meccans to his religious views, came into contact with one another.

The Kaila tribes at the time of their immigration to Yathrib had been heathens like the great majority of the Arabs. The principal deity they worshipped was Manāt [q. v.], after whom the Awsallāh were originally named but they also revered among others al-Lāt (cf. the name Taim al-Lāt already mentioned). Through living alongside of Jews they became influenced by their religious and moral ideas, but unfortunately we know very little of their spiritual outlook before the coming of the Prophet. The poet Kais deals in the Beduin style mainly with the quarrels between the tribes and families and rarely refers to religious matters. He nowhere mentions the local deities but refers to Allāh (No. 6, verse 22) whom he calls the creator (5, 6; cf. Goldziher, *Z. D. M. G.*, lvii. 398), which is in itself sufficient to prove Jewish or Christian influence. Of him he says in N^o. 11, verse 8: "Allāh will only what he will"; verse 13, 12: "Praise be to Allāh, the lord, the lord of the building" refers to the Ka'ba in Mecca, the *masjid* covered with carpets (5, 14). The three days in Minā are mentioned in 4, 4 which shows that they then as later in the Muslim poets gave the young men an opportunity for love-affairs with women of other tribes. In rejecting a life after death, 6, 22, he is quite on a level with the pagan Meccans. Alongside of such representatives of a mixed religion there were others whose conceptions had developed farther through contact with Jews or Christians, so that they were reckoned ḥanifs [q. v.] as they definitely rejected the popular deities and had assumed a tendency to asceticism. Abu 'l-Haitham and As'ad b. Zurāra for example professed monotheism before they became acquainted with Muḥammad (Ibn Sa'd, III/i. 22, 139). A Khazradji, Abu Kais Sirma b. Abi Anas, wore sackcloth and laid stress on levitical purity; he actually thought of becoming a Christian but gave up the idea and adopted Islām when an old man (Ibn Hishām, p. 347 *sq.*). A man of the Awsī tribe,

Abū 'Āmir 'Abd 'Amr b. Ṣaif was known as "the monk" from his ascetic mode of life; he later became an enemy of the Prophet, left Madīna and fought against him on the side of the Meccans; he is also said to have supported those who built a rival mosque at the time of the Tabūk campaign (Ibn Hishām, p. 411; Ibn Sa'd, III/ii. 90, 7; Wāḍiḍ-Wellhausen, p. 310). In evidence of such influence of Christians in Madīna one might quote a verse of Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, p. 133, 17), but this probably refers to a later period and opportunities of mixing with them were to be found in many places in Arabia. One result of living alongside of Jews in Madīna was that the art of writing was quite well known there (cf. Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, p. 132 sq., 166; Balādhuri, p. 473 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, III/ii., *passim*).

The spiritual influence of the Jews on the Arab inhabitants of Madīna became an important factor in the relations between them and Muḥammad, for it made them receptive to his religious ideas with which they became acquainted by visits to Mecca and in other ways. How finally a treaty was concluded between him and several representatives of the Madīnese, by which the latter pledged themselves to take him into their community and to defend him as if he were one of themselves and how he and those of his followers who were still faithful to him thereupon migrated to Madīna is related in the article MUḤAMMAD. After a brief stay in the southern suburb of Ḳubā' he entered the town and took up his abode with a Ḳhazraǧī, Abū Aiyub Ḳhalīd b. Zaid, with whom he lived till a dwelling was arranged for him. He is said to have left the choice of the site to the movements of his camel — if the story is true, a very clever move not only from the religious but also from the political point of view. In any case it is certain that hardly anything ever showed so clearly his gift, based on his unshakeable belief in his prophetic call, of leading men to follow his will, as the fact that he succeeded in a very short time in bringing some kind of order into Madīna, hopelessly split up by feuds, and making a kind of unity out of the heterogeneous elements in the town, the earlier Arab inhabitants of Yathrib, the later immigrants, now predominant Ḳaila tribes, the Muḥāǧirūn from Mecca and the Jews or judaized Arabs. We get a glimpse of the first step towards this goal from the ordinance of the community preserved in Ibn Hishām, p. 341 sqq. ("Book of the fines"; cf. Ṭabarī, Glossary s. v. *ḳl*) which Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 67 sqq. and following him Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 395 sqq. and Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medīna*, p. 78 sqq. have discussed. It is most interesting for its omissions and it lacks to a marked degree clear and logical fundamental ideas, because Muḥammad was content temporarily with what could be attained and avoided everything that might cause strife. In it he calls himself the messenger of Allāh, but there is no reference to his divine inspiration. His object is to form a unified *umma* out of the inhabitants of Madīna and this is defined from the religious side as the community of believers from Mecca and Yathrib. But the non-believers are not excluded, for the *umma* coincides rather with the town of Madīna which included also Jews and heathens, of whom it is not demanded that they should adopt Islām. The tribes retain

their autonomy as regards blood-vengeance and ransoming of prisoners, but against the rest of the world generally the affording of protection was obligatory on every member of the community without exception and no one could conclude peace separately with the enemies of the community (particularly the Ḳuraish). All important matters, out of which misfortune might befall the community, were to be brought before Allāh and Muḥammad. The valley of Yathrib was to be *ḥaram* (or *ḥarām*) for all who were bound by this ordinance. The whole document thus alternates continually between religious and purely political clauses in a very opportunist fashion. It never became of great importance and it soon fell into oblivion as it was rendered obsolete by the rapid progress of events, certainly not against the wish of Muḥammad whose plans went far beyond what was laid down in it. The main cause of its loss of importance was the breach which soon occurred between Muḥammad and the Jews, which the latter provoked by their scornful criticism of Muḥammad's revelations, especially of the weak points revealed in his reproduction of stories from the Old Testament. This meant a serious threat to his authority and in addition the Jews endeavoured to destroy the agreement reached in Madīna by endeavouring to revive the old hostility between the two Ḳaila tribes (Ibn Hishām, p. 385 sqq.; cf. Sūra, iii. 114 sqq.). To meet these difficulties, which of course were very welcome to his enemies in the town, Muḥammad worked hard to unite his followers for a common object, the war with the Meccans, by which he could at the same time avenge the resistance offered him there. It was at first difficult for him to arouse enthusiasm for this war among the Muḥāǧirūn and even more the Anṣār but finally, when a fortunate accident occurred to help him, he succeeded in bringing about a war with the Meccans which led to the momentous victory at Badr. On the further fighting of this campaign, the battle of Uḥud and the war of the ditch, cf. the article MUḤAMMAD. The latter campaign gets its name from the ditch (*Ḳhandak* q. v.) which Muḥammad on the advice of a Persian (Salmān) had dug around the unprotected parts of the town and which, in spite of its modest dimensions (it is said to have been a fathom broad), formed a serious obstacle to the enemy. Ibn Ḳubair in the xiith century still saw traces of it, an arrowshot west of the town. On its further course cf. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, p. 26, 31. The Meccans in this fighting gave him very material assistance by their lack of warlike ability and energy, and the war contributed to consolidate his position in Madīna, aided not a little by the lack of resolution among the Munāfiḳūn who never managed to seize opportunities favourable to them. He was thus not only in a position to continue the war against his native city but also to repay the Jews in ruthless fashion for all the annoyance they had caused him. After the battle of Badr, the Ḳainuḳā' were driven out of the town and after the battle of Uḥud, which went against the Prophet, the same fate was meted out to a Ḳāhin tribe, the Naḍir. But the worst lot was that of the Ḳuraiza, whom in spite of the intercession of the Awsis he had massacred. These events however do not show the Jewish tribes in a favourable light as they made no attempt to help one another but left each other

in the lurch in most cowardly fashion. The Quraysh alone at the massacre showed a courage which to some extent atones for their previous attitude. In this way Muḥammad succeeded in disposing of the danger that threatened him from the Jews, for the Jews who were left in Madīna were of no importance and caused him no serious difficulties.

With the treaty of Ḥudaibiya in the year 6 A.H. [cf. MUḤAMMAD] the war with the Quraysh was practically finished, for in it his genius for diplomacy succeeded in bringing them to recognise Madīna as a power equal in importance to Mecca. The official conclusion of the struggle was the bloodless occupation of his native city in 8 A.H. However great a triumph this was for the Prophet, it produced a new feud which was to prove fateful for Islām after the death of Muḥammad. Even before the decisive turn in the struggle with Mecca, in the campaign against the Banū Muṣṭalik, the ill feeling between the emigrants and a section of the people of Madīna came to a head in threatening fashion and 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy delivered several boastful speeches and threatened to expel the troublesome intruders (cf. Sūra, lxiii. 8), which he naturally denied when the Prophet later took him to task. But when Muḥammad had entered Mecca, his faithful followers in Madīna became anxious, as they feared he would now abandon their town and return to his native place. He calmed them however and declared that he would live and die with them (Ibn Hishām, p. 824). But when he began to treat the Meccans with great clemency and after the battle at Ḥunain was striving to win them over to his religion by rich gifts, the Anṣār with justice felt themselves slighted and once again feared that he would abandon them. But he delivered them a speech in which he reminded them how he had united them when they were living in hostility to one another and declared his gratitude for all that they had done for him, and when he concluded by asking them to be satisfied if others went home with captured herds but they with the messenger of Allāh, they burst into tears and withdrew satisfied (Ibn Hishām, p. 885 sq.). While in such stories there may be an echo of the later antagonism between the Anṣār and the Quraysh, they undoubtedly give a not inaccurate idea of the feelings which found expression at this time. It is all the more remarkable that according to various indications there must have been an opposition to Muḥammad at the time of the Tabūk campaign in Madīna. His orations against the Munāfiqūn in the ninth Sūra sound unusually excited and recall those of the Meccan period with their threats of punishment. There is also the notable, but unfortunately not quite clear story of the Masjid al-Dīrār (cf. also Lammens) which some men had built south of the town in the land of the 'Amr b. 'Awf and which he sanctioned until he saw that its object was to provoke dissension among the believers for the benefit of his former enemies (Sūra, ix. 108 sqq.), wherefore he had it destroyed. According to one story, the already mentioned Ḥanīf Abū 'Amir was the moving spirit in it, (Ibn Hishām, p. 906 sq.; Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 410 sq.; Tabarī, i. 1704 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, III/ii. 36, 8, 96, 13). In any case Muḥammad succeeded in again restoring peace, probably assisted by the fact that the leader of the Munāfiqūn died soon afterwards.

Faithful to his promise, the Prophet remained

in Madīna till his death on June 8, 632. According to a reliable tradition (Tabarī, i. 1817; Ibn Sa'd, II/ii. 57, 2, 58, 28, 59, 1, 71, 6), his corpse lay unburied for a whole day, so that its putrefaction was far advanced when it was finally buried under 'Ā'isha's house, apparently a result of the great confusion into which his death had thrown the town. The unity created by his strong hand at once fell to pieces; the Anṣār assembled and chose the Khazrajī Sa'd b. 'Ubadā as their chief, while others proposed that the government should be shared between the Anṣār and the Muhājirūn. 'Umar's rapid and vigorous intervention however succeeded in thwarting these plans so threatening to Islām and carrying through the election of Abū Bakr as Caliph. He and his two successors resided in Madīna which thus became the capital of the rapidly growing empire. Abū Bakr and 'Umar, like the Prophet, were buried under the house of 'Ā'isha, while 'Uthmān's body was brought in the darkness on a door to the Jewish cemetery amidst ob-jurgations and stone-throwing. In this period no one thought of strengthening the defences of the capital, not even during the *ridda* after the Prophet's death and still less later when the holy wars were waged exclusively in foreign lands. 'Uthmān had the forts taken down, but remains of them could be seen as late as the tenth century (Mas'ūdī, *K. al-Tanbīh*, B. G. A., viii. 206).

'Alī's reign brought a complete change for Madīna. When the great civil war broke out between him and his rivals and the decisive battles were fought in the provinces, the Caliph recognised that the vast empire could not possibly be governed from the remote corner of the world in which Madīna lay. While the earlier caliphs had remained in the capital and sent out armies of conquest from it, 'Alī placed himself at the head of his troops and set out from Madīna in Oct. 656, never again to see it. He made Kūfa his capital and after Mu'āwiya's victory Damascus took its place. Madīna now sank, like its old rival Mecca, to the rank of a provincial town, unaffected by the current of the world's events. What pious old folks thought of this change is reflected in a characteristic tradition (Dīnawarī, p. 152 sq.) according to which several prominent Anṣār tried to induce 'Alī to abandon his plan of leaving Madīna: "What thou dost lose in the form of prayers in the mosque of the Prophet and the course between his tomb and his pulpit is of more value than what thou expectest to find in the 'Irāk; reflect how 'Umar used to send his generals to war; there are still just as capable men amongst us as then!" But the Caliph replied: "The wealth of the state and the armies are in the 'Irāk and attacks threaten from the Syrians, and I must be near them".

Madīna with its venerable associations and the tomb of the Prophet could not of course become quite unimportant; on the contrary, its sanctity increased in the eyes of Muslims, the more the figure of Muḥammad became important in their conceptions; but the life of the town became more and more remote from the real world in which actual history was being unfolded. Hither retired all who wished to keep aloof from the turmoil of political happenings, like 'Alī's son Ḥasan, after he had abandoned all his claims (Tabarī, ii. 9; Dīnawarī, p. 232). Ḥusain also went there from Kūfa, but left it again to make his desperate attempt to gain his rights, and it is significant that none of the Madīna Anṣār

went with him (Wellhausen, *Die Oppositionsparteien*, p. 69). When he was slain, his wives and son were brought to Madīna, where they lived in peace and took no further part in the fighting. 'Alī's son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya, resided in Madīna (Dinawari, p. 308). It was not however only relatives and ardent followers of the Prophet, who preferred to live here in his city, but several of his former enemies, the Umayyads, also felt attracted thither by the quiet and easy life and would not go to Damascus (Lammens, *Études sur le califat de Moawīja*, p. 35). In this way Madīna gradually became the home of a new population, consisting of people who wished to enjoy undisturbed the great wealth which the wars of conquest had brought them. Life there became more and more luxurious until finally the holy city became so notorious (*Kitāb al-Aghāni*, xxi. 197, 19), that during a rising in the year 127 (745) the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān II could ask one of the participants in it how it was that the wines and singing-girls of Madīna had not held him back from taking part in it (Ṭabarī, ii. 1910). Such stories remind us of Doughty's description of the present inhabitants of Madīna (*Travels in Arabia*, 3rd ed., p. 151: "carding, playing, tippling in arak, brutish hemp smoking, ribald living"). This was the golden period of Madīna about the glories of which the poets sang. Flourishing, well-watered gardens and meadows surrounded the town, and there were a number of splendid palaces built by wealthy Kuraish, especially in the Wādī 'l-Aḫīḫ of which traces can still be found (cf. Batanūni, *Rihla*, p. 261 sq.; Lammens, *Moawīja*, p. 228).

Another section of the people of Madīna was attracted thither by the quiet life, although for other reasons. Their object was not worldly enjoyments but they devoted themselves to the memories in the town of its sacred past, by collecting and studying the legal and ritual enactments dating from the Prophet, in so far as they were based on the *sunna* of Madīna and the *idmā'* there. The most distinguished representative of this group was Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 = 795), the author of the *Muwatta'*, who as founder of the Mālikī school gathered many pupils around him (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 213 sqq.). One of them, Ibn Zabāla, composed the first history of the town of Madīna (199 = 814) but it has not survived.

Madīna was now ruled by governors appointed by the Caliph, lists of whom are given by Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Aḫṫir. The town was however not entirely unaffected by the wars of the first centuries after Muḥammad. In the reign of Yazīd, feeling in Madīna, even among the Umayyads, was more or less hostile to the Caliph and many took the side of his rival 'Abd Allāh b. Zubair in Mecca. The expedition of the governor 'Amr b. Sa'īd, which Yazīd ordered, was a failure. In 63 (682/3) the Madīnese rebelled openly, appointing 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanzala as their leader and building a wall with a ditch to defend the town on the north. The Caliph sent an army under the leadership of Muslim b. 'Uḫba which took up its quarters on the Ḥarra N.E. of the town and fought the battle of the Ḥarra, which ended in the defeat of the Madīnese — according to the usual story, a result of the treachery of the Banū Ḥāritha. That the inhabitants were abandoned to the ill-treatment of the Syrian troops is probably a malicious

libel (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 98 sq.). Towards the end of Umayyad rule, in the year 130 (747/8), the Khāridjīs under Abū Ḥamza defeated the Madīnese at Kubaid; but he was surprised by Marwān's troops and slain (Ṭabarī, ii. 200 sqq.; *B. G. A.*, viii. 327). When the 'Abbāsids became supreme, two 'Alid brothers, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, sons of 'Abd Allāh, made an attempt to fight for their rights. Muḥammad who called himself al-Mahdī appeared in Madīna in 145 (762/3) where he found not a few adherents, among them Mālik b. Anas and Abū Ḥanīfa. He endeavoured in various ways to imitate the example of the Prophet, used his sword, had the ditch dug by him round the town restored (see above) etc. The Caliph sent his relative 'Isā b. Mūsā with 4,000 men against him and when he bridged the ditch by throwing a couple of doors over it and entered the town, most of al-Mahdī's followers lost heart, as was usual with the supporters of the 'Alids, and when he renewed the hopeless struggle, he was mortally wounded. About 20 years later (169 = 786) another 'Alid arose, Ḥusain b. 'Alī, against the 'Abbāsids. After ravaging Madīna he was driven out and slain at Fakhkh near Mecca. In spite of the harm he did to the town of the Prophet, he was celebrated by the 'Alid party as a martyr (Ṭabarī, iii. 551 sqq.; Ibn al-Aḫṫir, vi. 60 sqq.). In the caliphate of Wāṭḫik, Madīna suffered severely from the attacks of the Sulaim and the Banū Hilāl. Boghā the elder [q.v.] came to their assistance in 230 (844/5) and imprisoned the Beduins. When he left the town again, the latter succeeded in breaking out of prison; the Madīnese however discovered their escape and put them to death (Ibn al-Aḫṫir, vii. 12). Their love for Wāṭḫik was shown by their lamenting him every night after his death (*ibid.*, vii. 21).

In the centuries that followed, Madīna is only rarely mentioned by the historians, and what they tell us about it is of little interest as a rule. When the Fāṭimids became lords of Egypt and were threatening the holy cities in the Ḥidjāz, a wall was at last built round Madīna. This was erected in 364 (974/975) by the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla but enclosed only the central part of the town. It was restored in 540 (1145/1146) by a vizier of the sons of Zangī. But as a considerable proportion of the inhabitants lived outside the wall without protection from the attacks of the Beduins, the Atābeg of Syria, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī, in 557 (1162) built a second wall of greater extent with towers and gateways. The present wall, 35-40 feet high, was built by the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaimān b. Salīm the Magnificent (1520-1566) of basalt and granite (Samhūdī-Wüstenfeld, p. 126). A trench was dug around it. The same Sulṭān brought a covered aqueduct from the south into the town. Finally the wall was raised to a height of 80 feet by Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz, which height it has retained.

A feud between the governors of Mecca and Madīna with a battle at Dhu 'l-Hulafa is recorded for the year 601 (1203). The Meccan leader who had set out to besiege Madīna was put to flight but obtained support from other amīrs, whereupon the Madīnese abandoned further hostilities (Ibn al-Aḫṫir, xii. 134).

In 654 (1256) Madīna was threatened by a volcanic eruption, known as the fire of Ḥidjāz. It began on the last day of Djumādā I with a

slight earth-quake which increased in vigour each succeeding day. Then a glowing stream of lava burst forth which, as the chroniclers tell us, devoured rocks and stones but fortunately flowed to the east of the town and then continued its way northwards. The inhabitants sought protection in the Mosque of the Tomb, praying and confessing their sins. The belief in the latter's inviolability, which was thus strengthened, was soon to be shattered by the conflagration described below.

Under the rule of the Turks Madīna continued to lead a quiet life, little heeded by the outside world, and it is rarely mentioned, a circumstance much facilitated by the fact that the holy city could not be entered by non-Muslims. Radical changes only came about in the sixteenth century. In 1804, the Wahhābīs took the town, plundered its treasures and prevented pilgrimages to the Tomb of Muḥammad. An attempt to destroy the dome over the tomb failed, but the great treasures in pearls, jewels etc., presented by pious visitors to the mosque were carried off. It was not till 1813 that Muḥammad 'Alī's son Ṭūsūn succeeded in retaking the town and at the treaty of peace in 1815 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd recognised Turkish suzerainty over the holy places in the Ḥijāz. Muḥammad 'Alī however paid no attention to this, but sent another son Ibrāhīm to continue the war against Ibn Sa'ūd and in 1818 he took Dar'īya and razed it to the ground, whereupon he returned to Madīna. The sacred cities once more belonged to the Turks and the Grand Sharif of Mecca even forbade pilgrims from Ibn Sa'ūd's territory to enter Mecca. This restoration of Turkish rule brought at least one important innovation: the building of the Ḥijāz railway from Damascus to Madīna in 1908. It was primarily intended for pilgrims but was also of military importance and therefore suffered severely in the world war. Through the intervention of the Grand Sharif Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Mu'īn, the fighting and the intrigues in North Arabia became more and more involved. He first posed as a faithful servant of the Turkish Sultān but later he rebelled and on Nov. 6, 1916 had himself proclaimed king of the Ḥijāz and joined the English. After the peace which ended the world war the Turkish troops evacuated Madīna in 1918. In the meanwhile a stronger opponent to Ḥusain had arisen in 'Abd al-Azīz b. Sa'ūd, who had once more raised the Wahhābīs to a position of supremacy. Ḥusain's bold move in assuming the title of caliph found no support among the Arab chiefs, and the people of the Ḥijāz forced him to abdicate. Ibn Sa'ūd seized this opportunity, entered Mecca in October 1924 and forced Ḥusain's son 'Alī to leave the town. The two holy cities are therefore now both in the hands of the Wahhābīs, who are however now more tolerant and permit visits to the Mosque of the Tomb and other holy places and only forbid actual worship there.

In spite of the inaccessibility of Madīna to all non-Muslims the reports of various modern travellers enable us to form a fairly clear picture of it, which can only be briefly outlined here. In keeping with the configuration of the ground, the plain on which Madīna lies is divided into an upper southern part and a lower northern part, *al-ʿāliya* and *al-shāfila*, names found even in the earliest writers. *Al-ʿāliya* is reckoned to run to the above mentioned village of Ḳubā', 3 miles away, *al-shāfila* to the hill of

Uḥūd. The older wall encloses the town proper; the already mentioned later wall which is now partly in ruins encloses the western rather large suburb of *al-ʿAnbarīya* and "camp of the camels", *barr al-munākha*, 400 yards broad lying between it and the town. Here is pointed out the traditional site of the *muṣallā*, the Prophet's place of prayer, a tradition probably worthy of credence, as otherwise it would have been natural to locate it in the great mosque mentioned below. Along the south side of the wall runs the road of the funeral processions, *Darb al-Djanāza*, which leads to the old general burial-place, *Baḳī' al-Ḡharḳad* (so called after the plant *nitraria retusa*) in the east of the town. Among the thousands who are buried here are the little son of the Prophet, Ibrāhīm, his wives (whether also his daughter Faṭīma is disputed: see below), many of his companions, al-ʿAbbās, Muḥammad al-Bākir, Dja'far al-Ṣādiq, the already mentioned jurist, Mālik b. Anas, and many others. At the north-west corner of the town stands the castle built on to the town wall. There are several gates in the walls, including the Bāb al-Shāmī in the north, the Bāb al-Djum'a in the east, and the Bāb al-ʿAnbarīya in the west. From a spring of fresh water in the village of Ḳubā' an aqueduct runs into the town, first laid by Marwān when governor of Madīna. It frequently fell into disrepair and was restored for example by several Ottoman sultāns, on the last occasion by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd after the Wahhābīs had destroyed it. The damage not infrequently done by floods has already been mentioned. In 734 the Madīnese were prevented for six months by an inundation from visiting the grave of Ḥamza. The streets of Madīna are clean but narrow and only the main streets are paved. The houses are well built of stone and a number have two stories. Several of them are surrounded by gardens, but the houses with gardens are mainly found outside the north and south wall, especially towards the south where vegetable gardens and orchards alternate with palmgroves and cornfields. The dates of which there are 70 varieties are, as in ancient times, one of the principal products. The pilgrim traffic is however the most important source of revenue for the inhabitants, who let their dwellings to the strangers and guide them to the sacred places and instruct them about ritual duties. The *muṣawwirūn* here play the same role as the *muṣawwifūn* in Mecca. Burton (ii. 189) gives the number of inhabitants as 16,000–18,000, in addition to 400 men in the garrison. Wavell (p. 63) in 1908 put it at 30,000, excluding soldiers and pilgrims, while Batanūnī gave 60,000 including many foreign visitors. The results of the world war have of course altered these conditions in many ways. The population used to increase gradually by visitors settling often permanently in the sacred city. Of descendants of the old Anṣār there are very few left in Madīna; according to Burckhardt there were only ten families in his time. There are a number of Shī'īs in the suburbs.

Madīna possesses no sanctuary venerated from remote times like the Ka'ba; on the other hand it possesses compensation for this of inestimable value in Muslim eyes in the mosque which encloses Muḥammad's grave and is the goal of countless pilgrims. Some teachers even put this sanctuary higher than the Meccan one, but this view is not general, and the visiting of this mosque is not obligatory like the pilgrimage to Mecca

and also may be undertaken at any time. According to unanimous tradition the Prophet was buried under 'A'ishā's house, where also the two first caliphs found their last resting-place. Further, all the earlier stories agree that Muḥammad soon after his arrival in Madīna had a mosque built, which he enlarged after the taking of Khaibar, and they are also agreed that the dwellings of his wives were close by so that 'A'ishā's house with the grave could easily have been taken into the mosque. That there is nothing improbable in itself in a mosque having been built in the time of the Prophet is shown by the mention of a rival mosque, Sūra ix. 108 *sqq.*; cf. xxiv. 36. But Caetani, *Annali*, i. 432 *sqq.*, has disputed with important arguments the correctness of the tradition and from various statements drawn the conclusion that originally on the site of the later mosque there was more probably only the *dār* of Muḥammad with a courtyard and various dwellings. If this is right, it is not known who built the mosque; but probably it was erected not long after Muḥammad's death, for the rapidly increasing reverence for the Prophet must very soon have aroused the desire to bring his resting-place into touch with his religion. To this mosque, early built, can then be referred what tradition tells us of Muḥammad's mosque: — a simple building of brick with pillars of palm stems and a roof of branches. According to the same tradition, 'Umar had it extended and after him 'Uthmān who replaced it by a building of stone and mortar with a roof of teak. When Marwān was governor of Madīna, he had a *maḥṣūra* of coloured stones erected; but no important advance was made till the reign of Walid, who commissioned the then governor, afterwards caliph, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, in 87 (706) to adorn the building in greater splendour. For this 'Umar used Greek and Coptic builders, and the Byzantine emperor is said to have contributed 1,000 *mithḳāl* of gold and a large quantity of mosaic stones towards it. On this occasion four minarets were placed at the corners of the sanctuary and the roofs covered with plates of lead. The mosque remained unaltered till the reign of al-Mahdī. After this Caliph had visited Madīna, it was rebuilt and extended in 162 (778—779) and its length was now 300 and its breadth 200 ells. In the following century another restoration was necessary and was carried through by al-Mutawakkil in the year 247 (861—862).

Of the mosque which thus came into existence there are very full descriptions by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī (d. 328 = 940), Muḥaddasī (375 = 985), Ibn Djubair who travelled in the east in the years 578—581 (1182/83—1186/87), and also Yāḳūt. Of the many details given by these authors only a few can be quoted here. As is quite evident from several of these descriptions, the mosque had the form, always retained later, of an open court-yard covered with sand or gravel, *ṣaḥn*, which was surrounded on all four sides by rows of pillars. In the eastern part of the southern pillared hall was the holy of holies, the tomb of the Prophet, with the tombs of Abū Bakr and of 'Umar. It is described by Yāḳūt (iv. 458) as a high building, separated at the top only by a space from the roof of the pillared hall. Regarding the relative positions of the three graves there were in his time different views. North of them, according to some traditions, was the tomb of Fāṭima while

according to others this was in the general burying ground. The part of the pillared hall lying west of the graves bore the name *al-Rawḍa*, the garden, from an alleged utterance of the Prophet. The total number of pillars is said to have been 290; those in the southern part were stuccoed, with gilded capitals, the others were of marble. The walls were adorned with marble, gold, and mosaic. Along the southern border of the *Rawḍa* ran a barrier, with which several highly venerated relics were associated: — the remains of the trunk of a tree, on which Muḥammad used to lean, and especially his *minbar* or pulpit. According to tradition Mu'āwiya wished to remove this; but immediately a vigorous earthquake began and he abandoned the idea and instead raised it by an upper structure five steps higher. Al-Mahdī later wished to remove this addition, but he was dissuaded from doing this as the nails had been driven into the old *minbar* (Ya'kūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 283; Tabarī, iii. 483; Muḥaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 82). According to the descriptions it had 8 steps and there was a slab of ebony over the seat which visitors might touch. The remnants of the tree-trunk were kissed and stroked with the hands, an interesting imitation of ancient Arabian religious customs. Among the various treasures of the mosque was the Madīna standard manuscript of the canonical text of the *Qur'ān* prepared by 'Uthmān. The mosque had 19 doors of which only four, two in the east and two in the west, were opened. There were three minarets, two at the corners of the north side and one at the southern corner.

While the Mosque of the Tomb escaped the volcanic eruption already mentioned (654 = 1256) it suffered in the same year from a fire due to the carelessness of a caretaker, which destroyed a part of it. An appeal to the caliph of Baghdād for assistance to rebuild it remained unanswered as the 'Abbāsīd dynasty was then tottering before its fall, which was to take place two years later. Only the roof was repaired in the year after the fire in makeshift fashion; the rubble was not even cleared away from the tombs but remained there for over two centuries. Several of the Mamlūk Sultāns showed some interest in the sanctuary, among them Baibars I, who, according to Muḍjir al-Dīn (Cairo 1283, p. 434), placed a railing round the tomb of the Prophet and had its roof gilt, while others sent workmen and materials, and notably al-Manṣūr Ḳalā'ūn in 678 (1279) to mark the site of the tomb built a dome over it covered with plates of lead. Ashraf Saif al-Dīn Ḳā'it Bey (873—890 = 1468—1495) was however the first to deal with the mosque in really energetic fashion and he had the minaret at the southeast corner, al-Rā'iyya, taken down and rebuilt. A great calamity then fell upon the mosque for, in a terrible thunderstorm in 886 (1481), it was struck by lightning and partly destroyed, and the library with its valuable manuscripts of the *Qur'ān* perished. Samhūdī, who lost his own library on this occasion, gives an account of the conflagration. The indefatigable Sultān however sent a large number of workmen with tools and materials, and in 889 (1484) the building was restored and among other alterations the dome over the tomb was enlarged; he also presented the brass railing which surrounds the *maḥṣūra*. On this occasion, the Sultān also presented to the town baths and a hypocaust for

them, an aqueduct and a water mill, as well as a large number of valuable books to replace those destroyed. Its misfortunes however were not at an end for in 898 (1492) it was again struck by lightning; the Rā'isiya at the southeast corner was destroyed and had to be rebuilt. The mosque received its present form by an extension to the north, made by 'Abd al-Maǧīd in 1270 (1853—1854) which Burton saw before its completion. The many inscriptions which cover the walls, include various Sūras and formulae and the mystic prayer *al-Burda*.

In modern times we have descriptions by Burckhardt (unfortunately incomplete, as he was ill during his stay), by Burton (1853), a brief one by Wavell in 1908—1909 and a good one by al-Batanūnī (1910). In their main outlines they give much the same picture as the older ones. The mosque stands in the centre of the town proper, a little to the east. Al-Batanūnī gives the length from north to south as 385 feet, the breadth on the north side as 285 feet and on the south side as 220 feet. The court (*al-ṣaḥn* or *al-ḥaswa*) is covered with sand or gravel and enclosed on all four sides by pillared halls, of which the largest on the south side encloses the actual *maǧīd*. The pillars in this part are covered with marble with gilt ornamentations. All the pillars in the mosque, 327 in number, support arches on which rest little domes like divided oranges. Of the pillars 22 are in the eastern part of the southern hall (the *maǧṣūra*), the sanctuary proper with the tomb of the Prophet. "The Garden", i.e. the area between the tomb and the *minbar*, is 70 feet long and 50 broad. The *maǧṣūra* is enclosed on the south, where the mosque is extended by a row of pillars, by a brass grille with the relics already mentioned and the beautiful *miḥrāb* of the Prophet with an indication of the direction of prayer. The present *minbar* is of marble with gilding, a gift of Murād III in 998 (1590). The *maǧṣūra*, the holy of holies of the mosque, a quadrangle 50 feet long from north to south and 47 feet broad, is surrounded by a green polished brass railing through which a door, Bāb al-Raḥma or Bāb al-Wuḥūd, leads to al-Rawḍa. It encloses an area which is called *al-ḥudira*, in allusion to 'A'īsha's house. It cannot be accurately described as it is covered with green silk and is not seen by visitors. The covering, which recalls the covering of the Ka'ba, is said to have been first presented by the mother of Hārūn al-Rašīd. Nūr al-Dīn Zangī is said to have cleared a new area around the older *ḥudira* to protect the tomb. In the *ḥudira* are the tombs of the Prophet and of the first two caliphs, according to the usual belief in the following order: the most southern is the tomb of Muḥammad with the head to the west, next him Abū Bakr with his head beside Muḥammad's feet and on the north 'Umar with his head beside Abū Bakr's shoulders. A fourth, empty grave is said to be intended for Jesus after his parousia. On the north side of the large *maǧṣūra*, another smaller one adjoins it, which, according to an assumption still disputed by many, contains the tomb of Fāṭima. Two doors on the east and west side connect it with the large *maǧṣūra*. 106 hanging lamps are placed in this, the most sacred part of the mosque, and in addition in the Rawḍa there are candelabra of crystal. In the court of the mosque, approximately east, is a quadrangular area shut off by an iron grille, which is called Fāṭima's

garden. Of the 15 palms which grew there in the time of Ibn Djubair, Burton saw only 12; al-Batanūnī mentions several small palms planted round a high one. Behind the boundary is the so-called "Prophet's well". The mosque has four minarets at the four corners and according to Burton a fifth in the centre of the west side, but this is not mentioned by al-Batanūnī. Five doors give admittance to the sanctuary: on the west the Bāb al-Salām and Bāb al-Raḥma, on the north the Bāb al-Maǧīdī, on the east the Bāb Djabrā'il (or al-Bakī) and Bāb al-Nasā'. They are all closed at night. From the descriptions already quoted, the mosque was not impressive when seen from the outside, as the houses were built so thickly round it that an open view of it could not be obtained. Even the richly ornamented Bāb al-Salām only looked like the termination of a street running from the west. But this seems now to have been altered, as according to Musil, *Zur Zeitgeschichte von Arabien*, p. 34, all the houses in the immediate vicinity of the mosque were removed in 1916.

The immediate vicinity of the city of the Prophet is of course very rich in places with which are associated anecdotes and traditions of him. The most important of these is the hill of Uhūd [q.v.] with the graves of those who fell for the faith there. It is rivalled by the village of Kubā' where Muḥammad on his arrival in his new home stayed from Monday till Thursday (Ibn Hishām, p. 335). The village, which was at that time occupied by the 'Amr b. 'Awf, is according to the Arab geographers 2 miles, according to Burckhardt, 3—4 hours from Madīna; to be accurate it is about 3 miles. The surrounding gardens which are exceedingly rich in all kinds of fruit and vegetables extend for 4 or 5 miles (Burckhardt). Burton describes how the village appeared to him as he approached it: "a confused heap of huts and dwelling-houses, chapels and towers, with trees, between foul lanes, heaps of rubbish and yelping dogs". Tradition marks the spot where the Prophet's camel knelt (*al-mabrak*) and here also was the mosque mentioned in Sūra, ix. 109 built out of piety, as well as its counterpart, the *Maǧīd al-Dīrār*, destroyed by Muḥammad's orders (cf. Wākidi—Wellhausen, p. 411; Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 32, 8; and above). The mosque of Kubā' with its simple minaret was in ruins in Burckhardt's time, but has since been replaced by a stone structure.

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Arabien, p. 54, 558—561; Burton, *A Pilgrimage*, ii. 195—223. — Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 1 sqq. (*Medina vor dem Islam, Die Gemeindeordnung Muhammads*); Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 1908, p. 9 sqq.; Hirschfeld, *Essai sur l'histoire des Juifs de Médine*, R. E. J., vii. 167—193; x. 10—31; D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*, 1924, p. 57 sqq. — On the most recent history of the town, cf. Musil, *Zur Zeitgeschichte von Arabien*, 1918; R. Hartmann, *Die Wakhābiten*, Z. D. P. V., N. F., iii. 176 sqq. (FR. BUHL)

MADĪNAT AL-SALĀM. [See BAGHDĀD.]

AL-MADĪNAT AL-ZĀHIRA, the capital founded near Cordova by the famous 'Āmirid Ḥadjīb al-Manṣūr [q.v.] in 368 (978—979). Because he did not wish to deal with state affairs in the palace of the Umayyad Caliphs in Cordova nor at the royal palace at Madīnat al-Zahrā', al-Manṣūr decided to build a town which would include his palace and those of the principal court dignitaries. This town was built a short distance from Cordova on the banks of the Guadalquivir [q.v.]. Since the exact site of al-Madīnat al-Zāhira has not been discovered, one must be content, when trying to locate the site, with the very vague indications given by the Arab historians; indeed not one of the Arab historians has left any description of the 'Āmirid town. According to Ibn Ḥazm, in a passage of his *Tawḥ al-Ḥamāma* (ed. Petrof, Leyden 1914, p. 104), it lay to the east of Cordova, but on the other hand some Spanish archaeologists think they have identified it on the south-west of this town. Al-Madīnat al-Zāhira must not be confused with the palace, al-'Āmiriyya, the name of a *munya* or villa outside the city walls which was given to al-Manṣūr by one of his Umayyad masters, the site of which seems to have been identified.

According to Ibn 'Idhārī, the greater part of al-Madīnat al-Zāhira was finished in two years. Al-Manṣūr settled there in 370 (980—981). He transported thither the different administrative offices and the treasury, and gave land round his palaces to his courtiers, so that Madīnat al-Zahrā', the town of the Umayyad Caliphs, was almost supplanted and practically deserted. The merchants also came to trade there; a few years after its foundation, al-Madīnat al-Zāhira had become a large town.

After al-Manṣūr, al-Madīnat al-Zāhira, was the capital of his son and successor 'Abd al-Malik, who had a new palace built there. After his death his brother 'Abd al-Rahmān, known as Sanchol, installed himself as well there. But he was soon defeated by Muḥammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār al-Mahdī [q.v.]. This usurper occupied the 'Āmirid town and seized the treasures which were there. For three days he gave it over to the most thorough pillage. Having sacked the town he gave orders to fire it and to destroy it absolutely (Djuma'dā II, 399 [January 1009]).

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179; R. Velázquez Bosco, *Medina Assahra y Alamiriya*, Madrid 1912, p. 20—22; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'Art musulman* (Architecture, Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile), Paris 1926, i. 248. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MADĪNAT AL-ZAHRĀ', the ancient capital of the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova, the ruins of which are still in existence about 5 miles to the west of this latter town, at the place called *Cordoba la Vieja*, on one of the last spurs of the Sierra Morena overlooking the valley of Guadalquivir [q.v.].

The western Arab historians give us a great deal of information on the foundation of this royal town, upon the period which marked its prosperity and upon the causes which led to its fall. It was the great Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir [q.v.], who decided upon building it, and its construction was begun during the reign of this sovereign at the end of the year 325 (936). The chroniclers say that one of his concubines having left him a large sum of money, al-Nāṣir wished to utilize this sum for the payment of the ransoms of the Spanish Muḥammadan prisoners of war in the kingdoms of León and of Navarre. As the envoys who had been sent for this purpose failed to find any prisoners whom they could ransom, the Caliph's favourite al-Zahrā' is said to have advised him to employ the legacy to build a town to which she would give her name. This anecdote is without doubt legendary, at least in several points. The work of building the town was carried on for many years (from 13 to 40 years according to historians); it lay around the palace of the Caliph. Six thousand hewn stones were used every day, not to mention other materials; the necessary marble was chiefly imported from Ifrikiya, and no less than 4,313 columns were required, if we may believe Ibn 'Idhārī. According to the same author it was the crown prince al-Ḥakam himself who directed operations. The name of the chief architect, Maslama b. 'Abd Allāh, has also been preserved.

The building of Madīnat al-Zahrā' engaged not less than 10,000 workmen. Account was taken in the planning of the town of the very steep slope of the site and al-Idrisi gives a clear account of how this slope was utilized. The town was built on three terraces; the upper part was set aside for the palace and its appurtenances; the middle one was devoted to gardens; the lower one contained private dwelling-houses and the Great Mosque.

'Abd al-Rahmān removed with all his court to Madīnat al-Zahrā', as he felt the Caliph's palace of Cordova which faced the cathedral mosque and overlooked Guadalquivir too small, and this became his favourite residence. His successors al-Ḥakam II and Hishām II lived there for the most part during their reigns, and further embellished the town of al-Nāṣir. It appears, however, to have very soon fallen into decay, especially from the time when it had as rival the residence of the 'Āmirid Ḥadjīb, al-Madīnat al-Zāhira [q.v.]. It was pillaged on several occasions by the Berber mercenaries who had rebelled against Cordova. The year 401 (1010) marked its final fall. A century and a half afterwards in the time of Idrisi, the walls alone remained and vestiges only of the palace. A few inhabitants still lingered in it.

A beginning was made in exploring and systematically excavating the ruins of Madīnat al-Zahrā'

about the year 1910, under the direction of the Spanish archaeologist, R. Velázquez Bosco. The first work done was the excavation of the double rampart dividing the upper terrace of the town from the middle terrace and from certain parts of the palace. A large number of carved stones have been brought to light.

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AL-MADJARRA, the Milky Way (the place, path, road of moving).

The Name. It is probably taken in the first place from the Greek γαλαξίας: *al-dā'ira al-labaniya* or *al-darb al-labani*, the circle or path which looks like milk. Other names are *ṣarīk al-ḥalīb*, the road of milk, as it has the colour of milk; *ṣarīk al-labbāna*, the road of the place where there is milk, and hence metaphorically *umm al-samā'*, mother of heaven, who feeds the heavens as with milk; *ṣarīk al-tibn*, path of straw and *darb* or *darib al-tabbāna*, path of the place where there is straw. Similarly the Milky Way is called in Persian *kāhkekshān*, straw-puller, or *kāhkeṅgān* or *rāh-i kāhkekshān*, path of the strawpuller; in Turkish *şamān uḡrışıl* or *şamān kōpān*, straw or fodder-thief. Whether names connected with straw go back to Greek or Oriental ideas is uncertain. Gundel (*op. cit.*) holds the latter view. In the East the Milky Way is the hay, straw and meal, which Peter or Saint Vinire (Venus) lost and blessed by God flew to heaven. Another Turkish name is *ḥādjdjiler*, path of the pilgrims.

Other Arabic names are *bāb al-samā'*, gate of heaven, and *al-sharāj* or *al-aṣṣarāj*, gap, probably from the idea that the Milky Way corresponds to a gap or split through which one can see the shining heaven. Another name is *umm al-nudjūm*, mother of the stars, because no part of the heavens is so rich in stars. The stars are also to have leprosy (*djārbat al-nudjūm*). Among the Kazan Tatars the Milky Way is called "Path of the Wild Goose" and among the Altai Tatars ("Path of Hoar-Frost" (frosted way).

The name *nahr al-madjarra*, River of the Madjarra, is noteworthy. The Milky Way is regarded as a river; this is evident from the passages in

'Abd al-Rahmān al-Šūfī in his work on the constellations, in al-Bīrūnī in his *Kitāb al-Taḥḥim* towards the end and in the *Chronology* (text, p. 345; transl., p. 348), in al-Ḳazwīnī in the *Cosmography* (text, i., p. 37; transl., p. 18) and in many others. In these passages the constellation of Sagittarius or the eight stars forming the 20th station of the moon which are called the Ostriches *al-na'ām* are described. Four of the stars which lie on the Milky Way are called *al-na'ām al-wārid*, the ostrich going to drink; the four others lie at the side of the river of the Milky Way and are called *al-na'ām al-šādīr*, the ostrich returning from drinking (cf. e.g. L. Ideler, *op. cit.*, p. 184 and Hyde, *Ulugh Beg's Tabulac*, Oxford, p. 23).

Description of the Milky Way. A description of the Milky Way, the stars and constellations in it, is given by Ptolemy in the *Almagest* (Bk. viii., Ch. 2) and the Muslim translators have borrowed from this. The editors have treated it in different ways. Al-Ṭūsī for example in his edition of the *Almagest* gives the description as fully as in Ptolemy; but he does not use the translation by al-Ḥadjdjadj, as I was able to show. Ibn Sīnā on the other hand, who gives a brief synopsis of the contents of the *Almagest* in the *Šifā'* (Healing) gives no such description; he deals here in the same way as he does with the Tables which he omits.

The very full treatment of the Milky Way is followed in Ptolemy by a description of the method of making a globe of the heavens on which the Milky Way is represented. Ibn Sīnā, for example, took over this section word for word in a form which we also find elsewhere. It is therefore exceedingly probable that the Milky Way was represented on one or other celestial globe, of which a whole series is recorded. It does not seem to be on the extant globes (cf. H. Schnell, *Die Kugel mit dem Schemel*).

An independent description of the whole Milky Way as full as that in Ptolemy, I have not been able to find in Arabic works. A brief description is given by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (in al-Marzūqī, *Kitāb al-Azmina wa'l-Amkina*, Haidarābād 1332, ii. 9—12). The description of al-Dīnawarī leaves much to be desired and the text is not quite correct. The former is in keeping with 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Šūfī's verdict, according to which al-Dīnawarī was very well acquainted with the verses on the Milky Way but his astronomical knowledge was insufficient (it may be noted that 'Abd al-Rahmān mentions an Ibn Kunaza, while there is a Muḥammad b. Kunaza in al-Marzūqī).

The anonymous writer mentioned in the *Bibliography* gives a brief description of it.

'Abd al-Rahmān al-Šūfī unfortunately only gives a description of one part of it. He mentions the part of the Milky Way between the great, the bright Milky Way (*al-madjarra al-aṣima*) and the falling Eagle (Lya) (*ḥiṣat al-madjarra*, here at γ Cygni the Milky Way divides). 'Abd al-Rahmān follows this stretch up to ξ Scorpii. In many cases the position of stars e.g. in the Ship is given from their position with respect to the Milky Way. Schjellerup has given details in the tables appended to the synoptic account, p. 5 sqq.

In the *Kitāb al-Taḥḥim* of al-Bīrūnī we read "al-Madjarra of the Arabs, Kāhkekshān of the Persians and Rāh Bihisht of the Hindus is an aggregation of a very large number of small stars.

They form an almost perfect large circle, which runs between Gemini and Sagittarius, sometimes narrow, sometimes wide, in some places it is dense, in others not. Aristotle thinks that the Milky Way consists of stars surrounded by vapour like the halo round the moon and the mist (in the sky) and the comets".

Theory of the Milky Way. On the nature of the Milky Way and the cause of its shining there are a number of views, which follow the same lines as those of the ancients (cf. O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1907, index, s. v. γάλα). I now give al-Karāfi's account of it.

Al-Karāfi (d. 1285—1286) who wrote a work on Optics ("Noteworthy consideration of what the eyes grasp in 50 questions or problems"), says in the 49th question: "Why do we see a black haze on the moon? Is this an illusion or reality?" and continues:

"Connected with this question is that of the Milky Way which looks like a road in the sky. We are told: 1. It is the gate of heaven. 2. It consists of small stars which are crowded so closely together that the eye cannot distinguish one from the other. 3. It is said to be a vapour, which has risen from the earth and solidified under the cone of the fixed stars. One part forms a black burned body. This is the case in the centre of the Milky Way. A part lies in places which are far away from those in which there is burning; these are the two sides of the Milky Way. These places appear white. 4. Finally we are told that the Milky Way consists of something whose shape is inserted in the heavens and which is in some part of the earth, to which the way cannot be found and which cannot be reached".

Of these four views the second is nearest the truth.

The anonymous author of the Berlin manuscript also tells us very fully about the different views and the nature etc. of the Milky Way; here is the passage in question: "Learned men have many and varied views on the nature and substance of this belt. Some say that it is a part of the upper sphere and thicker and coarser than the rest of it. It is therefore visible, while the rest is not, as the latter is exceedingly fine. This corresponds to the opinion of the philosopher Diodorus (Diyūdurūs)."

"According to Aristotle this belt consists of vapours which have collected together and ascended into the sky through the intermediary of the stars. As vapours are continually rising, they retain their shape. There is a contradiction in this. If we assume that the belt is formed by rising vapours, they cannot possibly be always seen at one and the same place in the sky; nor can they be seen from all places on earth and they cannot maintain one and the same distance from the stars and the ascendants."

"If the belt is always seen in the same way and has permanently the same form, if it is seen in all climes, if its distance from the stars and the ascendants is always the same, this is a sure indication that the belt does not originate in vapours as these completely lack these qualities."

"Some learned men are agreed that the Milky Way, al-Madjarra, has its origin in the fact that small stars have become combined in this figure (*āthār*) and offer themselves jointly to the view.

On account of their smallness they do not look like shining stars as they are joined together and give their light together (the light of the single stars forming one whole). This is the origin of the shining and the figure which we see. This view is one which is intelligible and men adopt it."

"We say that the Milky Way is a limb of the sphere of the fixed stars. As it is a thick limb, which is thicker than the other limbs, it completely absorbs the light of the sun, corresponding to what the other limbs take up, i. e. as the stars do. This corresponds to the view of him who says that the latter are thick limbs of their sphere. Each limb takes up light in proportion to its density. But this density is the cause of light being reflected to us ¹⁾."

"Many learned men attack the Aristotelian view — as was done even in ancient times — and regard the latter view (5.) as the most probable".

The anonymous writer therefore lays it down quite generally that the Milky Way cannot be in the ether; it has always one and the same form quite independently of the position from which it is seen and does not alter its position.

Abu 'l-Faraj (Bar Hebraeus) in his work ("Elevation of the spirits; on the shape of heaven and of the earth"; transl. by F. Nau, Paris 1899, p. 92 sq.) has a section on the vapour-stars ²⁾ (*kawkab saḥābī*) and the Milky Way. He says: "In the heavens there are some white patches, vapour-stars. Some think these are a part of the Milky Way as like it they resemble clouds. They also think that they consist of a very large number of very small stars lying very close to one another, like the mane below the lion which is in the shape of an ivy leaf. Those who believe this also say that the whole Milky Way consists of very small stars joined together. The Milky Way is obviously neither smoke nor vapour in the air, as the Peripatetics say, since the moon and the planets experience no change in their light as they pass through the Milky Way (it must therefore lie outside the sphere of Saturn) but on the contrary rather affect the Milky Way" ³⁾.

The following note may be added on patches of nebulae:

Among the nebulae known to the Muslims are the Magellan clouds which were observed by merchants in Maḳdashūh. They saw there a white patch of cloud which never came down and never changed its position (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāib al-Maḳhlūkāt*, vol. ii., p. 40).

At quite an early date Ibn al-Haitham thoroughly and fully proved that the Milky Way is not in the air, but in the heavens and at a distance which is very great in proportion to the diameter of the earth, from the absence of a parallax, e. g. from the fact that it has the same position with respect to the fixed stars at different points on the earth. The anonymous writer also points this out (E. Wiedemann, *Über die Lage der Milchstrasse nach Ibn al-Haitham*, in *Sirius*, xxxix.,

1) According to this, the anonymous writer would believe that the fixed stars, the Milky Way etc., receive light from the sun, a view that is contradicted by Ibn al-Haitham and others: cf. below.

2) In the tables and astronomical works only the vapour-stars (nebulae) mentioned by Ptolemy are given.

3) There is an error here: The Milky Way would have to be below the sphere of Saturn but above the atmosphere like the planets. — The alterations in the brightness of the Milky Way are phenomena caused by dazzling.

1906, p. 113—115); 'Alī b. Rīdḡān however challenged Ibn al-Haiṡham's view (Suter, N^o. 232). Ibn al-Haiṡham replied to him and presumably others (E. Wiedemann, *Ibn al-Haiṡham, Ein arabischer Gelehrter*, in *Festschrift f. J. Rosenthal*, Leipzig 1906, p. 173, N^o. 40 and 62; Ibn Abī Uṡaiḡa, ii. 104, 5 from below).

The Milky Way is mentioned in a whole series of verses, particularly by modern poets. I have published 22 of these in the *S.B.P.M.S. Erlangen* with the help of A. Fischer (Leipzig), Kowalski (Cracau), Heli (Erlangen) and Krenkow (Beckenham).

Bibliography: Shihāb al-Dīn Aḡmad b. Idrīs al-Karāfi, *K. al-Istīṡār fī-mūṡ ṡudrukūhu*, Escorial², N^o. 707; *Fihrist al-Kutub* ..., Cairo, vi. 88; Anonymus, *Über Himmelserscheinungen* (the Arabic title is lacking), cf. Ahlwardt, *Die arabischen Hss. in ... Berlin*, N^o. 6054; 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṣūfi, *al-Kawākib wa'l-Ṣuwar*, ed. M. C. F. C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874; O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1907, s. v. γάλα; Abu 'l-Farāḡj Barhebraeus, *Le Livre de l'Ascension de l'Esprit*, transl. F. Nau. *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, vol. cxxi., Paris 1900, p. 92; W. Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (contains much information about the names, tales and myths associated with the Milky Way); W. Gundel, Art. GALAXIAS in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realenzyklopädie*, vii. 568; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, lxxiv., *Über die Milchstrasse bei den Arabern*, in *S. B. P. M. S. Erl.*

(E. WIEDEMANN)

MADJD AL-DAWLA, ABŪ ṬĀLIB RUSTAM B. FAKHR AL-DAWLA, a Būyid. After the death of his father Fakhr al-Dawla [q. v.], Madjd al-Dawla, who, according to the usual statement, was then four years of age, according to another eleven (while Ibn al-Aṡḡir, *al-Kāmil*, ix. 48 says he was born in 379 [989/990] which does not agree with either of these statements) was proclaimed as successor under the regency of his mother Saiyida. In 388 (998) Kābūs b. Washmgir [q. v.] seized the two provinces of Dīrdjān and Ṭabaristān, to which was added by the treaty of peace Māzandarān also, and later he brought Gilān also under his rule. In 397 (1006—1007) Madjd al-Dawla with the help of the vizier al-Khaṡir Abū 'Alī b. 'Alī b. al-Kāsim attempted to overthrow his mother but he was taken prisoner by his brother Shams al-Dawla [q. v.] and the Kurdchief Badr b. ḡasanawaih, whereupon Shams al-Dawla took control of the government. His rule did not last long, however; after a year Madjd al-Dawla was released and again recognised as ruler, while his brother retired to his governorship of Hamadhān. In 405 (1015) the latter succeeded in seizing the town of al-Raiy; Saiyida and Madjd al-Dawla had to take to flight, but were soon able to return because Shams al-Dawla was prevented from following them by a mutiny in the army and had to leave the field. Saiyida held the reins of government till her death (419 = 1028/1029), while Madjd al-Dawla, who although extremely interested in learning, otherwise cared only for his numerous ḡarem, paid no heed to affairs of state. After Saiyida's death complete chaos reigned. In the beginning of the year 420 (1029) Sulṡān Maḡmūd b. Subuktegīn [q. v.] undertook a campaign into the 'Irāk. When Madjd al-Dawla wrote to him and complained of

the rebellious spirit of his army, the Sulṡān sent a considerable body of troops against Raiy and ordered the commander to seize Madjd al-Dawla. When the troops appeared the latter went to them and was at once seized along with his son Abū Dulaf. The Sulṡān himself then set out against Raiy, seized the town and had Madjd al-Dawla sent in chains to Kḡorāsān.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṡḡir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix., s. Index; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, ii. 598, 616; ḡamd Allāḡ Mustawfi-i Ḳazwīnī, *Ta'rikḡ-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, i. 390, 426—429; Wilken, *Gesch. d. Sultane aus d. Geschl. Bujeh nach Mirchond*, ch. xii.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 57 sqq., 65.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MADJD AL-DĪN. [See HIBAT ALLĀḡ B. MUḡAMMAD.]

MADJD AL-MULK, ABŪ 'L-FADL AS'AD B. MUḡAMMAD AL-BARĀWISTĀNĪ, finance minister of the Saldjūḡ Sulṡān Barkiyārūḡ. As early as 485 (1092—1093) we find Madjd al-Mulk mentioned among the high officials, and in time he became more and more powerful, while Barkiyārūḡ's weakness and incapacity became more and more obvious. But as a Shī'ī Madjd al-Mulk became suspected of being the real instigator of the murders committed by the Ismā'īlis and after the amīr Bursuḡ [q. v.] had fallen a victim to Ismā'īli fanaticism, the troops mutinied (Shawwāl 492 = Aug./Sept. 1099) and demanded that Madjd al-Mulk should be handed over to them. He offered to sacrifice his life and proposed that the sulṡān should have him executed to satisfy the soldiery. But Barkiyārūḡ wished to save him. After the soldiers had sworn not to slay Madjd al-Mulk, but only to imprison him, he was handed over. In spite of their oath, the soldiers fell upon him and at once hewed him to pieces. — His *nisba* is derived from Barāwistān, a village near Ḳum; cf. Yāḡūt, s. v.

Bibliography: Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii. 60 sqq.; Ibn al-Aṡḡir (ed. Tornberg), ix. 406; x. 138, 172, 179, 196 sq., 290; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, v. 22 sq.; ḡamd Allāḡ Mustawfi-i Ḳazwīnī, *Ta'rikḡ-i Guzida*, i. 451 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 143 sq., 158.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MADJDHÜB (A., "attracted") denotes in the terminology of the Ṣūfis a person who is drawn by the Divine attraction (*djadḡba*), so that without trouble or effort on his part he attains to union with God. In other words, the *madjdḡhüb* experiences the ecstatic rapture of losing himself in God, and is thereby distinguished from the *sālik* ("traveller"), who makes the journey to God, stage by stage, with conscious endeavour and purpose. The opinion favoured by antinomian derwishes, that the *madjdḡhüb* is superior to the *sālik* finds expression in the saying: "One *djadḡba* (act of drawing) from God is equivalent to all the (devotional) work of mankind and *djinn* ('amal al-ṡḡakalain)"; but it is generally recognised that, whether *djadḡba* or *sulūk* [q. v.] preponderate, both are needed in order to reach perfection. Those in whom *djadḡba* precedes *sulūk* and constitutes the predominant element in their spiritual life are called *madjdḡhüb-i sālik*, while conversely those with whom *sulūk* comes first are known as *sālik-i madjdḡhüb*. Although the terms *madjdḡhüb* and *sālik* are employed by Ḥallāḡj (Massignon, *Passion*, ii. 905) and occur

frequently afterwards, their application in a narrower sense to those who repudiate or acknowledge the moral and religious law is characteristic of the derwish fraternities, which, as is well-known, differ widely from each other in their theory and practice concerning this matter.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Kāshī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiya*, ed. Sprenger, p. 17 (N^o. 50) and p. 50 (N^o. 178); *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn*, i. 686 (art. *sulūk*); Djāmi, *Laww'ih*, transl. by E. H. Whinfield, p. 27; D. B. Macdonald, *The religious attitude and life in Islam*, p. 257—259. (R. A. NICHOLSON)

MADJID (A.),

[See ALLĀH.]

MADJNŪN. In Arabic, Persian and Turkish literature the epithet *al-madjnūn*, i. e. "the man possessed by a *djinni*", "the madman", is preeminently associated with Kaïs b. al-Mulawwah (according to others, the name of his father is Mu'adh), the *madjūn* of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a, the story of whose passion for Lailā, daughter of Sa'd, a woman of the same tribe, is celebrated throughout the Muḥammadan world. Kaïs is said to have died about 80 A.H. (*Fawāt*, Būlāḳ 1283, ii. 172), but it seems doubtful whether he can be regarded as a historical person, and this view is supported by the statements of early Muslim authorities (*Aghānī*, i. 167—169; cf. Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 105, p. 150, 8, and Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii. 196, 2 fr. foot = *Aghānī*, i. 169, 4 fr. foot, where *madjūn* is described as one of three persons who never existed), while Ibn al-Kalbī declared that the story of Madjūn and the poems attributed to him were fabricated by a man of the Banū 'Umayya (*ibid.*, i. 167, 4 fr. foot). Stripped of the picturesque details with which later poets have embellished it, the story is a simple one: Kaïs meets Lailā amongst a party of women, falls in love at first sight and slaughters his camel to make a feast for her. His love is returned, but her father refuses to give her to him in marriage; and soon afterwards she becomes the wife of Ward b. Muḥammad al-'Uḳailī. Kaïs, crazed with despair, passes the rest of his days in solitude, wandering half-naked in the hills and valleys of Nadjd, making verses on the subject of his unhappy love, and only seeing Lailā at rare intervals until his death. The development of this love-tale of the Arabian desert into one of the popular themes of Persian romantic and mystical poetry was begun by Nizāmi of Gandja, in whose *Khamasa* the *Lailā ū-Madjnūn* occupies the third place. Of other poems bearing the same title, the best-known in Persian literature are those by Amir Khusraw of Dihli, Djāmi and Hāfiṣ; and in Turkish, by Ḥamdī (see the abstract in Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. 175—190) and Fuzūli (*ibid.*, iii. 85—88; 100—104). — Ṣūfī writers find in Madjūn a type of the soul which through tribulation, self-devotion and self-abandonment aspires to be united with God.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 48; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r wa 'l-Shu'arā'*, ed. de Goeje, p. 355—364; *Khizānat al-Adab*, ii. 170—172; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii. 406 sq.; iii. 533 sq.; iv. 229; Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry* (see Index); J. Atkinson, *Laili and Majnūn*, translated in verse from the Persian of Nidhāmī (London 1836, 1894, 1905).

(R. A. NICHOLSON)

MADJRĀ or **MODJRĀ**, a term in prosody, meaning the vowel of the *rawi* or the consonant which is repeated at the end of each line of a *kaṣida* (cf. *KĀFIYA*). (MOH. BEN CHENEH)

AL-MADJRİTİ, his full name was ABU 'L-KĀSIM MASLAMA B. AḤMAD AL-FARĀDĪ AL-ḤĀSIB (the arithmetician) AL-MADJRİTĪ AL-ḲURṬUBĪ (the Cordovan) AL-ANDALUSĪ (the Spaniard). We know little of his life. He was born in Madrid but in what year is not known. Various dates are given for his death, which must lie between 395 (1004) and 398 (1007). In Madrid he studied the science of mensuration under an authority on the subject, 'Abd al-Ghāfir, who was also famous for his geometrical knowledge. Al-Madjritī later moved to Cordova where he lived in the reigns of Ḥakam II (350—366 = 961—976) and Hishām II (366—399 = 976—1009). He died before the outbreak of the fighting and confusion (*fitna*) which led to the fall of the Umayyads. From his place of birth and place of long residence he was given the two names al-Madjritī and al-Ḳurṭubī. Like so many others scholars, al-Madjritī is mentioned in laudatory terms by the biographers. He was the leader (*imām*) in mathematical knowledge, including mensuration. He surpassed his predecessors in knowledge of the doctrine of the spheres and the movements of the stars. He devoted particular attention to the observation of the heavenly bodies and made a special point of comprehending the *Almagest*. Whether al-Madjritī also dealt seriously with medicine we do not know but among his pupils were several who did. On the works on occult subjects ascribed to him, cf. below.

We are told of a journey to the east from which he brought back Greek and Arabic manuscripts which he adapted for the requirements of the west. Spanish astronomy was thus given a more independent position; for before the middle of the tenth century, as the survey given by Sanchez Perez shows, the Spanish representatives of astronomy and mathematics were of little importance either in numbers or ability. There were among them no scholars to compare with the Banū Mūsā, Thābit b. Qurra, Ibn al-Haitham, al-Battānī etc. But even after the time of al-Madjritī, Djābir b. Aflāḥ and al-Zarḳālī are really the only two of distinction. Perhaps we should also mention the much used Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Marrākushī, but his works are for the most part compilations.

In Cordova, where al-Madjritī lived for a considerable time, he founded — probably as a result of his journey — a school which produced a number of distinguished scholars, such as Ibn al-Samḥ (Suter, N^o. 194, also a physician), Ibn al-Saffār (Suter, N^o. 196), al-Kirmānī (Suter, N^o. 205?). Ibn Khaldūn (Suter, N^o. 227, also a physician), al-Zahrāwī (mathematician and physician, (Suter, N^o. 190). These men spread and developed the teachings of al-Madjritī and his methods; al-Zarḳālī also based his work upon them. — It is however questionable whether al-Madjritī owes his fame more to the widely circulated occult writings which are probably pseudepigraphic or to his astronomical teaching, for his literary activity in this latter field was not great.

Of his astronomical works, his version of the book of tables (*ziyā*) of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, which is one of the earliest books of tables in Islām, is of special importance. He converted the tables which are based on the era of

Yazdadjird into tables based on the Muḥammadan era. He also to some extent replaced the meridian of Arin by that of Córdoba, and he also gave the approximate positions of the planets for the beginning of the Hīdjra. On the other hand, he did not notice a series of errors in the older book. Mention may be made of some other astronomical works of his: a work in which he gives a short method of equating the stars (*Ta'dīl al-Kawākib*) in the tables of al-Battānī; a work on the astrolabe which survives in Latin; a translation of the planisphere of Ptolemy; the latter was translated into Latin in 1143 by Hermann Secundus of Tolosa. His interest in astronomy led al-Madjrītī to deal with the principle of the transversal, in which he developed the views of Thābit b. Kurra. His *Fī Tanwīm 'Ilm al-'Adad* (On the Perfection of the Doctrine of Numbers) or *al-Mu'āmalāt* On Business-calculations) is mathematical. Whether the *Kitāb al-Aḥdājār* (on stones) and the work on the procreation of animals are genuine, need not be discussed here.

It has also been suggested that al-Madjrītī wrote the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*; but his supposed occupation with a work of this kind may be traced to the fact that he either wrote a similar work or a supplement to it or that he edited it and then he or his pupil Kirmānī introduced it into Spain. Whether he inserted separate sections like those on minerals, plants and animals seems to be doubtful.

Two other works belong together in subject matter, *Rutbat al-Ḥakīm fī 'l-Kīmīyā* and *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm fī 'l-Sihr*, "the Goal of the Learned in Magic", which are ascribed in the manuscripts to al-Madjrītī, although he never mentions himself in them. E. J. Holmyard after a thorough study of the question does not believe they are by al-Madjrītī, the main reason being that al-Madjrītī died before the *fitna*, while these works were not written till after this period. The earlier biographers do not mention them among the works of al-Madjrītī; and it may well be doubted whether works of this kind were in keeping with his mental attitude. Both the works deal with occult subjects. The *Ghāya* treats of talismans, amulets, etc. Ḥādjdī Khalifa, iv. 166, in dealing with the science of talismans (*'ilm al-ṭīlsamāt*), says that in it al-Madjrītī expounded very fully but not always intelligently the principles of the science. The *Rutba* is of an alchemical nature; Ḥādjdī Khalifa, v. 230 sq. also quotes al-Madjrītī among the alchemists. Holmyard, *op. cit.*, gives the gist of the book.

Bibliography: J. Sanchez Perez, *Biografías de matematicos arabes* etc., Madrid 1921, p. 86, No. 84 (containing very full references). J. Perez quotes among other works: *Bull. di Bibliografias* etc., di B. Boncompagni, v., 1872, p. 427; this is a work which, like all by Steinschneider, contains a very full bibliography. It refers not however to Maslama but to Maṣḥā Allāh. C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 243, No. 4; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen* etc., *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathem. Wissenschaften*, x., 1900, p. 76, No. 176 and xiv., 1902, p. 167; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i., 1876, p. 422; L. Gonzalvo, *Über al-Madjrītī (Homenaje a Francisco Codera)*, x. 353—355; *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*, ii. 564, No. 1257; H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi in der Bear-*

beitung von Muslama Ibn Ahmed al-Madjrītī (*Kgl. danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter*, J. Reakke, *histor. og philolog. Afd.*, iii., 1904); E. J. Holmyard, *Maslama al-Madjrītī and the Rutbatu 'l-Ḥakīm*, in *Isis* (ed. Suter), vi., 1924, p. 293—305; H. Bürger and K. Kohl, A. Björno, *Thabit's Werk über den Transversalensatz* etc., *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* etc., vii., 1924, p. 23, 79, 83.

Arabic Sources: Ibn Abī Uṣaib'a, ii. 39; Ibn al-Kifṭī, p. 326; al-Maḥḥarī, ed. Cairo, ii. 134 (only a brief notice of the book of tables). (E. WIEDEMANN)

MĀDJŪDĪ. [See YĀDJŪDĪ WA-MĀDJŪDĪ.]

MADJŪS (A.), the Zoroastrians. The Greek word μάγος (which itself renders an Iranian word, cf. old-Persian *magush*, new-Persian *mugh*) passed into Arabic through an Aramaic medium. According to the Arabic lexicographers, *Madjūs* is a collective like *Yahūd*; in the singular *Madjūsī* is to be used; the religion of the Madjūs is called *al-Madjūsīya*. The lexicographers cite from the root $\sqrt{m-dj-s}$ a iind form (*madājās*) and a viii (*tamadājās*). In a poem, cited in the *Lisān* and the *Tādī al-'Arūs* the phrase *nār madjūs* is found; if we only could be sure, that this poem is really (as is asserted in the *Lisān*) a composition of Imru 'l-Qais and al-Taw'ām al-Yashkuri conjointly, the word would already occur in the oldest Arabic literature extant.

In the lexica, the word *Madjūs* is derived from a proper name, *Mindj Kūsh*, which name, according to them, is the Persian equivalent for Arabic *ṣaghīr al-udhnain* ("with little ears"). This man, named Mindj Kūsh, they say, is not the same as Zoroaster, but lived before him, and was the first who proclaimed the religion of the Magians. This is one instance of the many etymological and aetiological enormities of Arabic antiquarians (cf. *Lisān*, viii. 98 sq.; *Tādī al-'Arūs*, iv. 245; Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.). Incidentally, it may be noted that in Arabic literature the word *Madjūs* is also used to denote the peoples of Northern Europe, viz. the Scandinavians (cf. Dozy, *Recherches*, ii. 250 etc., Appendix No. xxxiv., p. lxxvi.; *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici* . . . collegit et ed. A. Seippel, i., Christiania 1896).

In the Qur'ān the word *Madjūs* occurs once (xxii. 17); with this verse, ii. 59 and v. 73 are to be compared. In these three places the *Ahl al-Kitāb* [q. v.] are mentioned, but it is only in xxii. 17 that the name *Madjūs* is also found. In this same verse, however, the *Mushrik*'s also are mentioned, who, of course, can by no means be included in the term *Ahl al-Kitāb*. Now, in Muslim law, the Zoroastrians are, it will be seen, treated as if they belonged to the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, but this conception cannot be based on the Qur'ānic verse xxii. 17. Also, the commentators (al-Baidāwī, ed. Fleischer, p. 629; al-Zamakhshari, *Kashshāf*, p. 901; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīh al-Ghaib*, iv. 554; al-Naisābūrī in marg. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Cairo, xvii. 74 etc.) give nothing that can point to the fact of the *Madjūs* being, theoretically, *Ahl al-Kitāb*. The words of al-Rāzī, who states that the *Madjūs* are those who do not follow a real prophet, but only a *mutanabbī*?, might suggest, that he takes *Madjūs* to be a sect intermediate between the real *Ahl al-Kitāb* and the *mushrik*'s, the heathen. Al-Naisābūrī also says that the prophet of the

Madjūs — who, moreover, are dualists — is no real prophet but a *mutanabbī*²; the *mushrik*'s, on the other hand, have no prophet at all, nor a sacred scripture. In Arabic historical literature the Zoroastrian Persians are themselves occasionally called *mushrik*, e.g. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 302, 303, 380, 387 (*mushrik*); p. 407 (*kuffār*). Finally it must be added that the Qur'ān-verse xxii. 17 seems to be a later addition to this Sūra (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qur'āns*, i. 214: the verse must be Madinic).

In the *Ḥadīth*, which represents the theory of Muslim law, there is not very much to be found on the Madjūs in particular (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. *Madjūs*). The substance of the *Ḥadīth* concerning the Magians is, that they are to be treated like the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, and, in consequence, are bound to pay the *ḡizya*. Practically, the rising Muslim state power could not follow any other way. The subjection of Irān would have become impossible, had the Arabs considered the Zoroastrians as mere heathens, who were to be given the choice either of Islām or the sword. And, even before that time, dealing with the Zoroastrians of Bahrain in this rigorous way, would have been a grave political fault. Thus tradition, though it also hands down an account of how the prophet gave the Zoroastrians of Bahrain the choice of either Islām or death, reports, that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf stated that the prophet had accepted the *ḡizya* from these Madjūs. This tradition was regarded as authoritative afterwards, and the other, stating that the prophet refused to consider Madjūs otherwise than as *mushrik*'s, was abandoned (cf. Abū Dāwūd, xix. 29 = vol. ii. 30). 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf is said to have delivered his statement on an occasion when the Khalīfa 'Umar felt doubtful whether he should accept the *ḡizya* from the Irānians, or not (cf. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 267: the prophet, according to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, had said: "*sunnu bihim sunnat ahl al-kitāb*"). There is a tradition relating that 'Umar, a year before his death, wrote to Djaz' b. Ma'ūya, regarding the Madjūs, instructing him, to put to death every sorcerer (*sāḥir*), to separate each Madjūsī from his wife and children, and to forbid the practice of *samsama* (the muttering of Zoroastrian prayers, new-Persian *bāḍi* or *bāz*). Djaz' began to execute these rigid orders, and 'Umar refused to accept the *ḡizya* from the Madjūs, until 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf asserted that the prophet had accepted it from the Madjūs of Bahrain (Abū Dāwūd, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 190, 194; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1304, ii. 144 sqq.). Al-Bukhārī, moreover (ii. 145) cites the following answer given to a Persian ambassador: "Our prophet has commanded us to fight you, until you serve God, and Him alone, or until you pay the *ḡizya*". So here likewise the Madjūs are put on the same level as the *Ahl al-Kitāb*. The determination of the position of the Zoroastrians in respect of the Muslim state, is the main point of the *Ḥadīth* concerning them. Moreover, there is a tradition in al-Dārimī, *Farā'id*, bāb 42, regulating the hereditary portion of Zoroastrians (not altogether clear, however). Other, not very important traditional matter respecting the Madjūs is cited: *Lisān*, viii. 99; Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. *fiṭra*; the article QADARIYA.

The traditions of the Muslims about Zoroaster

are in accordance with their idea of the Zoroastrians being a kind of inferior *Ahl al-Kitāb*. Al-Ṭabarī relates, that Zarādusht b. Isfīmān (Isfīmān is an adaptation of the Awestic *Spitama*, the name of the ancestor of the family to which Zoroaster belonged) laid claim to the title of a prophet, after three years of the reign of king Bishtāsb (the Awestic *Wishtāspa*) had elapsed (i. 675 sq.); the same historian reports, on the authority of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, that Zarādusht, who by the Madjūs is said to be their prophet, was, according to the learned men of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* an inhabitant of Palestine, and a servant of one of the disciples of the prophet Jeremiah. He committed a fraud against his master, who cursed him, so that he became leprous. Zarādusht then went to Adharbāidjān and began to promulgate the religion called Madjūsiya; afterwards he proceeded to Balkh, where Bishtāsb resided. This king became a convert to the religion of Zarādusht, and compelled his subjects to embrace that religion also (i. 648; cf. al-Tha'ālībī, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 256).

Another tradition, likewise preserved in al-Ṭabarī's work, brings Zarādusht together with a Jewish prophet ﷺ (vocalisation uncertain), who was sent to Bishtāsb, and, at his court, met with Zarādusht, and the sage Djāmāsb (Awestic *Djāmāspa*, the minister of Wishtāspa and son-in-law of Zoroaster). Zarādusht is said to have noted down in Persian the teachings which the Jew delivered in Hebrew. Bishtāsb, and his father Luhrāsb (Awestic *Aurwātaspa*) had been Šābians before ﷺ and Zarādusht proclaimed their religion (Ṭabarī, i. 681, 683). These traditions aim at bringing the Zoroastrian faith into a certain connection with the Jewish religion: in the one, Zoroaster is an apostate Jew, in the other, he acts in agreement with a Hebrew prophet. In the *Ḥadīth* there is a saying of Ibn 'Abbās: "when the prophet of the Persians had died, Iblis wrote for them the lore of the Madjūs" (*inna ahl Fāris lammā māta nabīyuhum kataba lahum Iblis al-Madjūsiya*: Abū Dāwūd, *Kharāḍj*, bāb 29 = ii. 30). This isolated tradition might perhaps in some way be connected with the reports about ﷺ.

Some Arabic authors, of course, had a better knowledge of Zoroaster and his religion, cf. for instance al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 331, where it is stated, that according to the Madjūs, Zarādusht came from Urmiya, and, especially, al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal* (ed. Cureton, p. 182 etc.), whose scientific treatise, however, contributes nothing to the knowledge of the ideas about Zoroastrianism prevalent among the *Fakīh*'s. It is enough to say, that al-Shahrastānī whose, information goes back to Irānian sources, gives a succinct, but, in general, correct account of Zoroaster and the Madjūs, whom he subdivides into three principal sects: the *Kayūmarthīya*, the *Zarwūniya* and the *Zarādushtīya*, the latter, according to him, properly the followers of Zoroaster. The Madjūs are, he rightly remarks, not *Ahl al-Kitāb*, but, like the dualists, only possessing something like an inspired scripture (*shubḥatu kitāb*, p. 179); before the rise of the Madjūsiya, the Persians professed the religion of Ibrāhīm (p. 180).

Respecting the treatment of the Zoroastrians during the Islāmic conquest, the following data may be given:

1) al-Yaman. Muḥammad had sent envoys to that country, who, among other things, had to collect the *ḡizya* from those who preferred to remain Christians, Jews or Madjūs (al-Balādhuri, p. 69). The Zoroastrians of al-Yaman (the so-called *Abnā'*) were said to be descendants from the Persians of the army of Wahriz, who, by order of Khusrāw I, carried back Saif b. Dhī Yazan to that country. Muḥammad, when sending an army to al-Yaman against the pseudo-prophet al-Aswad, recommended its general, to try and win over to his side these Zoroastrians, who were treated tyrannically by al-Aswad. One of these Madjūs, Fairūz b. al-Dailamī, had already embraced Islām; the most distinguished man among the *Abnā'*, Dādḥawaih (Dādḥūya), also became Muslim, and, at his advice, the remaining *Abnā'* followed. They helped energetically to put down al-Aswad. So we see, that in al-Yaman the Madjūs were treated like *Ahl al-Kitāb*, after which followed their spontaneous conversion to Islām.

2) 'Uṣmān. There was a tradition that the prophet commanded Abū Zaid to take the *ṣaduqa* from the Muslims of 'Uṣmān, and the *ḡizya* from the Madjūs of that country (al-Balādhuri, p. 77).

3) Baḥrain. In the year 8 (629/630) Muḥammad sent out al-'Alā' b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥaḍramī to Baḥrain; most of the Arabs of that country embraced Islām, and so did Sēbukht, the Persian *marzbān* of Hadjar (the capital), and some other Zoroastrians. The greatest part of the Madjūs of the country, however, remained faithful to their religion, and had to pay the *ḡizya*, like the Jews and the Christians, who, in Baḥrain, did not embrace Islām. Some Arabs criticized Muḥammad, because he pretended to accept the *ḡizya* only from the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, and now accepted it from the Madjūs of Hadjar. On that occasion Sūra v. 104 was revealed (al-Balādhuri, p. 78 etc.). Here it can be seen, that in the oldest Islām it was by no means regarded as a matter of fact that the Madjūs were to be reckoned under the *Ahl al-Kitāb*. During the Khalīfate of Abū Bakr an insurrection took place in Baḥrain, the Madjūs refusing to pay the *ḡizya*. This rebellion was not put down before the khalīfate of 'Umar (ibid., p. 85).

4) Irān. Before entering upon the particulars of the state of the Madjūs in Irān, it may be remarked that in Armenia the Madjūs were treated like the Jews and the Christians. They were obliged to pay the *ḡizya*, but enjoyed security for their persons and their possessions. In the capitulation of the town of Dabil (Dwin) to Ḥabīb b. Maslama, the Christians, Jews and Madjūs are comprised alike under these conditions. The *kanā'is* and *biya'* are also mentioned as remaining in the possession of their old masters; it may be assumed, that here under these words, which properly design Jewish and Christian sanctuaries, the fire-temples of the Zoroastrians are understood also (al-Balādhuri, p. 200).

In Irān, the regular treatment of the places which surrender themselves is the imposition of the *ḡizya* and the *ḡharāḡ* (which, at this time, in most cases were identical terms for "tribute" in general, cf. *ḡIZYA* and *ḡHARĀḂ*), but cf. al-Balādhuri, p. 314, where *ḡizya* = capitulation and *ḡharāḡ* = ground-tax). Thus, the inhabitants are reduced to the state of *dhimmī*, as if they really were *Ahl al-Kitāb*. This is the case e.g. on the

subjection of Mahrūd, Bandanidjain (al-Balādhuri, p. 265), Ḥulwān, Ḳarmāsīn (ibid., p. 301), Nihāwand (ibid., p. 306), Dīnawar, Sirwān, Sarmara (ibid., p. 307), Hamadhān (ibid., p. 309), Iṣfahān (ibid., p. 312 sq.), Ahwāz (ibid., p. 377: here the prisoners of war were released by order of 'Umar, to cultivate the land, under the obligation to pay *ḡharāḡ*, there being not enough Arabs for the purpose), Dīundai Sābūr (ibid., p. 382), Dīurra, Arradjan, Shīrāz, Darābdjird (ibid., p. 388: at Darābdjird, the chief authority in the town was a Zoroastrian priest, a *ḡirbadh*), Ṭabas and Kurīn (ibid., p. 403: they concluded a treaty with 'Umar, which later was confirmed by 'Uṣmān b. 'Affān), Naisābūr, Nasā (ibid., p. 404), Tūs (ibid., p. 405), Harāt, Bādghīs and Bushandj (ibid., p. 405), Marw (ibid., p. 405 sq.). The term *ṣālahūhu 'alā...* (*dirham*), often occurring in our source, must be understood as meaning a tribute; this appears from the last mentioned passage, p. 405 sq.

Not always, however, did the subjugation of the Irānian places come to pass without bloodshed. In Raiy a massacre ensued, but there seem to have been no religious motives for it (al-Balādhuri, p. 317). If a town had offered a strong resistance, it might happen, that only a limited number of persons were included in the *amān*. This was the case at Sarakhs, where, according to the treaty, only 100 men were spared; the *marzbān* had not included himself in the number, and was, accordingly, killed, while the women were made captives by the conquerors (ibid., p. 405). At Sūs a similar event occurred; here the number of men, comprised in the *amān*, was 80, or, as others said, 100 (ibid., p. 378 sq.). At the conquest of Manāḡhir all the men were killed, and the rest of the population was taken captive (ibid., p. 378). But another stronghold, though resisting the Muslims vigorously, obtained a capitulation, by which its inhabitants became *dhimmī* (ibid., p. 317 sq.). A great slaughter was made at the conquest of Iṣṭakhr, where 40,000 Irānians lost their lives; most of the nobles belonging to the *ahl al-buyūtāt* and the *asāwira* perished there, as it seems, not in the defence of the town, but after its capture (ibid., p. 389 sq.).

When the Zoroastrians were received as *dhimmī*'s, their religious practices must, of course, be respected. Thus al-Farrukhān paid the Muslims, on behalf of the inhabitants of Raiy and Ḳumis, 500,000 *dirham*, while the Muslims promised, among other things, not to destroy any fire-temple (ibid., p. 318). When Ādharbāidjān was subdued and made tributary, the treaty, which its *marzbān* concluded with the Arab commander, contained also the stipulation, that no fire-temple should be destroyed, and that the people of Shīz were not to be hindered in their dancing-festivals and other practices (ibid., p. 326). It goes without saying, that in the countries, inhabited by Zoroastrians, soon after the appearance of the Arabs, mosques also were built, destined in the first place for the religious worship of the conquerors; the *masḡid ḡjāmī'* which Sa'd b. Abi Waḡḡas constructed at al-Madā'in, was the earliest building of that kind in al-Sawād (ibid., p. 289). Under the khalīfate of 'Uṣmān, a *masḡid* was built at Raiy, in which town later on, under the khalīfate of al-Manṣūr, a *masḡid ḡjāmī'* was erected by order of the future khalīfa al-Mahdī, in 158 (775) (ibid., p. 309). At Tawwadj, its conqueror 'Uṣmān b. Abi

‘Aṣī caused mosques to be erected for the Arab population, which he transported to that country (*ibid.*, p. 386); in Arrādjān a *masǧid* was built by the governor al-Ḥakam al-Ḥudjamīnī (*ibid.*, p. 392).

Already at the period of the conquest, there occur numerous conversions from Zoroastrianism to Islām. As T. W. Arnold (*The Preaching of Islām*, p. 177 etc.) observes, there were several reasons, why it was not very difficult for the Persians to exchange their religion for Muḥammadanism. The *ǧizya*, moreover, which the Zoroastrians were bound to pay, could no longer be required from those who had become Muslim. Soon after the battle of Djalūlā some *dihkān*'s embraced Islām, and, consequently, became freed from paying the *ǧizya* (al-Balādhuri, p. 265). The inhabitants of Iṣfahān, on the other side, being invited by al-Ash‘arī, to accept Islām, preferred to give the *ǧizya*, but some noblemen from the same town became Muslims, and had, therefore, only to pay the *kharrādj* (for their lands: *wa-anifū min al-ǧizya fa-aslamū*: *ibid.*, p. 312 sq.). The inhabitants of Qazwin likewise became Muslim out of aversion to the *ǧizya* (*ibid.*, p. 321), and so did those of al-Ḳākizān (*ibid.*, p. 323).

A Zoroastrian, who had become Muslim and then apostatized, forfeited, of course, his life; this happened e.g. with the *dihkān* of Maisān, who was killed by al-Mughira b. Shu‘ba (*ibid.*, p. 343). Other instances of the progress of Islām, we find in the case of Ādharbāidjān. When al-Ash‘ath for the first time governed this country, he ordered the Arab settlers whom he himself had brought into the land, to invite the population to Islām. These efforts were successful; as al-Ash‘ath, under the khalifate of ‘Alī, a second time became governor of Ādharbāidjān, he found, that most of the population had become Muslim (*ibid.*, p. 328 sq.).

The conversion to Islām of some individuals seems to have been brought about chiefly by the admiration of the rapid successes of the Muslims (instances to be found in al-Balādhuri, p. 374, 381); a case of forced conversion is that of al-Hurmuzān [q. v.]. Converts to Islām, whose original name had a too pronounced Zoroastrian meaning, had to exchange that name for an Arab one: the Khalīfa al-Ma‘mūn, e.g. appointed a certain Māyazdār (comp. Pahlawī *myazd*, the Zoroastrian offering of food; the long *ā* of the Arabic transliteration causes, however, a difficulty for this explanation) governor of Ṭabaristān, Rūyān and Danbāwand: this Māyazdār had to change his name into Muḥammad (*ibid.*, p. 339). Also the father of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [q. v.], who was one of the prisoners, taken after the conquest of Maisān, altered his name, Fairūz, to Yasār (*ibid.*, p. 344), although this Persian name could scarcely offend a Muslim ear: but, after he became a *mawlā*, a change of name became necessary.

After the conquest, Zoroastrianism, for the time being, continued to exist in many parts of Irān, not only in countries which came relatively late under Muslim sway (e.g. Ṭabaristān, cf. KHURSHĪD II), but also in those regions which early had become provinces of the Muslim empire. In almost all the Irānian provinces, according to al-Mas‘ūdī, fire-temples were to be found: „the Majūs”, he says (ed. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 86) „venerate many

fire-temples in Irāk, Fārs, Kirmān, Sīdjistān, Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, al-Djibāl, Ādharbāidjān, Arrān” (he adds also: “in Hind, Sind and Śīn”). This general statement of al-Mas‘ūdī is fully supported by the mediaeval geographers, who make mention of fire-temples in most of the Irānian towns. The toleration, then, from the part of the Muslims, must have been greater in mediaeval times than in modern ones. That, however, not all Zoroastrians felt happy under a non-Zoroastrian government, appears from the fact, that a number of Majūs, the ancestors of the Pārsī’s of to-day, emigrated to India. Their landing on the coast of Guḍjarāt is said to have taken place in the year 716 of the Christian aera.

Conversion to Islām may have been, in many cases, “peaceful and to some extent, at least, gradual” (Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 181). On the other hand, it is evident, that for a Zoroastrian, desirous to attain to some prominent position, conversion to Islām was indispensable. Among the well-known converts from Zoroastrianism may be cited Ibn al-Muḳaffa‘ [q. v.], Sāmān Khudāt, the founder of the dynasty of the Sāmānids [q. v.], the poet Daḳīkī [q. v.], etc.

Occasionally, the Muslim magistrates, it seems, assisted the Zoroastrian clergy against heretics: al-Shahrastānī (*K. al-Milal wa’l-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 187) relates, how Abū Muslim of Naisābūr, on an accusation from the part of the *mubadh* of the Zoroastrians, caused a sectarian to be killed. It seems, however, that this man, who had been a Zoroastrian, and now promulgated a new creed, held tenets calculated to cause disturbance.

A history of the relations between the Muslim state and the Persian Zoroastrians (for neither the Indian Zoroastrians, the Pārsīs, nor the internal history of the Zoroastrian community concern us here) can only be written, when the mass of Persian historical literature of the Middle Ages and modern times will be completely accessible. The position of the Zoroastrians has become worse in course of time. Their number seems to have greatly diminished by the disturbances which ensued after the death of Nadir Shāh (1160 = 1747), when the Afghāns destroyed the Zoroastrian quarter at Kirmān, and by the war between Agha Muḥammad Khān Qādjār and Luṭf ‘Alī Khān (see also KIRMĀN). In modern times the number of Zoroastrians in Persia is estimated by v. Houtum-Schindler (1879) at 8,499 at all; by Browne (1887/1888) at 7,000—8,000 for Kirmān, and Yazd and environs alone [but elsewhere (*A year among the Persians*, p. 370) he gives for Yazd and its environs alone 7,000—10,000] and for Bahrāmābād 20—25. The *Encycl. Britannica* (1911) has the number 9,000 for the whole of Persia.

In 1854, there were in Yazd and its environs 6,658 Zoroastrians, of whom ± 25 were merchants, and the rest small husbandmen and labourers (Karaka, *History of the Persia*, i. 55). The same author gives for Kirmān (in 1884, the date of the book?) no more than 450; for Tīhrān ± 50 merchants, and a small number of humbler position, who were employed as gardeners in the palace of the Shāh. At Shīrāz, some Zoroastrian families were found, who exercised the trade of shop-keepers. Further more, there are Zoroastrians at Kāshān and Būshahr (v. Houtum-Schindler). The Gebers of Bākū are Indian Pārsīs (cf. BĀKŪ).

According to Browne, there are in Persia 5

dakhma's (tower-shaped buildings, where the Zoroastrians depose the bodies of the deceased, to be devoured by birds of prey): one South of Tihṛān, two at Kirmān, and two at Yazd. The number of fire-temple is given by v. Houtum-Schindler as 4 for Yazd, 18 for its environs, and 1 for Kirmān. Karaka (i. 60) knew (1884) in Yazd and its environs as many as 34 greater or lesser fire-temple. Van Houtum-Schindler says, that the social position of the Zoroastrians in those places, where there are only few of them (Tihṛān, Kāshān, Shīrāz, Būshahr), was a tolerably good one, because they were respected as being honest traders. But at Kirmān their condition was less favourable, and at Yazd still worse. In the first half of the sixth century, the levying of the *djizya* was still a source of misery for all Persian Gebers, because they were helplessly exposed to the extortions of the government functionaries. However, even at the time van Houtum-Schindler wrote (1879), the Indian Pārsīs, in virtue of a covenant with the Persian government, paid the *djizya* (valued at ± 920 *tūmān*) for their co-religionists, so that the extortions of the fisc in collecting that tax came to an end. In 1882 the *djizya* of the Zoroastrians was abolished (Karaka, i. 74). For this, and other improvements, as also the foundation of schools, the Persian Zoroastrians are indebted to the "Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Fund", a Pārsī institution.

But, especially at Yazd, the situation of the Gebers, during the second half of the sixth century, was far from good. Browne relates, that at Yazd they were treated with more contempt than the Jews or the Christians; they were not permitted to ride on horse-back; fire-temple which had decayed, were not to be restored, etc. The then governor, 'Imād al-Dawla, had, it is true, put an end to some of the more serious iniquities, e.g. the putting into practice of the quaint maxim, that a Zoroastrian, who had become Muslim, acquired by that conversion a right to the property of his non-converted kinsmen. Although at Kirmān the treatment of the Gebers was better than at Yazd, Browne had heard of wrongs done to them, e.g. forced conversions to Islām of children and young girls.

The *Bibliography* regarding the Persian Zoroastrians (and also the so-called Gabri, cf. especially K. Hadank's *Introduction*, to O. Mann, *Die Mundarten von Khunsar*, p. lxvii. sqq.) has been given in the article KIRMĀN. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-MADJUS. The historians of the Maghrib and of Muslim Spain give the generic name of Madjūs "pagans, fire-worshippers" to the Scandinavian pirates known in England as Northmen (Norsemen) and also to the Normans of France who on several occasions in the middle ages attempted landings on the coasts and expeditions against the frontiers of the Muslim west.

The first invasion of Spain by Northmen was in 230 (844). In the month of Dhū'l-Hijjā 229 (Aug./Sept. 844), a fleet of 54 large vessels and as many small barks anchored before Lisbon [q. v.] and the forces they carried landed at the mouth of the Tagus. The Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān II, warned by the governor of Lisbon, Wahb Allāh b. Ḥazm, gave instructions to the governors of his coast-provinces to prevent any surprise attacks. The Norman forces seized Cadiz from Lisbon, then the province of Sidona (Shadhūna) and finally Seville [q. v.] which they took by storm

on Oct. 1, 844. It was not till November that they were forced to seek the shelter of their vessels by the Muslim armies sent against them. Other bands at the same time ravaged with fire and sword the whole coast from Lisbon to Trafalgar and one of them reached a point in Africa where the little town Aṣīlā (Arzila [q. v.]) was founded soon afterwards, but took to flight on the approach of the Berbers of the region.

After this invasion, the leader of the Norse hordes seems to have sent an ambassador to the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān II to propose a peace. The Umayyad sovereign agreed to his request and sent to discuss the terms of the treaty a diplomat of his entourage, Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī al-Djāyānī, known as al-Ghazāl. The latter reached Silves, where he entered a ship which after various adventures took him to the Norse leader. Al-Ghazāl returned to his master after an absence of 20 months. The account of his embassy has been preserved for us by Ibn Dihya, who got it from the vizier Tammām b. 'Alqama, a friend of al-Ghazāl.

Fifteen years later, in 244 (858), Spain and the Maghrib again suffered a Norse invasion. We have accounts of it by Ibn al-Kūṭīya, al-Bakrī and Ibn 'Idhārī. It lasted several years, at least till 247 (861). The Northmen began by seizing the town of Nukūr in Morocco. They then appeared at the mouth of the Guadalquivir but without success; they then seized Algeciras where they burned the great mosque. They appear to have then had an encounter at sea with the fleet of the Caliph Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān.

We have fuller details of the invasions which followed. In 355 (966), the Danes, who had come to the assistance of the first Duke of Normandy, made an expedition against Muslim Spain, on the interested advice of Richard I. This lasted three years. The invaders, always called Madjūs by the Arab historians, appeared first at Kaṣr Abi Dānis (Alcacer do Sal) and landed in the country round Lisbon which they laid waste. The Caliph al-Ḥakam sent against them a fleet from Seville which met theirs in the estuary of the Tagus. At the same time a battle was fought on land near Lisbon in which the Muslims were defeated. The Danes then extended their efforts to Galicia and in 970 seized St. Iago da Compostella. In the next year, they again attacked Muslim Spain but they were much weakened by the losses they had suffered in the north of the Peninsula and they do not seem to have dared to land anywhere.

It is also to the Madjūs (the name being accompanied by the more precise one of *الارمانيين* = *Alordomani*) that the Arabs attribute the celebrated taking in the following century of the town of Barbastro (Barbushtar) to the N. W. of Saragossa, on the borders of Aragon. The historian Ibn Ḥaiyān wrote a detailed account of it, which is preserved by Ibn 'Idhārī. A Norman expedition, in which French knights shared, which was evidently led by Guillaume de Montreuil, succeeded in capturing Barbastro in 456 (1064). This success and the barbaric treatment inflicted on the population made a deep impression on Muslim Spain. In the next year the king of Saragossa, Aḥmad b. Sulaimān Ibn Hūd al-Muqtadir, with an army reinforced by a contingent of cavalry sent by the Seville ruler, al-Mu'taqid Ibn 'Abbād, recaptured Barbastro, where a weak garrison left

by the Normans on their return to France could offer only a brief resistance and was almost entirely wiped out.

Bibliography: The various invasions of Spain by the Madjūs have been subject of a learned monograph by the Dutch Orientalist R. Dozy, *Les Normands en Espagne*, in his *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-âge*, 3rd edition Paris-Leyden 1881, vol. ii., p. 250—371. At the beginning references are given to the earlier works by Werlauff, Mooyer, Kruse and Kunik. To the Arabic sources mentioned by Dozy may be added vol. iii. of the *Kitāb al-Bayān al-muḡrib* of Ibn 'Idhāri, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1927, p. 70 sqq. Cf. also his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leyden 1861, vol. iv., p. 125—126 and Kristoffer, *La première invasion des Normands dans l'Espagne musulmane en 844*, Lisbon 1892. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MADMŪN is 1. in the legal institution of the *ḍamān* [q. v.] "surety", a term which occurs in the following connections: *madmūn anhu* "debtor" *madmūn lahu* or *'alaīhi* "creditor", *madmūn (bihi)* "pawn". For the parties to the agreement and the article in question in a bond, the rules hold which apply to all other contracts.

Bibliography: For details cf. the pertinent chapters in the Fikh books and Sachau, *Muhammed. Recht*, p. 385 sqq.; Khalil, *Mukhtaṣar*, transl. Santillana, ii. 249 sqq.; Tornauw, *Moslem. Recht*, p. 139 sqq.; van den Berg, *Principes du droit musulman*, transl. France de Tersant, Algiers 1896, p. 101 sq.

2. In the chapters of the Fikh books which deal with the law of obligations, *madmūn* is used for the thing for which one is liable or responsible, i. e. is bound to replace. In this way *ḍamān* comes to mean in the wider sense, "liability, obligation to restore" in contracts. This liability consists either in the producing of something identical (*mithl*) i. e. of a thing of the same quality and quantity (*ṣifatan wa-waḥḍan*), e. g. in edible things (*mithliyāt*) which are measured by quality, weight, or number (*mawḥūn wa-makīl wa-ma'dūd*) or in the value of the thing (*ḵima*) e. g. in non-edible things (*muḵawwaniāt*) which have a special individuality, and are therefore 'ain = species.

Bibliography: The chapters on the conditions of legal agreements in the Fikh books.

(O. SPIES)

MADRAS Presidency, the southernmost province in British India, occupies the whole of the southern portion of the Peninsula with an area of 142,260 sq. m.; total population (1921): 42,318,985, of whom 2,840,488 (nearly 7%) are Muhammadans. The majority of these are Sunnis, 2,681,945 (93.60 per cent); Shī'is: 54,114. The only Native State with a Muhammadan ruler is Banganapalle (255 sq. m.); population 36,692, of whom only 19% are Muhammadans. The language spoken by the majority of the Muhammadans of the province is Malayālam (1,108,865 i. e. 387 per 1,000, including almost all the Māppillas [q. v.]); Hindustānī, 335 per 1,000; Tamil, 209 per 1,000.

History. Southern India began to suffer early in the xvth century from plundering raids carried out by the Muhammadans established in the north, until the rise of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336 erected an effectual barrier against

the southward expansion of Muhammadan power for more than two centuries. When in 1564 the four Sultans of the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, — Bidjāpur, Bidar, Aḥmadnagar and Golkonda, — joined forces against this powerful Hindu state, in a single decisive battle (Tālikota, January 1565) they effected the ruin of Vijayanagar and utterly destroyed the capital, and its territories were for the most part incorporated in the kingdoms of Bidjāpur and Golkonda. In 1686 and 1687 Awrangzeb [q. v.] conquered these two kingdoms and made them part of the Mughal empire. After Āṣaf Dījah, the first Nizām of Ḥaidarābād, had made himself independent, in 1724, the Nawāb of the Carnatic [q. v.], also styled the Nawāb of Arcot (Arkāt) from the name of his capital, became his chief subordinate in the South of India. When in the middle of the xviiith century the English and the French were in conflict with one another in Southern India, each espoused the cause of a different claimant for the office of Nawāb of the Carnatic. The support of British troops under the command of Robert Clive assured the success of Muḥammad 'Alī (ob. 1795), but papers seized at Siringapatam after its capture in 1799 having proved that both he and his son and successor, though nominally allies of the British, had been in secret correspondence with Tipū Sulṭān [q. v.], Lord Wellesley, then Governor-general of India, declared them to be public enemies of the British Government, and in 1801 concluded a treaty with a grandson of Muḥammad 'Alī, named A'zam al-Dawla, according to which he resigned the government of the Carnatic into the hands of the East India Company, but retained the titular dignity and received a considerable pension. The present representative of the family bears the title of Prince of Arcot and has the position of the premier native nobleman of Madras. The greater part of the existing Presidency of Madras consists of the territories annexed by Lord Wellesley.

Madras City, on the shore of the Bay of Bengal, in 3° 4' N. and 80° 15' E., is the capital of the presidency of the same name; population (1921): 526,911, of whom 113 in every 1,000 are Muhammadans.

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MADRASA. [See MASJID.]

MADRID. The present capital of Spain has kept the name it had in the Muslim period: *Madjrit* (ethnic *al-Madjritī*). Arab geographers describe it as a little town grouped round a strong fortress, with a *khūṭba* mosque, at the foot of the Djabal al-Shārāt, the Sierra de Guadarrama, and a dependency of the province of Toledo. It was especially known for its potteries. It had only an unimportant history, but gave birth to several famous Muslim scholars, among whom the most important was Abu 'l-Kāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Madjritī, who lived in the second half of the fourth century and on whom cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 243. Madrid was taken in 476 (1083) by King Alphonso VI. According to a Christian tradition, Ramiro II had previously held possession of it for a short time during his campaign against the Muslims in 327 (939). It was on the site of the old cathedral (*ḍjāmi'*) of Madrid that the king

of Castille had the church dedicated to the Virgin of the Almudena built.

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MADURA, an island north of Eastern Java, with the sea of Java on the north and the strait of Madura on the south; a narrow strait separates it from the residency of Surabaya. For administrative purposes it forms a separate residency along with several small adjoining islands. From the geological point of view Madura is a continuation of the limestone hills of the residences of Rēmbang and Surabaya in Java; it is doubtful whether the statement in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (Ballad XV, verse 2; also the earliest mention of the island) that Madura only became separated from Java at the beginning of the third century A. D. is of any historical value. The ground is hilly; large parts of the country are not at all fertile. Although agriculture is becoming more and more important with the completion of irrigation works, the quantity of rice grown is quite insufficient for the wants of the dense and still rapidly increasing population; they have frequently to live partly or completely on maize. Every year many Madurese leave their land for a certain period to seek work in various ways in Eastern Java; the comparatively unfertile nature of the soil has always forced the inhabitants to emigrate permanently to the Eastern residencies of Java and these are therefore with the exception of a few districts inhabited by a population which speaks Madurese. Of more importance for the Madurese than agriculture is the rearing of domestic animals (cattle, horses, goats and sheep). The Madurese cattle are probably the best in the whole archipelago; many draught animals and fat stock are annually exported. A very popular sport is bull racing; the beasts used for this are bred and looked after with the greatest care. The Madurese have a certain preference for the trade of a wandering pedlar; on the coast and on the islands the main source of livelihood is fishing and fish-breeding.

The population is closely related to that of Java; the customs at birth, marriage and death agree in general with those that prevail there. There are however striking differences. The Madurese is more heavily built, more energetic and enterprising than the Javanese; he is also less sophisticated. He is said to be faithful, reliable, economical and even avaricious. Dress, houses and farms of the Madurese look less cared for than those of the Javanese; the houses are not as in Java close together in settlements but are scattered. The Madurese are specially fitted for hard heavy work and less for occupations which require skill and application. Alcoholic beverages are much drunk, but little opium is taken. The language is also related to Javanese and much influenced by it; the literature consists mainly of translations and versions of Javanese works.

Islām is the generally prevailing religion. The Madurese have no tendency to fanaticism but as a rule they faithfully perform the principal duties of their religion; the great Muslim feasts are

duly observed. All receive the usual elementary religious instruction and many are not content with this only. We have no exact or reliable information as to the period of their conversion and the manner in which it came about; the stories given in the native sources do not agree. But as Madura has politically always been closely connected with Java (in the Hindu period it was subject to the kingdoms of Tumapel and Mādjapahit; at a later date it was under the adipati of Surabaya and then under the Sultān of Mataram) and as it is quite close to the district through which the new religion entered Java, it may well be assumed that between the first dissemination of Muslim ideas on Java and on Madura not a great deal of time passed. The complete conversion of the island to Islām seems to have taken place quickly and without difficulty. Hindu rule had never made a deep impression. According to native tradition Madura belonged to the Muḥammadan coalition which overthrew the Hindu Javanese kingdom of Mādjapahit. Until 1623 Madura (which was divided into five small states) formed part of the territory of the adipati of Surabaya. In this year it was acquired by Mataram and a Madurese prince appointed governor. When in 1678 a grandson of his, Truna Djaya, rebelled against Mataram, endeavoured to make Madura independent and even aimed at rule over Java, the ruler of Mataram sought the intervention of the Dutch East India Company. In 1679 Truna Djaya was taken prisoner; in 1705 Mataram recognized the suzerainty of the Dutch East India Company (which had existed in reality since 1683) over the eastern part of Madura and in 1743 over the whole island. The Company and after them the Dutch government for a considerable time always avoided intervention in the internal affairs of the island; as the rulers of Madura had repeatedly performed important services, they were treated — often to the injury of their subjects — less as servants of the Company than as independent allies. From the middle of the nineteenth century the power of the rulers was gradually limited; since 1885 the whole island has been directly under Dutch rule.

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(W. H. RASSERS)

MADYAN SHU'AIB, a town on the east side of the Gulf of Akaba. The name is, connected with that of the tribe of Midianites known from the Old Testament (lxx.: *Μαδιαν*, *Μαδιαν*; in Josephus *Μαδιαννῆται*, ἡ *Μαδιαννῆ χώρα*) but it can hardly be used without further consideration to identify the original home of this tribe, as the town might be a later Midianite settlement and besides it is difficult to fix the real home of such wandering tribes. In the Old Testament a town of Midian is not mentioned (not even in I Kings, xi. 18 where "Ma'on" should probably be read). On the other hand Josephus (*Archaeology*, ii. 11, 2) knows Madiāne as a town on the Erythraean Sea as does Eusebius (*Onomast.*, ed. Lagarde, p. 276); in Ptolemy (vi. 7, 2) it is mentioned as a town on the coast and called Modiana or Modouna while in another passage he gives it as an inland town under the name

Madiama, a difference which is explained by the actual position of the town. In Muḥammad's time there is only one reference (in Ibn Ishāq) to the town of Madyan, when the Prophet sent an expedition under Zaid b. Ḥāritha thither. There are occasional references in the poet Kuthaiyir (in Yāqūt, d. 723), who speaks of the monks there and in the record of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya's journey to Aila. In the geographers we find Madyan only as a town near the coast, six days' journey from Tabuk; it was the second station on the pilgrims' road from Aila to Madina and was a dependency of Madina. In the sixth century Ya'kūbi speaks of its position in a district rich in springs and watercourses, gardens and date groves and of its mixed population. Iṣṭakhri says it is larger than Tabūk and describes from his own observations the spring there, from which Moses watered the flocks of Shu'aib (see below), it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then began to decline gradually. In the xith century Idrisi says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty resources; in the xivth century Abu 'l-Fidā' says it was in ruins. Only in recent times has it been visited e.g. by Rüppell, Burton and Musil. The extensive ruins, which the Arabs call Maghā'ir Shu'aib after the cave-tombs, lie about 16 miles east of the port of Maḡnā in 28° 28' N. Lat. in the southern part of the valley of al-Bad' which is rich in streams and palms and other trees. According to Burton the whole district between 29° 28' and 27° 40' is called Arḍ Madyan.

In the Qur'an following the Old Testament there are repeated references to Madyan as a people: for example in the stories of Moses' stay with them (xx. 42; xxviii. 21 sqq., 45), where his father-in-law (Jethro in the O. T.) is still anonymous, or in one of the stereotyped legends of prophets in which the Madyan are punished because they would not believe their prophet Shu'aib (vii. 83-91; xi. 85-98; xxix. 35 sq.). This Shu'aib was later identified with the father-in-law of Moses, for which there is no authority in the Old Testament. But perhaps the real truth is that Shu'aib had originally nothing to do with Madyan. In the older Sūras (xv. 78; xxvi. 176 sq.; xxxviii. 12; l. 13) it is not the Midianites but the *Ashāb al-Aika* (the people of the thicket) who are his enemies and it is therefore very possible that Muḥammad only later combined an indigenous story of the people of the thicket and their Shu'aib with the Midianites of the Old Testament.

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MAGHNĀṬIS, MAGHNĀṬIS, MAGHNĪṬIS, Lodestone and Compass.

I. The Lodestone and Magnetism

The lodestone is a widely disseminated mineral, and is therefore frequently mentioned by geographers and cosmographers, for example in the pseudographical *Petrology* of Aristotle, by al-Dimishkī, al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Tafāshī, Ibn al-Faḳīh, al-Ḳalkashandī, etc. Of Amid and Ḥashadī, it is said that the lodestone is found there as a hard rock. According to Ibn Sinā, the Indian is the best and al-Ḳazwīnī makes it come from India. Like the Greeks and Romans, the Arabs also discussed the properties of the lodestone and its effects on iron. They found that the lodestone can hold an iron needle (a ring), this a second, a third and so on, so that a chain is formed.

The power of attraction of the lodestone was defined. Most writers say that a lodestone can lift double its weight in iron, and one from Ḥashadī three times. Djabīr b. Haiyān al-Sufī possessed a particularly strong one. Djabīr b. Haiyān ascertained that it could work through bronze. Other information is given by Shams al-Dīn al-Dimishkī, p. 73, or 85 of the work mentioned below (cf. also E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, ii. 3: *Über Magnetismus*, S. B. P. M. S. Erlangen, xxxvi., 1904, p. 322).

Knives and swords rubbed on lodestone, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh and al-Ḳalkashandī became themselves magnetic. They consist also, like needles, of iron which contains carbon, i. e. steel. They are stronger than the lodestone and do not lose their power of attraction as the former does.

It was noticed that in needles which floated on water the end rubbed pointed sometimes to the north and sometimes to the south, apparently according as it was rubbed with one or the other pole of the magnet; there appears to be no suspicion that the end not rubbed had also changed. Uṭārid al-Ḥassāb's statement that there are three kinds of lodestone is probably connected with the effects on the magnetised needle: one he says attracts, the second repels, and in the third one side attracts and the other repels.

The Arabs devoted much attention to the theory of these phenomena — with how little satisfactory results is evident from the remark of Ibn Buṭlān: — "It is very annoying for us to feel that we do not know this with certainty (the cause of the attraction of iron), although we perceive it with the senses". Djabīr b. Haiyān explains the power as a spiritual one, classing it with scents. Al-Ṭughāī includes the lodestone among the stones which contain spirits (see E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxiv.: *Zur Alchemie bei den Arabern*, S. B. P. M. S. Erlg., xliii., 1911, p. 82). Al-Rāzī seems to have dealt with its attraction through vacant space in a work which has not survived, entitled *Kitāb 'Ilā Dīadhb Ḥadjar al-Maghnaṭis li 'l-Ḥadid wa-fihi Kalām kathīr fi 'l-Ḳhalā'* i. e. "Book on the reason why the *Maghnāṭis* attracts iron: in it there is much discussion of empty space" (see Ibn Abī Uṣaib'a, i. 320). Ibn Sinā develops views which are very obscure in his *Kitāb al-Shifā' (Maḳāla 2)*; Ibn Ḥazm is more lucid in his *Kitāb Ṭawḳ al-Ḥamāma fi 'l-Ulfa wa 'l-Ullāf*. Al-Ḳazwīnī traces the attraction to a similarity of natures, through which love and at-

traction between them arose at the beginning of their existence. The Arabs are very fond in poetry and prose of comparing the effect of the magnet on iron to that of the lover on the beloved.

That there are many fables associated with this power of attraction is to be expected. Idols etc. of iron are said to be kept suspended in the air by lodestones (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.* xii.: *Über Lampen und Uhren*, S. B. P. M. S. Erlg., x., 1907, No. viii., p. 207). Nails were drawn out of ships and they were thus caused to sink, as was the case with Sindbad's. According to al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāib al-Makhṭūʿāt*, i. 172) there are submarine mountains at Ḳulzum which have this effect. Therefore, he says, the beams of ships in the Red Sea were bound together with ropes. The lodestone is said to be especially effective if it is kept for a time in goat's blood, which is of course false. The lodestone is occasionally used in medicine (cf. Ibn Sinā and Ibn al-Baitār, s.v.). In alchemy its name means "lion" and "he with the brilliant eye".

Besides the lodestone, which attracts iron, quite a number of other stones are given, which have the same quality with respect to other bodies, for example, gold is the magnet of quicksilver, etc. Numerous statements about such attracting bodies, which include a number of plants, are given in the *ʿAdjāib* of Shams al-Dīn Dimishkī (cf. the *Bibliography*) in the Arabic text p. 73—77, in the translation p. 85—89. Al-Ḳazwīnī also gives a number of such magnets under the word *Lāḳiṭ* ("picking, collecting") among the minerals.

II. The Compass

The Arabs of the East became acquainted with the compass through Chinese sailors, without however at first giving it a special name; there was considerable traffic between the Persian etc. ports and Southern China. Thence it came to Syria and then to the Mediterranean ports of Europe. The compass had very probably however already reached the north of Europe by the trade-route of the Russian rivers as early as the eighth or ninth centuries. This explains why the compass was known earlier in the north than in the south of Europe and perhaps explains also why the Norsemen were able to undertake long voyages by sea (cf. R. Hennig, *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. deutscher Naturforscher* etc., 84th Versammlung 1912, II/ii., p. 95).

In deciding the direction by means of a magnetic needle, the Muslims used the end which pointed to the south; as Mecca lay to the south of most places in Syria etc. the *Kibla* [q.v.] corresponded almost exactly to the south.

The oldest passage in which the word *ḵaramiṭ* perhaps corresponding to "magnet" (*calamita*) occurs is given by Dozy for the year 239 (854) in *Supplément*, ii., 337 who found it in *al-Bayān al-Mughrib (Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne)* edited by him. Serious objections have however been raised to interpreting the word as compass in this passage (*M. S. O. S.*, Berlin, x. 1—2, 1900, p. 268). From the fact that in narratives of travels of the ninth century A. D. and that in al-Mas'ūdī (923) the directions are given in the same way as on compasses, G. Ferrand concludes that the compass was already in use then. The next oldest absolutely certain reference is in the *Djāmi' al-Hikāyāt* of 'Awfī; it is in his *Lubāb al-Albāb* (ed. Browne and Miṛzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī). A

captain during a storm in the Red Sea or Persian Gulf finds his true course by means of a fish, of which we are expressly told that it had been rubbed with a maghnāṭīs. A similar statement regarding the use of a magnetic fish at sea is made by al-Maḥrizī in his *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ* (Bulāḡ 1270, i. 240; Cairo 1324, i. 357; *Z. f. Phys.*, xiv., 1924, p. 166).

A very full description of the compass and its use in the Mediterranean was given in 640 (142/43) by a certain Bailak al-Ḳabadjāḳī in the *Kitāb Kanz al-Tudjūdār fī Maʿrifat al-Aḥdīār*. A needle which was rubbed with a "female" lodestone is placed diagonally through a rush or piece of straw etc. Sometimes a cross made of two straws is used. The arrangement is floated on water set to rotate by a lodestone held in the hand and moved in a circular direction; the latter is then quickly withdrawn. The needle places itself pointing to the south, which is the same as the qibla. The turning is probably regarded as magical, but it has a physical significance. By the turning the often very tenacious skin of the water is broken and the apparatus bearing the magnet is enabled to move freely. The turning is however not always done, but the needle with its support is simply placed on the water.

Al-Zarkhūrī describes several forms of compass in a work on mechanical toys, for example a small beautifully painted fish, in which a magnetic needle is placed. In place of the fish, which might hurt the feelings of pious worshippers, a wooden disk with a *miḥrāb* drawn upon it is also used. Finally an apparatus just like our compass is described. Two magnetic needles are placed symmetrically in the centre under a circular piece of paper. Under the centre of the paper a funnel is placed which turns on a point; the whole is enclosed in a cylindrical receptacle with a glass top and is called *ḥuḳḳ al-ḳibla* "vessel, box for the qibla", or *bait al-ibra*, "house of the needle"; according to Niebuhr the same name is still given to the compass. At the present day similar compasses are used along with a simple sundial. Another very full description is given by a certain Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khair al-Ḥasanī in his *al-Nudjūm al-shāriḳāt* (cf. E. Wiedemann in the *Z. für Physik*, xiii., 1923, p. 113: there is a manuscript in Bairūt in addition to those mentioned here. Whether the Cambridge one was written in 1103 or 1588 cannot be ascertained with certainty). The needle is fastened to a copper plate hollowed out or raised in the centre and placed on a copper stand. One end of the needle, no doubt the south end, has something put on it to mark it.

An important passage in an anonymous work "preparation of the bowl (*āsa*) to ascertain the qibla and points of the compass" is in a Berlin manuscript (Ahlwardt, No. 5811). Here the point of the needle points south, the eye to the north, (The rubbing [*ḥakk*] of the needle explains the peculiar modern name *ḥikk* for the compass).

It would take us too far to deal here with the box compass proper which is called in Turkish e.g. *pusula* from the Italian. We will only note that on the rhomb-card the south is called *al-ḳibla* and also *al-djānūb* (cf. thereon for example K. Foy, *Die Windrose bei den Osmanen und Griechen mit Benutzung der Bahriya des Admirals Pir-i Reis vom Jahr 1520*, *M. S. O. S.*, Berlin xi./2 1908, 234 sqq.).

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On the Compass: J. Klaproth, *Lettre à M. Al. de Humboldt sur l'invention de la boussole*, Paris 1834; E. Wiedemann, *Über Geschichte des Kompasses bei den Arabern, Verhandl. der physikalischen Gesellschaft*, vol. ix., 1908, p. 764—773; xi., 1909, p. 262—266; xxi., 1919, p. 665—667; *Z. für Physik*, xiii., 1923, p. 113—116; xiv., 1923, p. 240; xxiv., 1924, p. 166—168; G. Ferrand, *Notes sur l'histoire orientale (Contribution à l'histoire de la boussole)*, *Publications de l'Institut des hautes études marocaines, Mélanges René Basset*, i., 1923, p. 1—16.

In the *Beiträge ii.* the earlier literature is collected. This is also done in other works e.g. by Clément Mullet on the Compass. Of special importance are the works of A. Schück (*Der Kompass etc.*, Hambourg 1911, 1915 sqq.), which also deal with the Bussola in China.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

MAGHRĀWA, a large confederation of Berber tribes, belonging to the Zanāta group and related to the confederations of the Banū Ifran [q. v.] and Banū Irniyān. These tribes, who led a nomadic life, in the middle ages roved over the country between the valley of the Chélif as far as Tlemcen and the mountains inhabited by the Madyūna. They were easily converted to Islām and their chief Ṣulāt b. Wazmār is to have gone to Madīna to the Caliph 'Uḡmān and been confirmed by him in his rule over the Maghrāwa. This is why this confederation came to consider themselves clients of the Umayyads of Spain and supported, sometimes by force of arms, the cause of this dynasty in the Maghrib. This chief Ṣulāt was succeeded by his son Ḥafṣ and he by his son Ḳhazar, with whom the Arab amīrs of al-Ḳairawān had to deal at the time of the rebellion of Maisara in 122 (739). On his death his son Mu-

hammad after the early successes of Idris I in the Maghrib, brought him the submission of the Maghrāwa and returned Tlemcen to him, which he had just taken from the Banū Ifran; the Maghrāwa thus became one of the principal supports of the Idrisid dynasty at its beginning.

The grandson of this Muḥammad b. Khazar, a contemporary of Idris I, also called Muḥammad, resisted the Fātimids [q. v.]. When the general of the Mahdī 'Ubaid Allāh, Maṣāla b. Ḥabbūs, had seized the Idrisid possessions in the Central Maghrib and placed over them the chief of the Miknāsa Mūsā b. Abi 'l-'Afiya, the chief of the Maghrāwa rebelled and brought under his flag a large number of Berber tribes. In 309 (921—922) he routed the army sent against him under Maṣāla, whom he slew with his own hand. But the next year, the Maghrāwa, faced with a new Fātimid offensive, had to take refuge in the region of Sidjilmāsa. But some time afterwards, the Umayyad Caliph of Cordova 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, wishing to annex the Maghrib to his dominions, summoned the Maghrāwa to his assistance and with the help of Muḥammad b. Khazar was able to bring under his sway all the central Maghrib except the region of Tāhert. The son of the Maghrāwid amir al-Khair b. Muḥammad was installed as governor in Oran. The Banū Ifran and Mūsā b. 'Abi 'l-'Afiya also joined the Umayyads (first half of the tenth century). But all these submissions to the wishes of the Umayyads were only dictated by self-interest and when Muḥammad b. Khazar died at al-Kairawān in 350 (961) he had become the vassal of the Fātimid sovereign al-Mu'izz.

The successor of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in the caliphate of Cordova, al-Ḥakam al-Mustansir, like his father summoned the Maghrāwa to their old allegiance; their chief Muḥammad b. al-Khair b. Khazar thereupon threw off Fātimid suzerainty. Knowing the enemies that this defection was going to cause him, al-Mu'izz invited Ziri b. Manād, chief of the Ṣanhādja to attack the chief of the Maghrāwa. A battle was fought in 360 (970—971) between the Maghrāwa and the Ṣanhādja commanded by Bologgin b. Ziri: the Maghrāwa were completely routed, but a little later they were able to take their revenge, owing to the assistance of Dja'far b. 'Alī b. Ḥamdūn, lord of al-Msila and al-Zāb. Next year Bologgin b. Ziri in the name of the Fātimids led a great expedition against the Zanāta and subjected them completely in the Central Maghrib. The Maghrāwa had once again to take refuge in Sidjilmāsa and, after the return of Bologgin to Ifrikiya, they definitely abandoned central Maghrib and settled in Morocco. It is from this time that two of their families were able to found two short lived kingdoms, that of the Banū Ziri b. 'Afiya at Fās and that of the Banū Khazrūn at Sidjilmāsa and at Tripoli.

The Maghrāwa of Fās. After the defeat suffered by the Maghrāwa in the central Maghrib, the descendant of Khazar, Muḥammad b. al-Khair, crossed the sea to seek the help of the famous 'Amirid Ḥādhib al-Manṣūr b. Abi 'Amir [q. v.]. The latter sympathised with him in his troubles and sent an expedition to the Maghrib under Dja'far b. 'Alī b. Ḥamdūn. The Spanish army with contingents from the Banū Ifran and the Maghrāwa took up a position near Ceuta and in view of its strength Bologgin b. Ziri refrained from attacking it and set out to subdue all Morocco.

In 373 (983—984) the Maghrāwa, after the departure of the Spanish governor Ibn 'Askalādja, were chosen by al-Manṣūr to rule Morocco in his stead. In 377 (987—988) the ḥādhib appointed as his vassal to rule the western Maghrib, the amir of the Maghrāwa, Ziri b. 'Afiya b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khazar. The latter made Fās his residence and settled his tribe around the town. By orders of al-Manṣūr he waged war on the Ṣanhādja and notably increased his dominions towards the east. In 382 (992) he made a journey to Cordova on the invitation of the ḥādhib. In spite of the assertions — frequently contradictory — of the historians, it seems that the reign of Ziri b. 'Afiya was rather troubled and that changes of fortune placed on the throne of Fās sometimes the Maghrāwid prince and sometimes his Ifranid rival Yaddū b. Ya'lā. On his return to Fās, Ziri found his place occupied by Ibn Ya'lā and it was only after a murderous struggle that he succeeded in regaining his throne. But, finding Fās not sufficiently central in position, he decided, like his Spanish suzerain, to build a capital for himself and the principal chiefs of his confederation. In 384 (994) he laid the foundations of the town of Wādja (Oujda) and came with his court to live there. At the same time he tried to throw off the suzerainty of Cordova and relations were finally broken off between him and al-Manṣūr. Ibn Abi 'Amir sent against him an expedition under the freedman Wādih: a battle was fought on the banks of the Wādī Rdāt and the Spanish army defeated. The ḥādhib then sent another force under the command of his own son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muza'ffar. On this campaign Ziri was twice routed in 387 (997). He sought to take refuge in Fās, but the inhabitants prevented him entering it and 'Abd al-Malik soon afterwards entered the capital. Ziri had to go to the Sahara; later he tried to create a principality for himself in the land of the Ṣanhādja. He laid siege to their capital Aṣhir [q. v.] but before he could take the town, he died of the consequences of an old wound in 391 (1000—1001).

On the death of Ziri b. 'Afiya, the Maghrāwa proclaimed his son al-Mu'izz; he began his reign by endeavouring to regain the favour of al-Manṣūr b. Abi 'Amir. The latter recognised him, and his successor 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muza'ffar appointed him governor of Fās and western Maghrib in 393 (1002—1003). He received from Cordova letters of investiture for all Morocco, except the land of Sidjilmāsa, which was kept for the Banū Khazrūn. Morocco seems to have had peace and a certain degree of prosperity in the reign of al-Mu'izz, who died in 417 (1026) or 422 (1031).

His successor was his cousin on the father's side Ḥamāma b. al-Mu'izz b. 'Afiya. He took advantage of the anarchy then prevailing in Spain to strengthen his position. He surrounded himself with literary men and legal authorities. But in 424 (1032—1033) the pretender of a rival dynasty Abu 'l-Kamāl Tamīm b. Ziri al-Ifrani marched from Salé on Fās. Ḥamāma took the field against him with the Maghrāwa but they were defeated. Tamīm entered Fās the same year and persecuted the Jewish population. As to Ḥamāma, he reached Wādja (Oujda) and Tenes and gathered there considerable forces, with which he marched on Fās in 429 (1037—1038). Tamīm had to withdraw from Fās and returned to his own capital, Shella [q. v.],

Ḥamāma then continued to reign till his death, which probably took place in 431 (1039—1040).

After him the power passed to his son Dūnās. Quickly suppressing a rebellion by one of his cousins, he devoted his reign to the embellishment of Fās which was then beginning to become a great city, with a large population and a busy trade. This prince died in 452 (1060).

The successor of Dūnās b. Ḥamāma in Fās was his son al-Futūḥ, but on his accession his right to the throne was disputed by his brother 'Adjisa. He made himself master of part of the capital, the "bank" ('*idwa*) of al-Ḳarawiyīn, while al-Futūḥ established himself on the opposite bank, that of al-Andalus. The two brothers fought in the town itself and the inhabitants were divided into two camps. Morocco was engulfed in anarchy and it was only after three years of fighting that al-Futūḥ was able to reign undisputed in al-Fās, after 'Adjisa had been killed. A gate of this city pierced in the south-west wall still bears his name; another in the north wall bears the name of his brother in a slightly corrupted form (*Bāb Gisa*).

Al-Futūḥ was driven from his capital in 454 (1062) by the Ḥammādid sovereign Bologgīn b. Muḥammad. This was the time when the Almoravids were beginning to invade Morocco. After the departure of al-Futūḥ, the Maghrāwa appointed one of his relatives to succeed him, Mu'ansūr (or Mu'annaṣar?) b. Ḥammād b. al-Mu'izz b. 'Atiya, who was proclaimed in 455 (1063) and took up the struggle against the Saharan invaders. He succeeded in defeating one of the lieutenants of Yūsuf b. Tāshfin and retaking Fās, which he had lost. The Almoravids having laid siege to the city, the amir of the Maghrāwa attempted a sortie in the course of which he met his death (460 = 1067—1068). The people of Fās then proclaimed his son Tamīm. But the capital was taken by Yūsuf b. Tāshfin two years later and the young ruler put to death along with a large number of Maghrāwa and Banū Ifran. This was the end of the dynasty of the Maghrāwa of Fās. This city, which had enjoyed a certain amount of prosperity under the early members of the dynasty and had been extended by them, later suffered a great deal, according to western historians, from their tyranny and exactions.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, in the period of the decline of Maghrāwa power in Fās, there was at Aghmāt, at one of the entrances to the Great

Atlas on the plain of Marrākush, a little dynasty of amirs belonging to the same confederation. The last of these chiefs who flourished about 450—460 (1058—1067) was called Laggūt b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī. He was defeated and slain by the Almoravids when they made their successful thrust to the north of Morocco.

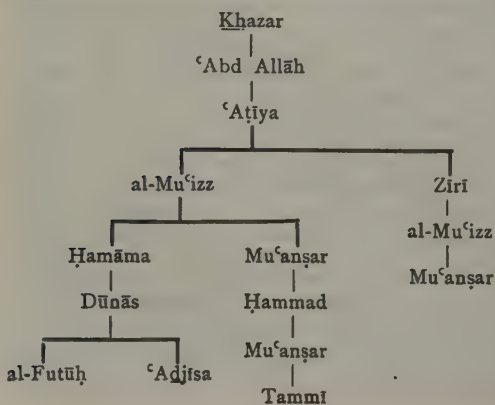
The Maghrāwa of Sidjilmāsa (Banū Khazrūn). — At the instigation of the ḥādjib of Cordova, al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Amir, a Maghrāwa chief in 366 (976/7), had taken Sidjilmāsa [q. v.] which for over two centuries had been governed by amirs of the Miknās branch of the Banū Midrār. This chief who was called Khazrūn b. Falfūl b. Khazar, proclaimed the suzerainty of the Umayyads of Spain in Sidjilmāsa and sent to Cordova the head of the last Midrārid ruler al-Mu'tazz bi 'llāh. Khazrūn received from al-Manṣūr the governorship of the town and kept it till his death. He was succeeded by his son Wānūdīn. The latter had to defend himself against the invasion of the Ṣanhādja in western Maghrib and in the end was confirmed in his governorship by the Umayyads in 390 (999) after a period of disgrace. On the fall of the Spanish caliphate he proclaimed himself independent, seized the region of Dra (Dar'a) and in 407 (1016—1017) took Ṣufrūy (Sefrou [q. v.]) and the valley of the Wādī Malwiya (Molouia). His son and successor Mas'ūd was defeated, deprived of his lands and slain by the Almoravids in 445 (1053—1054). Ten years later, the last of the Banū Khazrūn, who still held out in Ṣufrūy, were in their turn scattered.

On the Maghrāwid dynasty of Tripoli in Barbary cf. TRIPOLI.

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MAGRIB, the name given by Arab writers to that part of Africa which modern writers on geography call Barbary or Africa Minor and which includes Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. The word "Maghrib" means the West, the setting sun, in opposition to "Mashriq", the East, the rising sun (Levant), but as Ibn Khaldūn remarks, the general denomination was applied to a particular region. The extent of this area, moreover, varies according to different authors. Some Oriental writers include in the Maghrib not only Northern Africa but also Spain; the majority, however, reserve the name Maghrib for the first of these countries. But they are not in agreement upon the boundaries to be assigned to it on the East. On the other hand they are in agreement about the Northern, Western and Southern boundaries. To the North, Maghrib is bordered by the "Roman Sea" (Mediterranean). To the West it extends as

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MAGHRĀWA OF FĀS.



far as the "Surrounding Sea", also called the "Green Sea", the "Sea of Darkness", and by foreigners called, according to Ibn Khaldūn, Okeanos or Atlant (Atlantic Ocean), which stretches from Tangier to the desert of Lemtūna (Abu 'l-Fidā') or only, according to Ibn Khaldūn, as far as Asafi (Saffi) and Deren (Great Atlas). To the South it stretches as far as the barrier of moving sands, separating the country of the Berbers from the land of the Negroes, that is to say the Erg [cf. 'AREG] and as far as the rocky region called "hammada" (Ibn Khaldūn). Some districts situated outside this limit, such as Būda, Tamentit, Gūrara, Ghadames, Fezzān, Waddān, are sometimes considered as belonging to Maghrib although they are in reality countries of the Sahara. As regards the Eastern boundary, certain authors made it extend as far as the sea of Kūzum (the Red Sea) and thus include in the Maghrib, Egypt and the country of Barka [see the article BARKA]. Others, whose opinion is adopted by Abu 'l-Fidā', make it coincide with the actual frontier of Egypt, from the oases as far as the "Akabat" which is on the sea between Barka and Alexandria (Akabat el-Kebira). Ibn Khaldūn does not accept this delimitation, because, he says, the inhabitants of the Maghrib do not consider Egypt and Barka as forming part of their country. The latter commences only at the province of Tripoli and encloses the districts of which the country of the Berbers was composed in former times. Ibn Sa'id and the later Maghribī writers such as al-Ziyānī and Abū Ra's limit themselves to reproducing with a few variations in detail, the boundaries of Ibn Khaldūn. As to Yāqūt he confines the Maghrib to the country stretching from Miliana to Sūs (ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 513).

Confined within the sixth "clime" the Maghrib is divided into several regions. Ibn Hawkal (*Description*... transl. de Slane, *J. A.*, 1841) distinguishes two of them: the Eastern Maghrib from the frontier of Egypt as far as Zuwila in Tripolitania and the Western Maghrib from this point to Sūs al-Akṣā; but the division commonly accepted is that into three regions, Ifrikiya, Central Maghrib and Farther Maghrib (Abu 'l-Fidā', Ibn Khaldūn etc.). Ibn Sa'id adopts a slightly different division, Ifrikiya, outer Maghrib, and further Sūs. Ifrikiya stretches from Kaṣr Aḥmed near Misratā (Ibn Sa'id) to Bougie, Central Maghrib from Bougie to Mulūya (Ibn Khaldūn), Farther Maghrib from Mulūya to Asafi and to Deren, to which must be added al-Sūs which forms as might be said, according to Ibn Khaldūn, an island or country detached from all others and surrounded by seas and mountains.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 186 sqq.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḥwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 117; transl. Reinaud, ii. 168 sqq.; Ibn Sa'id, Abū Hamid al-Andalusī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī Maḥallī (Ibn Zenbel) in Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, passim; al-Ziyānī, *Rihla*..., transl. Coufourier, *Archives Marocaines*, ii. 436 sqq.; Muḥammad Abū Ra's b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Naṣrī, *Voyages extraordinaires et nouvelles agréables*, transl. Arnaud, Algiers 1889, p. 11 and 156 sqq. (G. YVER).

AL-MAGHRIBĪ, the name of several viziers.

1. 'ALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAIN, ABU 'L-ḤASAN. Like his

father, 'Alī was one of the intimate friends of the Hamdānīd Saif al-Dawla of Ḥalab. He had also great influence with his son Sa'd al-Dawla, but when a cloud came over their friendship, 'Alī left Ḥalab and went to al-Rakka to Bakdjūr, who had been one of Saif al-Dawla's Mamlūks and persuaded him to enter into negotiations with the Fātimid caliph al-'Azīz bi 'llāh [q. v.] with whom 'Alī had had relations for a long time. When Bakdjūr had been given the governorship of Damascus by al-'Azīz, at the suggestion of 'Alī whom he had made his vizier, he set out against Ḥalab but was defeated in Safer 381 (April 991) whereupon 'Alī fled to al-Rakka. When Sa'd al-Dawla took this town, 'Alī fled to Kūfa, from whence he wrote to al-'Azīz and asked permission to come to Egypt. In Djumādā I of the same year (July-Aug. 991) he reached Egypt and by his advice the caliph sent an army in 383 (993-994) under Mangūtegin, then governor of Damascus, against Ḥalab where Abu 'l-Fadā'il, son of Sa'd al-Dawla, had now succeeded his father. 'Alī, who took part in the campaign as Mangūtegin's secretary, was bribed by Lu'lu', the leader of the Hamdānids and persuaded Mangūtegin to retire, pretending that he lacked supplies. When the Caliph heard of this, he ordered Mangūtegin to resume the siege without delay and dismissed 'Alī at once, who therefore returned to Egypt. 'Alī made himself very popular with the caliph al-Ḥākim, who succeeded his father al-'Azīz in 386 (996) as did his son al-Ḥusain also. After a few years, however, he was sacrificed to the suspicions of al-Ḥākim and on the 3rd Dhu 'l-Ka'da 400 (June 18, 1010) 'Alī was executed along with his brother Muḥammad and two sons.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 61-63, 233; al-Makrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Bulāḳ 1270, ii. 157; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Popper, ii. 5-7, 149.

2. AL-ḤUSAIN B. 'ALĪ, ABU 'L-KASIM, called "al-wazīr al-Maghribī", son of the preceding, was born in Egypt on the 13th Dhu 'l-Hiddja 370 (June 19th, 981). In 400 (1010) when his father was executed, al-Ḥusain fled from Egypt to al-Ramla to Ḥassān b. al-Mufarridj, amir of the Banū Ṭaiyi', and induced him to forswear his allegiance to the Caliph al-Ḥākim and pay homage to the 'Alid amir of Mecca, Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-Ḥasan b. Dja'far. The latter came to al-Ramla and was proclaimed caliph. But when Ḥassān was bribed by al-Ḥākim Abu 'l-Futūḥ had to return to Mecca while al-Ḥusain sought refuge with Fakhr al-Mulk, vizier of the Būyid Bahā' al-Dawla. Although as an Egyptian he was subject to the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Kādir, he was permitted to accompany Fakhr al-Dawla to Wāsiṭ and remained there till his death. He then went to al-Mawṣil where the 'Uḳailid Ḳarwāsh took him into his service as secretary. In 414 (1023) the Būyid governor of 'Irāḳ Muṣharraf al-Dawla appointed him vizier. But the very next year he quarrelled with the Turkish mercenaries and fled to Ḳarwāsh. But as he quarrelled with the 'Abbāsīd Caliph on some trifling matter, he had to leave al-Mawṣil in the same year. He then went to the court of the ruler of Diyār Bakr, Naṣr al-Dawla [cf. MARWĀNIDS] who gave him a sanctuary. Al-Ḥusain died at Maīyāfārikīn on 13th Ramaḍān 418 (Oct. 17, 1027) and was buried in Kūfa.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*,

ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 192 (transl. by de Slane, i. 450—456); Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 226, 233, 235 sq., 255; x. 11; al-Maḡrīzī, *al-Khīṭaʿ*, ii. 157 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-sāhira*, ed. Popper, ii. 148 sq., 229.

3. MUḤAMMAD B. DĪʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALI, ABU ʿL-FARĀDĪ, grandson of a brother of the preceding. When Abu ʿL-Farādj grew up, he left Egypt and went to the ʿIrāq where he lived for a time. After various vicissitudes he returned to Egypt and was appointed head of the *Diwān al-Djāish* by the vizier al-Bārīzī. He held his office till the dismissal of al-Bārīzī; the latter's successor had him arrested. While Abu ʿL-Farādj was still in prison, he was himself appointed vizier on 25th Rabīʿ II, 450 (June 21, 1058) and given the titles "*al-Wazīr al-adjall al-kāmil al-awḥad ṣafīy Amīr al-Muʾminīn wa-Khālīṣatuhū*". After a few years (9th Ramaḍān 452 = Oct. 7, 1060) he was dismissed and given the control of the chancellery (*Diwān al-Inshāʾ*). He died in 478 (1085—1086).

Bibliography: al-Maḡrīzī, *al-Khīṭaʿ*, ii. 158; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-chalifen*. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MAGES. [See MADJUS.]

MAGNESIA (MAGHNISA, MANISSA), the ancient *Magnesia ad Sipylum*, the capital of the Sandjak (now wilāyet) of Şarūkhān in the wilāyet of Smyrna, on the northern slope of the Magnisa Dagħ Sipylus mountains, and two miles to the south of the river Gediz and 20 miles N. East of Smyrna. The town, celebrated in Greek and Roman antiquity, was occupied by the Turcuman Amir Şarūkhān in the year 713 (began 28th April 1313) and was the capital of his principality and of that of his son Sulaimān, who was buried there with his father in the *türbe* of the family.

Yildirim Sultān Bayazīd seized it in the year 792 (began 20th Dec. 1389). Tamerlane collected his treasures there in the year 1402; after the restoration of the Ottoman power, the town saw the rebellion of Bürklüdjē Muṣṭafā, a partisan of the Shaikh Badr al-Dīn at the end of 1416; Murād II made it one of the first towns in his kingdom and built a palace there in 1444 which is now in ruins. Murād III also contributed to beautifying Maghnisa with the Murādiya mosque built in 1591. In 1633 the town was sacked during the rebellion of Elyās Pasha. In 1890 Cuinet put the population at 35,000.

Bibliography: Sāmī, *Kāmūs*, p. 4348; Cuinet, iii. 536—542; Hammer, *G. O. R.*², p. 113; F. Babinger, *Scheich Bedr ed-Dīn*, in *Isl.*, xi. (1921), p. 31 sqq.; Schlumberger, *Numism. de l'Or. latin*, Paris 1878, p. 478 sqq.; Heyd, *Storia del Commercio* etc., p. 554. (ETTORE ROSSI)

MAḤALLA, an Arabic word which, like *maḥall* from the same root, originally means a place where one makes a halt. Maḥalla thus came to have the special meaning of a quarter of a town, a meaning which has also passed into Turkish (e.g. the *Yeñi Maḥalle* quarter in Constantinople), into Persian and Hindūstānī (where the popular pronunciation is *muḥalla*); the term formerly applied to a quarter of a town used to be *dār* (as in old Baghdad). The *maḥalla*'s are often under the administration of a special official called *mukhtār*. In Egypt the word *maḥalla* is frequently found as the first element in the names of towns and villages. Here the primitive meaning of place,

locality has been preserved, while quarters of a town are rather called *khiṭṭa* especially in al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Alexandria. According to the *Muṣhtarik al-Buldān*, there are about 100 places in Egypt called al-Maḥalla; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak gives over 30 in *al-Khīṭaʿ al-djādida* (xv. 21 sq.) in addition to the large town of al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā [q. v.].

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MAḤALLA AL-KUBRĀ or MAḤALLA KABĪR is the modern name of an important town in the Delta of the Nile at some distance to the west of the Damietta arm, north-east of Tanta. It lies on the Turʿat al-Milāḥ canal, a branch of the Baḥr Shībīn.

In view of the large number of Egyptian geographical names compounded with *Maḥalla*, the identification of the town with the names mentioned by earlier Arabic writers is a matter of some difficulty. Maspero and Wiet identify it with the Coptic Tishairi (Amélinau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris 1893, p. 262), but this identification is rendered doubtful by the fact that al-Maḥalla is a purely Arabic name (and it also remains to be proved that it is a rendering of the Coptic name just mentioned), and because the work of Abū Ṣāliḥ on the Christian buildings of Egypt makes no mention of this town. The earliest author who knew a town called al-Maḥalla or al-Maḥalla al-Kabira is al-Maḡdīsī (p. 55, 194, 196, 200); he tells us that it was a town of al-Rif built in two parts, one called Sandafā (or Ṣandafā), but the statement that the town was situated on the river by Alexandria (p. 200) seems to be an error. Al-Bakrī seems to know the same town under the name Maḥallat Maḥrūm (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa ʿl-Mamālik*, Brit. Mus. MS.). Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 158, calls the town simply al-Maḥalla and knows a canal called after it. Yāqūt's statements are confused, for he speaks of a town called Maḥallat Daḳalā and of another Maḥallat Sharḳīyūn (iv. 428), both of which seem to refer to the same place. Maḥallat Sharḳīyūn in Yāqūt — which he also calls Maḥallat al-Kubrā — forms one town with Sandafā and on the other hand he says that Maḥalla Daḳalā between al-Kāhira and Dimyāṭ is the largest of the Maḥalla that he knows (cf. also Abū ʿl-Fidāʾ, ii. 160), while the geographer al-Dimishḳī (p. 231) knows Maḥalla Daḳalā as the capital of the Kūra of Daḳahla; Ibn Duḳmāḳ (v. 82) says that the governorship of this town was regarded as "the little vizierate" (*al-wizāra al-ṣaghira*).

The name Maḥallat Sharḳīyūn is again found in al-Maḡrīzī (ed. Wiet, iii. 207). It is clear from these writers that the town was an important commercial centre from the tenth century onwards. It does not seem however to have played any considerable part in history, although ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak quotes some events that took place there, from al-Maḡrīzī and al-Djābartī. In Egypt in the sixteenth century the town had to give way to Tanta, which became the capital of the *mudiriya* of al-Ḡharbiya, while al-Maḥalla became the capital of a smaller administrative area; ʿAlī Mubārak estimates its inhabitants at 50,000, while the 1928 Baedeker only gives it 33,500. It is at present a centre of the cotton trade; raw cotton is there cleaned in the factories. Of the many individuals who bear the *nisba* al-Maḥallī, the most celebrated is Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī [q. v.] who was born here.

Bibliography: Maspero et Wiet, *Ma-*

teriaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte, Cairo 1919, p. 164 and the bibliography there given; 'Alī Paṣha Muḥārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadida*, xv. (Bulāḡ 1305), p. 18 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MAHARI or **MAKARI**, a negro tribe also called Kotoko, living on both banks of the Lower Logone below Musgum and on both banks of the Lower Chari from Lake Chad to Fort Lamy and Kuseri.

They are usually divided into three groups: the Lagwere on the Logone, where they are mixed with Musgu, the Semsir at Kuseri and the Sungwal Kwe at Gulfei. These natives do not seem to be autochthonous; the first occupants of the country according to tradition were the Kerebina, who are perhaps related to the ancient people of the Sao or Sô. As a rule, tall and slim, lank and bony, they have a narrow head and dark skin; they make three parallel cicatrices on the forehead, the middle one of which runs from the top of the nose to the roots of the hair. They speak languages akin to the Sao, Kuri and Buduma. They are nearly connected with the Musgu, with whom they form the Massa group. The Kanuri have passed on to them the Muslim religion and a certain degree of civilization.

The Makari or Kotoko are agriculturists and fishermen; they grow different kinds of millet, maize earthenuts and grind their corn with a quern. Fishing provides them with an abundant supply of food; they follow it in large pirogues, about 40 feet long and two to four feet wide. These crafts which are propelled by poles or paddles, have a flat bottom and a raised bow and stern; they are built of strong planks bound together with fibre passed through holes which after being tied, are calked with various barks. This is how they come to be described as sewn. They carry 25 to 30 persons. The Kotoko fish with a large net mounted on two forks placed in different directions at the front and manoeuvred by a lever. This net is lowered to touch the bottom, then a little pirogue rowed by children drives the fish towards the fishing boat by striking the water with poles. The apparatus is lifted as soon as the fish have entered it.

The homes of the Makari are built of clay, are fairly large and comparatively comfortable. The walls are about 6 feet high; they have an elliptical door about 5 feet high; the roof is of straw and hemispherical in shape. Inside is a bed of clay, shelves of clay to hold household utensils and the fireplace. Sometimes there is also a bed made of thongs of hide laced round a framework.

There are few isolated homes in the Makari country; they are generally grouped in villages of which the most important are Logone, Gana (Little Logone), Karnak Logone or Logone Berni (Great Logone) and Kuseri. They used all to be surrounded by circular ditches and clay walls pierced by several narrow gates. These defences were intended to protect the inhabitants from the frequent attacks of their neighbours.

The population includes smiths, potters, weavers and a few traders. There are a few Arabs among them. Politically the Makari belonged to the ancient empire of Bornu [q. v.]. They were divided into several small vassal states; that of Karnak Logone showed more independence.

Bibliography: F. Foureau, *De l'Algérie*

au Congo par le Tchad, Paris 1902; Poutrin, *Esquisse ethnologique des principales populations de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française*, in *Publications de la Société Antiesclavagiste de France*, Paris 1914; G. Bruel, *L'Afrique Equatoriale Française*, Paris 1918. (HENRI LABOURET)

MAHBÜB, the name given in North Africa and Egypt (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.) to the Turkish gold sequin, contraction for ZERMAHBÜB [q. v.].

MAHDAWIS, the followers of Saiyid Muḥammad Maḥdī, of Djawnpūr, near Banares, 847—910 (1443—1504), who declared that he was the promised Maḥdī [q. v.] and by his preaching gained a number of adherents in Aḥmadābād [q. v.] and other parts of Guḍjarāt. His followers credited him with the power of working miracles, raising the dead, healing the blind and the dumb, etc. For a time they were allowed to profess their faith unmolested and add to their number by proselytising, but in the reign of Muẓaffar I, Sultan of Guḍjarāt (1513—1526) they were persecuted and many of them put to death. Awrangzēb [q. v.] also persecuted them when in 1645 he was governor of Aḥmadābād. In consequence of these persecutions, the Mahdawīs to the present day practise *taḥiyya* [q. v.] and wish to pass as orthodox Muslims; their exact number is therefore uncertain, but they are found in small groups in most parts of Guḍjarāt, in Bombay, Sind, the Dakhan [q. v.] and Upper Hindustān. They believe that Saiyid Muḥammad was the last *Imām*, the promised *Maḥdī*, and in consequence of his having come, they are said by their religious opponents neither to repent for their sins nor to pray for the souls of their dead. They observe certain ceremonies peculiar to themselves at marriages and funerals. By their enemies they are styled *Ghair-Maḥdīs*, i.e. those who do not believe in a *Maḥdī* who is still to come; but the Mahdawīs themselves apply this designation to other Muḥammadans as having failed to recognise the *Maḥdī* who has already appeared.

Bibliography: Sikandar b. Muḥammad, *Mirāt-i Sikandari*, p. 136—138, Bombay 1891 (English transl. by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, p. 90—91); H. Blochmann, *Translation of the A'in-i Akbari*, Introduction, p. iv—v., Calcutta 1873; Dja'far Sharif, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, 2nd ed., p. 171—172, Madras 1863; ed. W. Crooke, p. 208—209, Oxford 1921; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. ix., part ii., p. 62—64, Bombay 1899; *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vi. 189 (Goldziher on Ghair Maḥdī); Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*², Heidelberg 1925, p. 364. (T. W. ARNOLD)

AL-MAHDĪ (A.), means literally "the guided one", and, as all guidance (*hudā*) is from Allāh, it has come to mean the divinely guided one, guided, that is, in a peculiar and individual way. For Allāh, in the intense and immediate theism of Islām, is guiding every one and everything in the world, whether by the human reason or by the instincts of the lower animals, to a knowledge of Himself and to what is needed for their existence and continuance (*Lisān*, xx. 228, foot). One of His names is *al-hādī*, "the Guide" (*Qur'ān*, xxii. 53; xxv. 33), and the idea of His guidance is reiterated in the *Qur'ān*. For a statement of its different kinds see Baiḍāwī on *Qur'ān*, i. 5 (Fleischer's ed., i. 8, ll. 21 sqq.); *Mufradāt*

of al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, p. 560 of ed. Cairo 1324; *al-Maḥṣad al-asnā'* of al-Ḡhazālī, p. 80 of ed. Cairo 1324. But it is singular that the word *mahdī* (the passive participle of the I Stem) never occurs in the Qur'ān and that the passive of that stem occurs only four times. In the usage of the Qur'ān, the VIII stem, *ihṭadā*, strictly "he accepted guidance for himself", is used as a quasi or reflexive passive. Thus the man whom Allāh guides is not simply "guided" but reacts himself to the divine guidance.

There seems to be no original authority for the vocalisation *al-Muhdī* which Edward Pococke gave as N^o. xvi. of the Signs in his *Porta Mosis*, ii. 263 of ed. 1655, with the meaning "director"; cf. Lane's note in the *Supplement* to his lexicon, p. 3042 c. Margoliouth (article cited below, p. 337a) suggests that it may mean "the giver" and refers to traditions (see below) of the Mahdī bestowing uncounted wealth; but there does not seem to be any oriental authority for this epithet. Also, the verb used in these traditions is *a'ṭā*.

But one who is *mahdī*, or *al-mahdī*, is in a different position; he is absolutely guided. It is used of certain individuals in the past and of an eschatological individual in the future. Thus the *Lisān* (xx. 229, l. 9 from below) quotes from a tradition "the usage of the khalīfas who followed the right way and were guided" (*sunnatu 'l-khulafā' al-rāshidin al-mahdiyyin*), meaning the first four khalīfas, and goes on to state that it is applied especially, as a name, to the Mahdī of whom the Prophet gave good tidings that he would come in the End of Time. There are many other instances of the non-eschatological application of the term *mahdī* to historical personages. Goldziher (*Vorlesungen*, p. 267, v., note 12, 1) has gathered a number of such cases: Thus Ḍjarir (*Naḩā'id*, ed. Bevan, N^o. 104, v. 29) applies it to Abraham and Ḥassān b. Thābit (*Diwān*, ed. Tunis, 24, 4) to Muḥammad; see, too, Ibn Sa'd (xi. 94, 9). It is often applied by Sunnites to 'Alī, in distinction even to the other three khalīfas; thus in *Usd al-Ḡhāba* (iv. 31, 3) he is *hādīyan mahdiyyan*, and Sulaimān b. Ṣurad calls Ḥusain, after his death, "Mahdī son of the Mahdī" (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Leyden, Ser. ii. 546, 11). Farazdaq and Ḍjarir applied it as an honorific even to the Umayyad khalīfas. As applied by the pious to 'Umar II, the Umayyad (Ibn Sa'd, v. 245, 5), it seems to have been more than an honorific; he was regarded as a real *mudjaddid* [q. v.] and under peculiar divine guidance. In the view of later Islām he was the first of these "renewers" of the Faith and the eighth and last of these would be either the Mahdī, a descendant of the Prophet, or 'Isā (*al-masīh al-muhtadī*), according to the two positions; cf. article 'Isā. See on the whole question of the *Mudjaddid* and his relation to the Mahdī: Goldziher, *Zur Charakteristik... us-Suyūfī's*, in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, lxix., p. 10 sqq. It is characteristic of Islām to take a very pessimistic view of human nature; men always fall away from the faith and have to be brought back. This will be so especially towards the end of the world. Men will become thoroughly secular and Allāh will leave them to themselves. The Ka'ba will vanish, and the copies of the Qur'ān will become blank paper, and its words will vanish, also, from the memories of men. They will think only of poems and songs. Then the end will come.

In a similar heightened sense the term Mahdī was applied by Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī (*Diwān*, ed. Margoliouth, p. 103, 5, 6) to the 'Abbāsīd khalīfa al-Nāṣir (A. H. 575—622); he is the Mahdī and no other eschatological Mahdī need be looked for. In a narrower but more true etymological sense it came to be applied to converts to Islām; Allāh had guided these to the right Way. For such, Turks use the more Qur'ānic term *muhtadī*; see above for the distinction. Goldziher (p. 268) gives cases. In a heightened sense, also, the term was applied very early (A. H. 66) to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, a son of 'Alī by another wife than Fāṭima. After the death of Ḥusain at Karbalā', Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubaid put forward this Muḥammad as a claimant of the khalīfate and called him "the Mahdī, son of the legatee (*al-waṣī*)", a term applied to 'Alī by those who asserted that the Prophet had bequeathed the headship of the people to him (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ii. 534). This was after the deaths of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the two sons of 'Alī by Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, and shows a different drift as to the inheritance of the Imāmate from that of the Shī'ite legitimists. This Muḥammad was heir as the son of 'Alī and not as possessing the blood of the Prophet. He seems himself to have declined the dignity thus thrust upon him but, *malgré lui*, he became the founder of the Kaisāniya sect which looked for his return from his grave in Mount Raḍwā, where he remains undying. This was maintained by the poet Kuthaiyir (d. 105 = 723) and by the Saiyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173 = 789; *Aghānī*, viii. 32; cf. Mas'ūdi, Paris ed., v. 180 sqq.). Muḥammad thus became an "expected Mahdī", *mahdī muntazar*, like the Hidden Imām of the Twelver Shī'ites. For the position of the Kaisāniya see Shahrastānī's *Mila' wa-Niḩal*, ed. on margin of Ibn Ḥazm, i. 196; Mukhtār, disgusted with Muḥammad, eventually founded the Mukhtāriya sect which was strict Shī'ite and upheld Ḥusain b. 'Alī (Shahrastānī, p. 197). The whole episode is interesting as showing the extreme fluidity of the religious-political parties at the time. It also shows very clearly how the term *mahdī* gradually hardened from being a general honorific into a special designation, and even a proper name, for a restorer of the Faith in the last days.

The Hidden Imām of the Twelver Shī'ites, whose return (*radj'a*) is awaited, is also called, by the Shī'a, al-Mahdī. But his status is entirely different from that of the future restorer looked for by the Sunnites. The very essence of Sunnite Islām is that the Muslim people shall rule itself and can attain truth and certainty by its own exertions. When, at any time, its qualified scholars (*mudjtahid*'s) have applied the three *uṣūl* — Qur'ān, *Sunna*, *Kīyās* — to any point of Islām and have come to an agreement (*idjmā'*) on it, that point is assured and the acceptance of it as of faith is binding on all Muslims. The idea of an absolute Mahdī, therefore, as an infallible guide, suggests too much that *taqlid* [q. v.], which the later Sunnite theologians rejected. Sunnite Islām, as Goldziher has taught us, is a recoil against the idea of blind submission to any human teacher. Even 'Isā, as restorer, is called *muhtadī*, which is much less emphatic in its suggestion of infallibility. Yet the masses demanded an absolute restorer and it was among the masses that the belief in a Mahdī was, and is, strong. To return — the

Mahdī, or 'Isā when he comes as a restorer and ruler, will restore and apply that Consensus of Islām which has been reached by the successive generations of *mudjtahid*'s. Thus the Muslim people not only rules itself but is also the ultimate and infallible interpreter of the revelation through the Prophet. The Shi'ites, on the other hand, admit no such authority either in the Muslim people or in their own *mudjtahid*'s; by Kūr'an, *Sunna*, *Ḳiyās* and *Idmā'* no certainty can be reached. Certainty can only be gained from the instruction (*al'im*; cf. Goldziher's *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭiniya-Sekte*, passim) of the hidden *Imām* who is divinely protected (*ma'sūm*) against all error and sin and whose function it is to interpret Islām to men. The *mudjtahid*'s of the Shi'a are his intermediaries with men; but they in their intermediation may err. When the Hidden *Imām* returns he will rule personally by divine right. He is called a Mahdī, but it is in a different sense from any Sunnite use of that term. The idea of protection against error and sin (*'isma*; see article above, ii., p. 543) seems to have been introduced into Sunnite Islām from the Mu'tazilite system by Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī (d. 606 = 1209; see, further, Goldziher in *Isl.*, iii. 238—245), but there it has been limited strictly to prophets. No "successor" (*khalīfa*) can enjoy it and the Mahdī, for those Sunnites who expect him, is strictly an ultimate *khalīfa* of the Prophet. For those Sunnites who look to 'Isā to play the part of the Mahdī he will not return as a prophet in his own right. It will not be a return (*radj'a*) in his case but simply a "descent" (*nuzūl*) and he will rule according to the law (*shari'a*) of Muḥammad; see article 'ISĀ above, ii., p. 525. As all Shi'ite sects agree on this status of their *Imām* it is unnecessary to go into further details on them; see in general, article SHI'A.

Another important point of difference between Shi'ites and Sunnites as to the Mahdī is that he is an essential part of the Shi'ite creed but not of the Sunnite. That there will be a final restorer of the faith all Sunnite Islām believes as a part of its eschatology, but not that he will be called Mahdī. There is no mention of the Mahdī in either of the two *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s, of Muslim or of Bukhārī. Similarly Sunnite systematic theologians do not deal with him. The *Mawāḳif* of al-Idrī has nothing on him; nor, indeed, on any of the Signs of the Hour (*ashrāṭ al-sā'a*; cf. article ḲIYĀMA). Nasafī in his *Aḳā'id* has, of these, only al-Dadjdjal (see article above, vol. i., p. 886) and the Descent of 'Isā; Taftazānī, in his commentary, gives ten Signs but not the Mahdī. Even al-Ghazālī, a popularizing theologian, has nothing on the Signs in the last Book of his *Iḥyā'*, that on eschatology, and has only a slight allusion in the Book dealing with the *Ḥadjj* (ed. 1334, i. 218; *Iḥyā'*, the commentary of the Saiyid Murtaḳā, iv. 279) to the coming of al-Dadjdjal, the descent of 'Isā and his slaying of al-Dadjdjal; there is no mention of the Mahdī either in the text or in the commentary. Al-Ghazālī's whole point in this passage is to stress the final falling away from the faith of all men to which reference has been made above.

It was, then, in the hearts of the Muslim multitude that the faith in the Mahdī found its resting-place and support. In the midst of growing darkness and uncertainty — political, social, moral, theological — they clung to the idea of a future deliverer and restorer and of a short millenium before the

end. This belief is, therefore, expressed in a multitude of later traditions, often expansions and expositions of better authenticated and older traditions, and often linking themselves to old stories of inter-tribal and inter-dynastic conflicts in the civil wars after the murder of 'Uthmān. We, therefore, find among them references to historical movements and sects which had failed in their time but had left remains, if only a name, to add to the confusion of this eschatological picture. These are gathered up in later edifying collections, such as the *Tadhkira* of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 671 = 1272; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 415) which we have in a *Mukhtaṣar* by al-Shārānī (d. 973 = 1565; Brockelmann, ii. 335; ed. Cairo 1324) and the *Mashāriḥ al-Anwār* of a modern writer, Ḥasan al-Idwī al-Ḥamzawī (d. 1303 = 1886; Brockelmann, ii. 486; many editions).

But the clearest presentation of the alleged basis for this belief is given by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 = 1406) in his *Muḥaddima* (ed. Quatremère, ii. 142 sqq.; Bülāḳ, folio ed., 1274, p. 151 sqq.; transl. by De Slane, ii. 158 sqq.): "A section on the descendant of Fāṭima and what the people hold as to him and on clearing up the obscurity as to that. It has been commonly accepted (*mashhūr*) among the masses (*al-kāffa*) of the people of Islām, as the ages have passed, that there must needs appear in the End of Time a man of the family of Muḥammad (*min ahl al-bait*) who will aid the Faith (*dīn*) and make justice triumph; that the Muslims will follow him and that he will reign over the Muslim kingdoms and be called al-Mahdī. The appearance of al-Dadjdjal and of the other Signs of the Last Day (*ashrāṭ al-sā'a*), which are established in sound tradition (*al-ṣaḥīḥ*) will come after him. 'Isā will descend after his appearance and will kill al-Dadjdjal or will descend along with him and aid him in that killing; and in Worship 'Isā will follow the Mahdī as his *Imām*. In support of this position traditions are used which some authorities on tradition have alleged and which others have disputed and often opposed with other narrations. The later Ṣūfis have followed another course and method of proof in the case of this descendant of Fāṭima and often seek support, as to that, in the mystical "unveiling" (*kashf*) which is the basis of their method".

This is a very careful statement of the strictly popular drift in Ibn Khaldūn's time, a drift with which he evidently had no sympathy. He goes on to give formally 24 traditions bearing upon this restorer and adds six variants, criticizing the authenticity of them all. In only 14 of these is this restorer named Mahdī. For references to traditions on the Mahdī in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, Abū Dā'ūd's *Sunan*, Tirmidhī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and Ibn Mādja's *Sunan*, see Wensinck's *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition* under MAHDĪ; in the *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna* of al-Baghawī, see ii. 134 of ed. Cairo 1318 and in the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, see p. 399—401 of ed. Dihlī 1327. All these, however, have only a certain number of the mass of traditions quoted by Ibn Khaldūn. In the *Tadhkira* of al-Ḳurṭubī, on the other hand, there is (p. 117—121 of ed. Cairo 1324) a further mass of luxuriant detail which Ibn Khaldūn had evidently disdained to incorporate; cf. his later reference to the town Māssa, p. 173, l. 7. In the *Tadhkira* the Prophet, for example, foretells the future conquest and re-conquest of Spain by name. Al-

Ḳurṭubī died in 617 (1272) in the first years of the Naṣrids of Granada when Granada was the only part of Spain left to the Muslims. He and those around him felt grievously the need of such a restorer and Mahdī, and detailed traditions sprang up as to his coming. The situation called for a mightier and more specific champion of Islām than 'Isā whose business strictly was to kill al-Dadīdjāl. Devotion, also, to the blood of the Prophet, of whom the Mahdī was to come, and which was so strong even in the Sunnite Maghrib, may have helped this. Al-Ḳurṭubī's Mahdī was to come from the Maghrib as opposed to the earlier ones who were to come from Syria or Ḳhurāsān. He will come from a place in the Djabal of the Maghrib, on the shore of the sea, called Māssa; they will swear allegiance to him there and again, a second time, at Mecca. Here the tradition joins and attempts to explain an earlier one, given by Abu Dā'ūd and quoted by Ibn Ḳhaldūn (p. 148; see, also, below), telling of an expedition against Kalb and of the booty of Kalb, thus linking up with the earliest inter-tribal conflicts. This western Mahdī will also kill al-Sufyānī who is supported by Kalb. This is not the place to enter upon the story how the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads supplanted their cousins, the Sufyānids. But from the mystery connected with the voluntary abdication and speedy death of Mu'āwiya II, the succession of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and the sudden death or assassination of Walid b. 'Uṭba b. Abī Sufyān (*tu'ina wa-sakaṭa maiyitan*, Mas'ūdī, Paris, ed., v. 170) at the burial of Mu'āwiya II, there seems to have sprung an Imāmīte party among the Umayyads (*kawl al-Umawiya min al-Imamiya*, al-Qhazālī in Goldziher's *Streitschrift*, p. 14 of the Arabic text); yet this Walid appears later alive in Ṭabari's narrative. In the account of Ḳhalīd b. Yazīd in the *Aghānī* (xvi. 88) there is a story that he was the first to start this (*waḍa'a ḵabar al-Sufyānī wa-kabarahu wa-arāda an yakūna li'l-nās fīhi ta'amun*), although that is also denied and a more general and earlier origin is asserted. In the civil war at the rise of the 'Abbāsids one of the "white", i.e. Umayyad, revolts was in support of the claims of "the Sufyānid of whom there used to be mention" (*wa-ḵālū ḥadha 'l-Sufyānī 'ladhī kāna yudhkaru*, Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Cairo ed., ix. 138, anno 132; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, v. 207 of ed. Cairo 1301). Apparently the Sufyānids continued to assert their claims in the under-ground Imāmīte fashion against the Marwānids and, later, the 'Abbāsids, supporting themselves with traditions, as all the parties did. The details are exceedingly obscure for this was one of the lost causes of Islām and has left only a name and that name under the general opprobrium which fell upon the Umayyads in all later Islām, Sunnite and Shī'ite. An earlier stage in this appears in a tradition quoted by Ṭabari (d. 224 = 838) in his commentary on Ḳur'ān, xxxiv. 50 (Part xxii., p. 63 foot). The Prophet mentioned a dissension (*fitna*) which would arise between the East and the West. Then there would come forth al-Sufyānī from the Dry Wādī (*al-wādī 'l-yābis*; otherwise unknown; in Yāqūt, iv. 1000, "the Wādī of Yābis: from a man; it is said that al-Sufyānī will come from it in the End of Time") "in that outburst of his", or "when his time comes" (*fī fawrihi dhālik*). Much is said of the armies: he will send out and the destruction he

will spread, slaying 300 chiefs of the Banu 'l-'Abbās until Djibril is sent against him and destroys him. His appearance, thus, for Ṭabari, is not eschatological and there is nothing about the Mahdī and the End of Time. But in an apocalypse incorporated by Muhyi 'l-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī in his *Muḥādarat al-Abrār* and studied in detail, historically and astrologically, by Richard Hartmann in his *Islamische Apocalypse aus der Kreuzzugszeit* and dated by him about 576 (1180), this tradition is used, expanded and brought into the eschatological picture, and al-Sufyānī is finally killed by the Mahdī. A hundred years later al-Ḳurṭubī expands it still further and calls al-Sufyānī Muḥammad b. 'Urwa. For other references on al-Sufyānī see Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, p. 52, note 1; Snouck Hurgronje, *Der Mahdī*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, i. 155; De Goeje, *Frag. hist. ar.*, ii. 526; Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domin. ar.*, p. 61; Lamens, *Le califat de Yazid*, i. 17; *Mo'āwiya II ou le dernier des Sufyānides*, p. 43.

It is obviously impossible to give in detail the traditions bearing on this restorer, but their types can be indicated and some recurrent characteristics. The great majority are put directly in the mouth of the Prophet, a very few go back to 'Alī. If there remain of the world a single day Allāh will lengthen it until he sends this restorer; the world shall not pass away; the Hour shall not come until then. He will be of the People of my House (*min ahl baiti*); of my kindred (*min 'itri*); of my Nation (*min ummati*); of the offspring of Fātima (*min walad Fātima*); his name will be my name and his father's name my father's name. He will resemble the Prophet in disposition (*ḵulḵ*) but not in appearance (*ḵhalḵ*); this is put in the mouth of 'Alī. He will be bald of the forehead, hook-nosed, high-nosed. He will find the world full of evil and oppression and ungodliness; if a man say: "Allāh! Allāh!" he will be killed. He will fill the world with equity and justice; he will beat men until they return to Allāh (*al-ḥaḵḵ*). The Muslims will enjoy under him a prosperity the like of which has never been heard of; the earth will bring forth its fruits and the heavens will pour down its rain; money in that day will be like that which is trodden under foot and will be uncounted; a man will stand up and say: "O Mahdī, give to me", and he will say: "Take!" and he will pour into his robe as much as he can carry. It is suggested that this is a *tafsīr*, legitimate or illegitimate, of a tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim: "There will come in the end of my nation a ḵalīfa who will scatter wealth, not counting it". See many references for this munificent ḵalīfa and the abundance of money in the last days in Wensinck, *Handbook of Tradition*, p. 100b, foot. But in this tradition, as in all Muslim and Buḵhārī, there is no mention of the Mahdī. Again: the Mahdī is of us, the People of the House. Allāh will bring him suddenly and unexpectedly (*? yuṣliḥuhu-llāhu fī lailatin*). He will rule five, seven, nine years. There are frequent allusions to his coming in a time of dissensions (*fitan*). These will be such that it will take a voice from heaven to still them, saying: "Your Amīr is so-and-so" (Ibn Ḳhaldūn, p. 162). This is very like an ironical comment, but it is cited as a simple foretelling. In these earlier traditions he will come from the East (al-Mashriq; Ḳhurāsān), from beyond the River (Oxus); in later times (e.g. Ḳurṭubī

and Ibn Khaldūn, p. 171—176) he was to come from the wide, unknown, lands of the Maghrib. The original Black Banners (*rāyāt sūd*) tradition about the 'Abbāsids, apparently forged to lead them to support the 'Alids, does not mention the Mahdī (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 153), but in an evidently later form there is added, "for he is the khalifa of Allāh, the Mahdī" (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 159). One long tradition (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 148) may be given entire as an illustration of a type and because of the later expansion and use of it by Kūṭubī: "There will arise a difference at the death of a khalifa and a man of the people of al-Madīna will go forth, fleeing to Mecca. Then some of the people of Mecca will come to him and make him go out (apparently rise in insurrection) against his will and they will swear allegiance to him between the *Rukn* and the *Maḳām*. And an army will be sent against (or, "to", *ilā*) him from Syria but will be swallowed up in the earth in the desert (*al-baidā*) between Mecca and al-Madīna. Whenever the people see that, the *Abdāl* ("Substitutes" or "Nobles") of Syria and the *Aṣṣā'ib* ("Companions" or "Sectaries"; see Lane, p. 2059b) of al-'Irāk will come to him and they will swear allegiance to him. Thereafter there will arise a man of Kuraish with maternal grandfathers of Kalb. So he will send against them an army and it will overcome them and that will be the expedition (*ba'ṭh*) of Kalb. And oh! the disappointment of those who will not have part in the booty of Kalb! He will divide the wealth and rule over the people according to the *sunna* of their Prophet and he will subject himself to the support of Islām. He will remain seven or nine years and then die and the Muslims will pray over him". This is evidently an echo of the early 'Alid conflicts and is not eschatological nor does it mention the Mahdī. But its motifs of the *Abdāl* and of the earth swallowing up in the desert (*al-baidā*) re-appear in other traditions which are concerned with the End of Time (p. 156, 161) and it is worked into al-Kūṭubī's tradition of the Mahdī from the Maghrib. Again, in a tradition evidently eirenic between the 'Abbāsids and the 'Alids, the Muslims are exhorted to "turn to the youth of the tribe of Tamīm (*'alāikum bi 'l-fata 'l-tamīmī*) for he will come from the East and will be the standard-bearer of the Mahdī" (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 162). But it is plain, too, that the doctrine of the Mahdī arose late and was not generally received. Thus the doctrine of al-Dajjāl is fixed in all Muslim eschatology, official and popular, but a tradition tries to assert that belief in the Mahdī is more of Faith than belief in him: "Whoever denies the Mahdī is an unbeliever but whoever denies al-Dajjāl is only a denier" (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 144). On the other hand a tradition asserts that there is no Mahdī but 'Isā. The upholders of the Mahdī tried to turn this by saying that it means that no one ever spoke in the cradle (*mahd*; Kūr'an, iii. 41) except 'Isā (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 163; Kūṭubī, p. 118). For al-Ḳaṭṭānī, another restorer who is not mentioned in any of the collections of traditions used above, see article ḲAṬṬĀN, above, vol. ii, p. 630a and Snouck Hurgronje's article *Der Mahdī*, p. 12 (*Verspr.* Geschr., i. 156).

The later, therefore, we go and the more popular are our sources the more fixed do we find the belief in the eschatological Mahdī. The more, too,

the Muslim masses have felt themselves oppressed and humiliated, either by their own rulers or by non-Muslims, the more fervent has been their longing for this ultimate restorer of the true Islām and conqueror of the whole world for Islām. And as the need for a Mahdī has been felt, the Mahdis have always appeared and Islām has risen, sword in hand, under their banner. It is impossible here to give the history of these risings. See for details upon them the article *Mahdī* by Margoliouth in Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, viii. 336—340 and Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 231, 268, 291. For the Sudanese Mahdī, see especially Snouck Hurgronje's article *Der Mahdī*, reprinted in *Verspr. Geschr.*, i, p. 147—181. This contains, also, a fundamental discussion of the origin and history of the idea of a restorer in Islām; see also beneath, s. v. MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD.

Bibliography: has been given in the course of the article. The three important treatments of the subject are undoubtedly those by Snouck Hurgronje, Goldziher and Margoliouth.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

AL-MAHDĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD, an 'Abbāsīd Caliph. His father was the Caliph al-Manṣūr, his mother was called Umm Mūsā bint al-Manṣūr b. 'Abd Allāh and belonged to the family of the old Himyarite kings. When the governor of Khurāsān 'Abd al-Djabbār b. 'Abd al-Rahmān [q. v.] rebelled, the Caliph sent his son Muḥammad al-Mahdī with an army against him; the real commander was Khāzīm b. Khuzaima. After taking 'Abd al-Djabbār prisoner, al-Mahdī by his father's orders undertook an expedition against Tabaristān which had to submit to him [cf. DĀBŪYA]. In 144 (761—762) he returned to the 'Irāk where he married Raīṭa, the daughter of the Caliph Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ṣaffāh. For the next few years he lived in al-Raiy. 'Isā b. Mūsā had long been designated as successor to the throne but he was persuaded by al-Manṣūr to waive his rights in favour of al-Mahdī, and after the death of al-Manṣūr in Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 158 (Oct. 775) al-Mahdī was recognised as Caliph. He made himself very popular by his liberality and gentleness, although several cruel deeds are credited to him. For example he had the son of the vizier Abū 'Abd Allāh Mu'āwiya b. 'Ubaid Allāh [q. v.] executed on a mere suspicion and another vizier Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd who had fallen into disfavour with him was thrown into a prison so dark that he lost the use of his eyes. In 160 (776—777) a rebellion broke out in the always unruly Khurāsān; the leader of the rebels, Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm, was however defeated and taken prisoner whereupon the Caliph had him executed in the cruellest fashion. The war against Byzantium was continued under al-Mahdī. In continual raids to plunder and devastate the marches, the two opponents sought to do each other as much harm as possible; there was however never any thought of permanently occupying any territory temporarily conquered. On the whole the advantage lay with the Muslims and in the early stages they advanced as far as Angora. Michael Iachanodrakon however with a Byzantine army advanced against them, destroyed the fortress of al-Ḥadath [q. v.], which however was soon rebuilt, and laid the land waste as far as the Syrian frontier (162 = 778/779). In the following year al-Mahdī equipped a great expedition in which his son Hārūn took part against

the Byzantines and in 165 (782) Hārūn took the field again, accompanied by the Caliph's favourite al-Rabi' b. Yūnus, later vizier. This time the Muslims penetrated to the Bosphorus and the Empress Irene was forced to make a three years' truce and to promise to pay an annual tribute. In Ramaḍān 168 (March/April 785), however, the truce was broken by the Byzantines and hostilities lasted till the death of al-Mahdī, without however any decision being reached. In his reign appeared the sectarian fanatic al-Muḳanna', who gave the Caliph's troops much trouble and sustained a long siege in a fortress in the region of Kashsh, till finally he poisoned himself in 163 (779/780) in order not to fall alive into the hand of his enemies. In other parts of the empire also, heretics, especially real or alleged Manichaeans (*Zindīk*), were treated with the utmost severity. Al-Mahdī acquired great merit by his work for the peaceful development of his empire; new roads were laid down and the postal system improved; trade and industry reached a prosperity hitherto unknown and scholars were richly rewarded. At the same time there appeared an undesirable tendency to extravagance, which in the end was to prove really fatal, and with al-Mahdī began that expenditure of the revenues on useless luxury, which contributed not a little under his successors to the ruin of the 'Abbāsīd empire. In time the Caliph fell under the control of his courtiers and in particular allowed himself to be guided by his chamberlain al-Rabi' b. Yūnus and especially by his wife al-Khaizurān, formerly a slave who was the mother of two sons, Mūsā and Hārūn. As early as 160 (776) homage had been paid to the former as successor designate under the name of al-Hādī in place of 'Isā b. Mūsā [q.v.] and six years later al-Mahdī had his younger son Hārūn proclaimed as successor to al-Hādī. But as Khaizurān preferred Hārūn and he was also supported by the Barmecides, the Caliph decided to alter the succession in favour of him; al-Hādī, who was then in Djurdjān refused to agree. Al-Mahdī thereupon set out to discuss the matter with him in person, but died suddenly on the 22nd Muḥarram 169 (Aug. 4, 785) in Māsabadhān at the age of 43. As a ruler he was undoubtedly one of the best among the 'Abbāsīds.

Bibliography: Ibn Kutaiba, *al-Ma'ārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 192 sq.; Ya'qūbi (ed. Houtsma), ii. 409 sqq., 470—487; Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje), see Index; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Wright), p. 268, 389, 419, 512, 547, 711, 738; Ṭabari, iii. 133 sqq., 451—544; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj* (ed. Paris), vi. 224—260; ix. 44, 51, 65 sq.; *al-Aghāmī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), v. 385 sqq.; vi. 8 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiktākā, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 242—258; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii. 225; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 204 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 36, 64, 94 sqq.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 477 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*³, p. 446 sqq., 469—474; Brooks, *Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the early Abbasids*, in *The English Historical Review*, xv. 728 sqq.; Le Strange, *Bagdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see Index; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, passim.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MAHDĪ. [See IBN TUMART.]

AL-MAHDĪ. [See MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD.]

AL-MAHDĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. HISHĀM B. 'ABD AL-DJABBĀR B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-NĀSIR, ABU 'L-WALID, eleventh Umayyad Caliph of Spain. He held power on two occasions, first as successor to Hishām II, al-Mu'ayyad [q.v.], and again after Sulaimān b. Ḥakam al-Musta'in [q.v.], in the period of general rebellion which at the beginning of the ninth century immediately preceded the establishment through Muslim Spain of petty independent rulers, the *Mulūk al-Tawwā'if*.

The third of the 'Āmirid ḥādījib, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Manšūr, surnamed Sanchol, from the moment he succeeded his brother 'Abd al-Malik al-Muza'ffar abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses and was able to take advantage of the weakness of the titular caliph, Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad, to get himself designated heir-presumptive. This decision at once aroused the indignation of various members of the caliph's family, thus excluded from the throne; they arranged that one of their number, Muḥammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār, a great grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāsir, who had many followers among the people of Cordova should head a rebellion. Advantage was taken of an expedition, which 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchol, following the example of his father and brother, was to lead in person against the Christians of Galicia, to raise the standard of rebellion. On the 16th Djumādā II, 399 (Feb. 15, 1009) Muḥammad b. Hishām attacked the palace of Cordova where the caliph Hishām was with a small number of followers who had remained faithful to him. He captured the palace and at once took steps to make Hishām sign his abdication and had himself proclaimed caliph. The whole population of Cordova was in arms and plundered the 'Āmirid town Madīnat al-Zāhira [q.v.]. All the treasure accumulated there including a vast sum in money was seized and brought to the new caliph who to destroy 'Āmirid power for ever, demolished completely and set fire to the town which the great ḥādījib al-Manšūr had built only a few years before. At the same time, Muḥammad b. Hishām who had adopted the honorific *laqab* of al-Mahdī took steps to meet the counter-attack certain to be made by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchol. Warned of what had happened in Cordova and of the destruction of al-Madīnat al-Zāhira, the ḥādījib, full of anxiety, pitched his camp at Kal'at Rabāḥ (Calatrava [q.v.]) and endeavoured to secure the fidelity of his troops who were mainly Berbers. He was soon forced to witness their defection and went to Cordova in the hope of finding new partisans there. But on the way back he was captured by emissaries of al-Mahdī in a monastery of the Sierra Morena and executed at the end of Djumādā II, 399 (March 1, 1009). His body was crucified in Cordova.

Muḥammad al-Mahdī, once the power was in his hands, soon alienated the principal Berber chiefs of his army as well as his relatives of the Umayyad house. A rebellion against him was planned by his adversaries. The Berbers put at their head an Umayyad pretender, Hishām b. Sulaimān b. al-Nāsir, whom they proclaimed caliph with the title al-Rashīd, and laid siege to Cordova. Al-Mahdī made a sortie, routed them and the pretender was killed. The Berbers then chose a new Umayyad prince, Sulaimān b. Ḥakam, and at the same time appealed for assistance to Sancho Garcez

and his Christians. In spite of all the efforts of al-Mahdī, the blockade of Cordova became more and more strict. He then tried to put on the throne the caliph Hishām II b. al-Mu'ayyad whom he had himself deposed and then given out that he was dead, but this was in vain. On 16th Rabī' I, 400 (Nov. 7, 1009) the palace of the caliph was in the hands of the besiegers. Al-Mahdī's only hope was to hide himself. The pretender of the Berbers, Sulaimān, received the oath of allegiance at al-Cordova and assumed the honorific title of al-Musta'in bi'llāh.

In the following month al-Mahdī was able to leave Cordova secretly and seek refuge in Toledo where he was well received by the inhabitants. He then sought and obtained an alliance with the Catalans (*Ifrañdī*) who marched with him on Cordova in Shawwāl 400 (May-June 1010). The town was taken and the second reign of al-Mahdī began with a bloody persecution of all the Berbers in Cordova. To avenge the wrongs of their fellow-countrymen in the capital, the Berbers in the army of Sulaimān al-Musta'in returned to besiege the city. Al-Mahdī, betrayed by his servants, was slain during the siege in the palace in Cordova by some 'Amirid slaves on the 8th Dhū'l-Ḥijja 400 (July 23, 1010). His first reign lasted nine months, the second less than two.

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MAHDĪ KHĀN, MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD MAHDĪ ASTARĀBĀDĪ b. MUḤAMMAD, historian of Nādir Shāh of Persia, whose deeds he recorded in the *Tārīkh-i Dīkhān Gushāy-i Nādirī*; this work written in Persian is an excellent complement to those by James Fraser and Jonas Hanway on the conqueror. In it Mahdī Khān details the life of Nādir from his birth to his death while other Persian writers only deal with periods of it (e. g. Muḥsin b. Ḥanīf records only the expedition to India in his *Dīawhar-i Šamšam*; 'Abd al-Karīm Kashmīrī in his *Bayān-i Wāqī'* confines himself to the period from this expedition to 1784). W. Jones in his introduction to the *Tārīkh* of Mahdī Khān says that "the narrative of these perpetual rebellions... is somewhat dry and fatiguing"; as to the boundless praise which he bestows on the author's style, especially the descriptions of spring at the beginning of each year, it is exaggerated; in these descriptions all the images used had been employed to satiety for years before. It is true that some works of the period are still more hackneyed. Mahdī Khān himself gives free train to this vexatious tendency in another version of history of Nādir which comes down to the year 1748 only: *Durra-i Nādira*, in a style uniformly artificial and elaborate. Malcolm (*History of Persia*) reproaches Mahdī Khān with having been too flattering to Nādir; he recognises however that

the historian has spoken frankly of the cruelties which were a blot upon the latter part of the reign. Mahdī Khān was Nādir's secretary. This is revealed not only in the accuracy of his details but in certain statements also. Mahdī, for example, says that he was with the prince when the latter received news of the birth of a grandson (transl. Jones i. 191); at the end of his reign Nādir sent him on a diplomatic mission to the Sultān of Turkey (ii. 179). H. Brydges (Abd-er-Razzak, *History of the Kajars*, London 1833, p. clxxxi., note) also credits him with secretarial duties. Besides his historical works, Mahdī Khān compiled his celebrated Eastern Turkish-Persian dictionary entitled *Sanglākh* (1173 = 1760) a valuable thesaurus enriched with examples taken from the Turkish classics (Mir 'Alī-Shīr, *Bābur-Nāma* etc.); the publication of this work of which there are two abbreviations is highly desirable.

Bibliography: Historical works: Pers. text published at Tabriz, Teheran, Bombay (cf. Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss. British Mus.*, i. 192 sqq., and do., *Suppl.*, p. 120). — Translation: *Histoire de Nader Chah...* traduite d'un manuscrit persan... par Mr. Jones (London 1770, 2 vol.; Engl. transl. of the same, London 1773). — Manuscripts of the dictionary *Sanglākh*: Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. Mss. British Mus.*, p. 264; Ethé, *Cat. Mss. Bodlei.*, No. 1760. — Manuscripts of the abbreviations: Blochet, *Cat. mss. pers. B. N.*, ii. 220—224; B. N., coll. Schefer, *Suppl. Turc.*, 1000. (H. MASSÉ)

AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD, a title and name of several Zaidī Imāms of the Yaman.

About 250 years after al-Hādī Yahyā, the founder of the Zaidīya [q. v.] dynasty of the Yaman, his direct descendant, the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā 'llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaimān had, between 532 and 566 (1134—1170), restored the kingdom to its extent in al-Hādī's period, with Ša'da, Naḍrān and for a time also Zabīd and Šan'a'. A generation later (593—614 = 1197—1217) the hill country from Ša'da to Dhamār was again ruled by one man, al-Manšūr bi'llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, not a descendant of al-Hādī but of a Rassid, i. e. one of the family of al-Hādī's grandfather, al-Kāsim b. Ṭabātabā, the spiritual founder of the Zaidīyas of the Yaman. Al-Manšūr was twice able to enter Šan'a'; he was also recognised as Imām by the Kaspīd Zaidīs, the Nuḳṭawī; but even before his death his power had become restricted by the last Aiyūbid Sultān of the Yaman, al-Malik al-Mas'ūd, once more to the land of Kawkabān. After his death his sons, first Muḥammad 'Izz al-Dīn, then the Imām Aḥmad al-Mutawakkil tried their fortune in the south, while one of al-Hādī's descendants and his namesake al-Hādī Yahyā b. al-Muḥsin created a petty imāmate around Ša'da. An attempt to unite the divided forces of the dynasty was made by

a. **AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH**; his full official title, one previously met with among the Zaidīs, was al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. al-Kāsim b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Kāsim b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'il Abu 'l-Barakāt. The uncertainty about his genealogy, that occurs may be explained from the fact that, as is also found in the superscription and signature to his *Khalīfat al-Kur'ān* (see *Bibl.*) there is a jump from Ismā'il Abu 'l-Barakāt to Ismā'il al-Dībādī (cf. de Zambaur, Table B.); he himself expressly says that his genealogy meets that of al-Manšūr in al-Kāsim b.

Ibrāhīm, i. e. that he was a Rassid. His reign of ten years during which the Yaman was harassed by plague and famine does not reveal a great ruler nor even any real and consistent authority, but gives a remarkable picture of conditions in South Arabia, when for want of a definite line of succession, success alone decided how far an 'Alid pretender was able to hold his own among his kinsmen and with any forces he could gather to make a stand against foreign foes. In 646 (1248) Aḥmad had himself proclaimed Imām in the fortress of Thula in the highlands of Haḍūr, north-west of Ṣan'ā', by arrangement with the Banū Ḥamza, i. e. the family of the late Imām al-Manṣūr, and with the benevolent tolerance of Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the brother's son of the first Rasūlid Sultān, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn 'Omar b. 'Alī b. Rasūl. But he was defeated by Nūr al-Dīn and besieged in Thula, and in 647 (1250) we find him having to fight with the Banū Ḥamza who had again deserted him. He was saved by the death of Nūr al-Dīn who was killed by his own Mamlūks in Zabīd, an event which is probably connected with contemporary Mamlūk attempts on the Egyptian Aiyūbids; Asad al-Dīn who wished to make his governorship in Ṣan'ā' independent, is also accused of instigating it. The latter continued active under Nūr al-Dīn's son and successor al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, rebelling and suing for peace alternately, sometimes on the side of the Imām and sometimes intriguing against him. Al-Mahdī, who in the meanwhile had bound Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, son of the late Imām and chief of the Banū Ḥamza, to joint action with him, took Ṣan'ā' in the beginning of Djumādā I 648 (July 1250); although harassed by Asad al-Dīn who held the fortress of Birāsh, he was able to extend his rule to the south as far as Dhamār. But before a year had expired al-Mahdī had to abandon Ṣan'ā'. Asad al-Dīn indeed sold him the fortress of Birāsh but it was just on account of this that the final breach occurred between them. Asad al-Dīn again went over to al-Muẓaffar who had the governorship of the Yaman granted him by the Caliph al-Musta'ṣim, who is even said to have sent assassins (*Sira*, see *Bibl.*, fol. 237a) against the Imām. In a thoroughly Zaidī fashion, however, his fate was decided not by foreign foes but by the Zaidīs themselves. He quarrelled with his ablest and most ardent supporter, Shaikh Aḥmad al-Raṣṣās. With the help of the Rasūlids, Shams al-Dīn made himself Imām of the Zaidīs in 652 (1254) in the old capital of Ṣa'da. Al-Mahdī was again confined to his original territory. The very next year a Zaidī assembly pronounced his deposition, as unworthy. Of the 10,000 infantry and several hundred horsemen of the earlier fighting, he had still 2,000 infantry and 300 cavalry; but these also left him in the decisive battle of Wādī Shuwāba, which runs from Ṣan'ā' parallel in the northwest to the Wādī Khārid. He was slain at the age of 42, his head sent round as a trophy and treated shamefully but finally buried with his body in the little Wādī of Dhū Bn (Dhenebān). His inglorious end did not prevent his tomb from becoming a wonder-working abode of grace; his biographer calls him the "martyr on the path of Allāh and the commander of the faithful" and many miracles are recorded of him even from his lifetime. His assassination at the beginning of 656 (1258) falls

in the same year as the execution of his old enemy, the last 'Abbāsīd Caliph, al-Musta'ṣim. Legend says that the messenger who was to carry the news to Baghdād learned on the way that the caliph had met his fate on the same day.

While in his *Da'wa* (see *Bibl.*) al-Mahdī collected the usual Zaidī arguments with the regular sayings from the Qur'ān and ḥadīths practically in the traditional form as a general appeal to support the Zaidī cause and himself, his *Khalīfa* is a passionate personal protest against his deposition and an attempt to bring back his enemies especially Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, to the loyalty they had sworn to him. This, he reproaches them, was as unrighteous as the recognition of Muḥammad's authority as a Prophet by the Umayyads.

The Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad above mentioned, who adopted the official title of al-Mutawakkil and recognised the Rasūlids as his overlords, was at once challenged by a rival Imām in the person of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Wahhās. The position remained the same for the next 50 years. The *Tatīmma* gives nine men, the last being al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who succeeded in obtaining some recognition as imāms in the period between al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain and

6. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. AL-MURTAḌĀ b. Aḥmad b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. Manṣūr b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Ḥaḍjdjādī b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf al-Dā'ī b. Yaḥyā al-Manṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Nāṣir. The last named ancestor was the son and second successor of Yaḥyā al-Hādī. After the death of al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, a ḳāḍī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Dauwārī worked with a few partisans on behalf of his sons who were still minors. But the 'Ulamā', anxious to consolidate the power which was gradually breaking up, placed in the mosque of Djamāl al-Dīn in Ṣan'ā' three claimants: 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, al-Nāṣir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā and these three were to decide on one of their number. The choice fell on Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, the youngest of them. In spite of his objections, he had to give in to their argument that "one who has gone deeply into learned problems with their subtle points, cannot be incapable of conducting worldly affairs". They at the same time promised him their advice and support (*Tatīmma*, fol. 72a). But on the very night on which he was proclaimed, the ḳāḍī al-Dauwārī succeeded in getting homage paid to his candidate (end of 793 = 1391). Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā and his adherents at once left the town in a body and withdrew to the hills to the Banū Shihāb, a clan of the Ḥamḍānids. His abode was betrayed by one of the Shihāb. Fighting went on for 13 days in which the enemy lost about 50 men and the Imām 10. The latter then went farther into the mountains and his claims were recognised in Anīs also. Among his special supporters were al-Hādī b. al-Mu'ayyad, son of a former Imām, and Ibn Abi 'l-Faḍā'il. He was also asked by people in Ṣa'da to receive their homage. But he was surprised by his enemies and as he would not interrupt his ritual ablutions and prayers to fight, he surrendered under a promise that no harm would befall him. In spite of this, as the *Tatīmma* tells us, which is however much biased in his favour, 80 of his men were massacred, he himself was taken to Ṣan'ā' where he was kept a prisoner for 7 years

and 3 weeks (794–801). Liberated with the help of his warders, he lived a further 40 years, "tossed up and down the country", devoting himself entirely to learning until he died in Zafār (end of 480 = 1437) of the plague in the Yaman, which had already carried off with many notables including the rival Imām 'Alī b. Ṣalāh al-Dīn. According to the *Tatimmat* (fol. 75a) Ibn al-Murtaḍā was born in 775 (1373) in Ḍhamār, according to other sources (see Rieu, in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Suppl.*, No. 365) in 764 (1363) at Anīs.

The choice of Ibn al-Murtaḍā as Imām was a mistake, inasmuch as he lacked the necessary military and administrative ability. On the other hand he had another qualification in perfection. As a result of a careful education and a thirst for learning from his youth upwards, he wrote a great deal, dogmatic, legal and paraenetic; he was also a poet and worked at grammar and logic. The kindness of his warders, who supplied him with ink and paper, enabled him to compose the law book *al-Aḥkām fī Fiqh al-ʿImma al-aḥkām* (Berlin MS. 4919) on which he wrote a commentary. His most valuable work is still his theological and legal encyclopaedia, *al-Baḥr al-saḥḥḥār* (Berlin MS. 4894–4907) on which he likewise wrote a commentary. Although not the work of an original scholar, it is a rich and well arranged compilation, which deserves attention, if only for the part of the introduction which compares the various religions, as the distinctions between them are seen from quite a different point of view to that of Aḥḥārī or Shahrastānī.

About 80 years after al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, from 922 (1516), the Turks had begun to occupy Yaman and to hold it with varying fortunes (see Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī fī l-Fatḥ al-ʿOḥmānī*, in S. de Sacy, in *N.E.*, iv. 412–504 and A. Rutgers, *Historia fermanae sub Hasano Pascha*, Leyden 1838). In his struggle with them al-Manṣūr bi'llāh al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad, a descendant of al-Hādī in the 17th generation, was able about 1000 A. H. to restore the present imāmate in Ṣan'ā' (see A. S. Tritton, *The Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, Oxford 1925). Of his sons, Muḥammad al-Mu'ayyad succeeded him. Even in his reign but still more after his death in 1054 (1644), when his successor Ismā'īl, another son of al-Kāsim, was making his way with difficulty against his many brothers and nephews, one of al-Kāsim's grandsons began to come to the front, afterwards the Imām

c. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD b. AL-ḤASAN b. AL-KĀSIM. His father was not Imām but distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks and was also a scholar. In 1049 Aḥmad appeared in the hills of Wuṣāb; in 1051 he besieged Ḍhamār without success; in 1053 he was in Mecca with many members of his family on the pilgrimage. Just at the accession of Ismā'īl, he set out with another cousin against Ṣan'ā'. At first he came to terms with the Imām but then fought in different places for his own hand, e.g. at Ṭhūla and again in the Djebel Wuṣāb. In 1070 he won Ḥaḍramawt for Ismā'īl, to which the Zaidīs had been summoned by the disputes for the throne. When in 1087 (1676) on the death of Ismā'īl he himself assumed the imāmate, a nephew, al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad al-Mu'ayyad, proclaimed himself Imām and was recognised particularly in the remoter territory in the south towards al-Tihāma in Zabīd. A Zaidī assembly of leading Sharīfs and 'Ulamā' met, at

which Aḥmad was with some difficulty recognised as the legitimate Imām. Although this did not mean that he enjoyed the authority of a sovereign, since his rivals and the other amirs remained as independent as before, yet peace and security reigned in the country. But Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan died soon afterwards in 1092 (1681) in al-Ḡhīrās near Shībām which had been built by the first Turkish conqueror Ḥasan Paṣha. After the short and weak reign of his son al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad (to 1097 = 1686), family feuds broke out again. Among the later Imāms of this Kāsimid dynasty another Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Kāsim (from 1221 = 1806) again bore the official title of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh.

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AL-MAHDĪ 'UBAID ALLĀH, first Fāṭimid Caliph (297–322 = 909–934). His origins are obscure. He is also known as Ṣa'īd, and is believed to have been the grandson of the celebrated Persian sectarian 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn al-Qaddāh (the oculist), the Ismā'īlian leader; but he claimed to be a true descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima. By some he was supposed to be the brother of the twelfth Imām; according to others, the son of one of the strange "hidden" Imāms of the Ismā'īlis. His spectacular rise to power was coincident with a sudden outburst of Shi'ite fervour centred in the vexed question of the legitimacy of the Caliphate, involving the mystical doctrine of the Imāmate and the appearance of a long-expected *Mahdī* [q. v.]. It was the culmination of Ismā'īlian propaganda and was in alliance with the Ḥarmatian heresy of Arabia. Throughout the history of these times one can discern how in reality such zealous schismatics traded their esoteric doctrines and allegorical interpretations to the advancement of their own private political ends.

North Africa witnessed the crucial stages of the Fāṭimid rising, the prime instigator being apparently a *dā'ī*, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shir'ī [q. v.], who proclaimed himself the precursor of the Mahdī. An ambitious factionist of undeniable ability and or-

ganising genius, in the end his own astuteness and love of power brought about his undoing. Nevertheless it was to him that 'Ubaid Allāh owed his throne and title. While the former was sowing the seeds of sedition amongst the Berber tribes of North Africa, 'Ubaid Allāh was making his way with his family from Salamīya in N. Syria to Kairawān (902 A. D.). In passing through Egypt disguised as a merchant he narrowly escaped imprisonment at the hands of a suspicious governor. Perhaps judicious bribery helped him on his way until he found himself with his son thrown by the Benī Midrār, supporters of the 'Abbāsids, into a dungeon in Sidjilmāsa. Meanwhile his generalissimo was operating elsewhere in his favour with the help of the wild Benī Kitāma whose services he had enlisted. A victorious entry into Sidjilmāsa marked the release of 'Ubaid Allāh — though there are suspicions that the real prisoner was slain before the surrender — and his proclamation as the true spiritual head of Islām, al-Mahdī, Commander of the Faithful. The Aghlabid monarch Ziyādat Allāh III was overthrown and driven into exile in Egypt; while on Jan. 15, 910 A. D. (29th Rabi' II, 297) the new Mahdī and his son made their triumphal entry into Raqqāda.

Following his elevation to supreme control 'Ubaid Allāh entered on a policy of extending the bounds of his dominions. Not only had he enemies on all sides; even within his own camp lurked traitorous allies and fickle adherents. Those who had raised him from the dungeon found very soon that he was now their master. The estrangement between him and his chief supporters is said to have originated in the disappointment felt by the latter that he was incapable of working the miracles expected of such a divine personage. Abū 'Abd Allāh was forced to play a subordinate part, and becoming embittered thereby, began spreading sedition amongst the unsettled Berber tribesmen. But the Mahdī was quite capable of dealing with the situation. A *Shaikh* of the Kitāma Berbers, heading a deputation asking for clear proofs of his spiritual claims, was summarily beheaded. Shortly after this he waylaid Abū 'Abd Allāh and his brother 'Abd al-'Abbās and had them assassinated (298 = 911). The other brother Abū Zākī was sent to Kairawān with a letter ordering his execution. As the Mahdī himself said in justifying such acts against quondam supporters: "Satan caused them to slip and I have purified them by the sword". Riots ensued, but the bold handling of the populace by the Mahdī and his personal courage averted disaster and firmly established the secular power, if it did not demonstrate the spiritual virtues, of the Fātimid dynasty.

'Ubaidallāh's foreign policy led him to despatch Ḥassān b. Kulaib of the Benī Kitāma as governor to Sicily in order to further the Fātimid cause. The Huwara and Luwata tribes of Tripolitana were vanquished, while the Mahdī's forces were also victorious against Muḥammad b. Khazar at Tiharet. But following Abū 'Abd Allāh's death, the Benī Kitāma, who were murmuring against the Mahdī, were attacked in April 912, chiefly by their old enemies, the people of Kairawān who never liked their savage manners. The Benī Kitāma rose in a general revolt and appointed a new Mahdī, named Kadū; but after considerable fighting they were defeated. The Tripolitans were also involved in a struggle with the Berbers (300 A.H.).

But the most important events of this reign were the attacks on Egypt. The Mahdī's son, Abū 'l-Kāsim, was sent in command of the forces; while a fleet operated under Khubasa. Tripoli, Barka, and then Alexandria (302 = 914) were taken, until the victorious army was checked outside Fustāt by the eunuch Mūnis, the Egyptian commander. A second expeditionary force (916—917) repeated the feats of the previous one and devastated the Delta and ravaged the Faiyūm, only to be checked once more at Old Cairo, while the fleet of 80 vessels was destroyed at Rosetta (307 = 920) by the Khalifa's smaller but more efficient fleet under Greek mariners. Once more the Fātimid ranks had to withdraw. Nevertheless the dominion of the Mahdī extended from the borders of Egypt to the confines of the Idrisid stronghold in Morocco. His fleets spread terror throughout the Mediterranean. Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands felt his influence; while his secret-service agents were to be found throughout Andalusia. A revolt in Sicily in favour of an Aghlabid prince Aḥmad b. Ziyādat Allāh affected his sway in that island, but his administration generally was strong and secure, albeit rigorous and unmerciful. The year 926 found him taking up his residence in the new city he had founded on the Tunisian coast, named after himself al-Mahdiyya [q. v.] (the "Africa" of Froissart). This became his capital instead of Kairawān (16 mls. distant). The new town was founded in 303 (916) and was situated on a projecting peninsula called Djazīrat al-Fār. It was strongly fortified with high and massive walls, and colossally heavy gates, enclosing the palace and the royal barracks. A natural harbour was improved to shelter 100 vessels of war. On the mainland lay the faubourg of Zawila intended as a place of residence for traders and the general public. After a reign of 25 years 'Ubaid Allāh died on the 4th March 934 (14th Rabi' I, 322) at the age of 63, and was succeeded by his son Abū 'l-Kāsim under the title of al-Kā'im bi-Amrallāh.

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AL-MAHDĪ's, a dynasty of Zabīd in the Yaman. When the founder of the dynasty, 'Alī b. Mahdī [q. v.], died in the middle of 554 (1159) soon after the taking of Zabīd, the power of the dynasty which had been concentrated in his personality, was seriously threatened, especially as his sons Mahdī, 'Abd al-Nabī and 'Abd Allāh quarrelled. It is not quite clear whether Mahdī at first obtained the throne (so 'Omāra in Kay [see *Bibl.*], p. 129) or whether he ruled jointly with 'Abd al-Nabī, the latter taking charge of civil and the former of military affairs (so Khazradjī in Kay, p. 294). In any case, in the wars abroad we find Mahdī appearing as conqueror of Laḥidj in 556 and of Djanad in 558. He died, at the end of 558 or beginning of 559 (end of 1163) in Zabīd. 'Abd al-Nabī now became sole ruler but although driven from power for a brief period by 'Abd Allāh he was able to consolidate his position and in continual fighting was able to retain the kingdom in Yaman and the great treasure which his father had accumulated. His power extended from al-Tihāma over the mountains of Dhu 'l-Kalā and the towns south of Djanad and Ta'izz. He celebrated his victories in poems, for example that in 560 (1164) over Wahhās, son and successor of Ḡhānim b. Yahyā of the Ḥasanid branch of the Sulaimānids, who after being driven out of Mecca had founded a dynasty in the mountains around Zafār and Ta'izz. When 'Abd al-Nabī besieged 'Aden in 568 (1172) the Zurā'ids there [cf. BANU 'L-KARAM] obtained the support of a great coalition led by the Hamdānid 'Alī b. Ḥātim in Ṣan'ā' which included the Yām tribes related to the Hamdānids and Zurā'ids. 'Abd al-Nabī suffered an annihilating defeat in 569 at Ibb and again farther south near Ta'izz. Although 'Alī b. Ḥātim could not carry the war into al-Tihāma as the Beduins would not follow him, 'Abd al-Nabī had to give up the siege of 'Aden. On his return to Zabīd, he met a stronger enemy and thus met his end. In the same year the Aiyūbid Tūrānshāh, sent by his brother Saladin, invaded Yemen. Guided by the Sulaimānid al-Kāsim, the brother of Wahhās who had fallen in battle, Tūrānshāh took Zabīd after two days' fighting on 9th Shawwāl 569 (May 14, 1174). 'Abd al-Nabī and his two brothers Aḥmad and Yahyā were thrown into prison. Nine months later when Tūrānshāh on his campaign of conquest in the mountains of the Yaman was at Dhū Djabla west of Ibb, he heard of troubles in al-Tihāma and had all three brothers executed in Zabīd.

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AL-MAHDĪYA, a town on the east coast of Tunisia, is the "town of Africa" of the European historians of the Middle Ages. It is built between Sousse and Sfax on a small peninsula more than a mile in length and less than 500 yards in breadth, which terminates the cape of Africa and is connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus "much as the hand is joined to the wrist". The site was without doubt occupied by a Phoenician factory and by a Roman settlement, which it has not been possible to identify. Its name comes from the Shī'ī Mahdī 'Ubaid Allāh, who in 300 (912) founded and fortified it, after having consulted the oracles and foreseeing the dangers which would threaten the Fātimid dynasty. A rampart of rubble of which a few towers are in existence ran along the coast towards the south; the wall protected the port, an ancient Phoenician harbour excavated out of the rock, which the ships entered under a large gate flanked by two strong defensive works. A little farther on, towards the point was the naval arsenal. From the side of the isthmus, the rampart, which is very strong and strengthened by round and square towers, had a wall in front of it and was pierced by a gate which still exists. Flanked by two salients with inclined sides entrance is gained under an arch 45 yards in length (*al-shīfa, al-kaḥlā*). The highest point of the peninsula is occupied by an old Turkish *kaṣba*, built on the probable site of the palace of Mahdī. In front towards the west, probably lay the palace of his son al-Kā'im. The town owes to the Fātimids also a great mosque built near the sea, of which considerable remains still exist, notably an ornamental porch. A customs-house was at hand (*dār al-muḥāsabāt*); beyond the peninsula the suburb of Zawila (ancient Zella?) of which the site is still known and where remains have been found, amongst other things glass-ware.

The Mahdī 'Ubaid Allāh after leaving Raḡḡāda near al-Kairawān, came to live at al-Mahdiyya in the year 308 (921). Having become the capital of the empire, the town prospered. It was, according to 'Idhārī, the richest city in Barbary. The son of 'Ubaid Allāh, al-Kā'im, was besieged there for over five months (January-September 945) by Abū Yazīd, "the man with the ass", a Khārījī agitator, who starting from Tawzer made himself master of the whole of Ifrīqiya. The failure of the blockade of al-Mahdiyya was the first stage in the downfall of the heretic. More than a century after, al-Mahdiyya, which had been the refuge of the Fātimids when in danger, served also as an asylum to their unconquered vassals, the Zīrid Amīrs, the victims of the Hilālī invasion. In the year 449 (1057) the Zīrid al-Mu'izz abandoned a-Kairawān for al-Mahdiyya. From that place he and his successors set themselves to recover the lands they had formerly ruled. From there they also turned their activities to the sea. Al-Mahdiyya, where the corsairs were now equipped, became and was to remain

down to modern times the most active centre of Tunisian piracy. The expeditions of the Muslim corsairs provoked attacks from the Normans of Sicily, Pisan and Genoan raids on the town along the coast. In 1087, al-Mahdiyya fell into the hands of the combined Christian forces. The Normans again took it in 1148. Then they were blockaded in it by land and by sea during the conquest of Ifrīkiya by the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min. Having become once more a Muslim town, it was retaken and pillaged in 1180. Then it concluded with William II, the King of Sicily, a treaty of peace. The Normans were able to trade with it. During the ruinous campaigns of the B. Ghāniya [q. v.], Almoravid Amīrs, al-Mahdiyya was for a short time in the hands of an adventurer 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ragrāgī who took the title of Caliph. These troubles led to the installation in Ifrīkiya of a governor of the Almohad family of the B. Ḥafṣ. Al-Mahdiyya was henceforth one of the principal towns of the kingdom of the Ḥafṣids. Its government was generally confided to one of the sons of the sovereign of Tunis.

The persistent activity however of the Corsairs provoked in the year 1390 a new Genoan expedition supported by Charles VI, King of France, who sent his galleys and his knights against "cette mâlement forte ville d'Auffrique" (Froissart). Al-Mahdiyya resisted but was forced to pay a tribute to the Christians. In 1539, after the conquest of Tunis by Charles V, the town received a Spanish garrison. In the following year the corsair Dragut took it by surprise. Taken prisoner by the fleet of Andrea Doria, then released, Dragut came back and installed himself in al-Mahdiyya. On the 8th September 1550, Doria seized the town from Dragut "prince of Africa", after a memorable siege. Charles V offered the charge of it to the Knights of Malta but they refused it, so he ordered it to be dismantled. Al-Mahdiyya, after falling once more into the hands of the Muslims, arose from its ruins and remained under Turkish rule until the sixteenth century, the nest of corsairs, the terror of Christian merchants that it had been for nearly 900 years. It is now a quiet little town of about 10,000 inhabitants, who live by fishing and by the product of their oil-works.

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(G. MARÇAIS)

AL-MAHDĪYA, formerly called AL-MA'MŪRA, a town of Morocco, on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū (Sebou), built on a rocky promontory which dominates the valley of the river. Situated on the southern extremity of the plain of Ḡharb and 20 miles to the North East of Salé (Salā) it enjoys a geographical position of the first importance. A port is shortly to be created here for ships of heavy tonnage, which cannot sail up the Wādī Sabū as far as the river port of Kenitra (Ar. al-Ḳunaitira, "the little bridge") situated 6 miles as the crow flies from the mouth of the river.

It is generally agreed that the site of al-Mahdiyya corresponds to that of one of the earliest Phoenician settlements founded by Hanno in the fifth century B. C. on the Atlantic coast of Morocco: — the factory of Thymateria. Nothing is known of the later history of this foundation and we have to wait till the fourth century A. H. (tenth A. D.) to get the first mention in Arab writers of the town at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū under the names al-Ma'mūra ("the populated, the flourishing"), Ḥalk ("the mouth") al-Ma'mūra or Ḥalk Sabū. According to the chronicler Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zaiyānī [q. v.] the modern town was founded by the short-lived dynasty of the Banū Ifren [q. v.] which settled on the Atlantic side of Morocco at the end of the tenth century of our era. In the second half of the XIIth, the Almohad Sulṭān 'Abd al-Mu'min built there one of his dockyards for his navy (*dār al-sinā'a*). Later, down to the XVIth century, al-Ma'mūra's history is obscure — it was a small trading centre to which European ships came for the products of the country.

Al-Ma'mūra, when the Christians of the Iberian peninsula made their offensive against Morocco, was one of their first objectives; on June 24, 1515 a large Portuguese fleet anchored at the mouth of the Wādī Sabū and a landing force of 8,000 men occupied the town without a blow being struck. The Portuguese made themselves a strong base in al-Ma'mūra, built fortifications there, remains of which still exist, but they were only able to hold it for a short time. The Muslims drove the Christians out of al-Ma'mūra at the end of the same year, inflicting very heavy losses upon them.

Al-Ma'mūra re-enters history when at the end of the XVIth century it became a formidable nest of European pirates, who under the leadership of an English captain, Mainwaring, practised piracy along the whole Atlantic coast and became a terror to the seafaring centres of Europe. This state of things was put an end to when Spain, which in 1610 had occupied the port of Larache (al-'Arā'ish, q. v.), a little farther north, made a landing at al-Ma'mūra in August 1614, after negotiations with the Moroccan ruler, the Sa'dian Mawlay Zaidān. The town was taken and the Spanish fleet withdrew leaving a strong garrison of 1,500 men. The captured town was given the name of San Miguel de Ultramar.

The Spanish occupation of al-Ma'mūra was to last 67 years, during which it was several times fiercely attacked by the Muslims, particularly the "volunteers of the faith" (*Mudjāhidūn*), who mobilised to drive the Christians from the various points on the coast where they had established themselves under the active leadership of the chief al-'Aiyāshī of Salé. The principal attacks on San Miguel de Ultramar were delivered in 1628, 1630

and 1647. In 1681 (1092 A.H.) the 'Alawid Sultān Mawlay Ismā'il [q. v.] laid siege to the town and finally took it by storm. He then gave it the name of al-Mahdiyya; the name of al-Ma'mūra only survived as that of the great forest of cork-oaks which lies between Salé and the lower valley of the Wādī Sabū. — It may be noted that for a few years at an earlier date the name al-Mahdiyya had been borne in Morocco by the little military station founded by the Almohad Caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min on the site of the future Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ (Rabat), on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Salā (the modern Wād Bū-regreg) [cf. the article RABAT]. Al-Mahdiyya was occupied by French troops in 1911.

Considerable remains survive at al-Mahdiyya, dating from the brief Portuguese occupation, the Spanish occupation or from the date when it was definitely retaken by the Muslims. Around the citadel (*kaṣba*) runs a continuous rampart with a ditch. These defences are entered by two gates; — one very massive, with two Arabic inscriptions, dates from the XVIIth century. The other, a simple postern, dating from the Spanish occupation, opens on the steep slope which runs down to the river. Inside beside a few hovels and a little mosque are the ruins of the Muslim governor's palace of the XVIIIth century. Between the foot of the citadel and the bank of the Wādī Sabū for a length of 200 yards and a breadth of about 40 may still be seen buildings consisting of a series of square chambers completely isolated from one another and each protected by a double wall. These were probably granaries, which need not be earlier than the end of the XVIIth century, and are not, as has been suggested, of the Phoenician period.

Bibliography: the Arabic historians of the modern period (al-Zaiyānī, al-Kādirī, al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī, etc.), *passim*; H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, indices, sub El-Mamora; *Villes et Tribus du Maroc*, Publication de la Mission scientifique du Maroc, *Rabat et sa région*, I, *Les Villes avant la conquête*, Paris 1918, p. 268—79; R. Montagne, *Note sur la kasbah de Mehdiya*, in *Hespéris*, 1921, i. 93—7.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MĀHĪYA (A.), technical term in metaphysics, quiddity; frequently used as equivalent of *ḍjawhar*, substance. Abū Ḥanīfa, Ḍirār (and al-Nadjdjār) used it to designate the pure divine essence; cf. 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḥ bain al-Firaḥ*, p. 201—202; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-Niḥāl* Cairo, i. 114; *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'riḥ*, ed. and transl. Huart, i. 85. On the question whether the quiddity is identical or not to existence (*wuḍūd*) cf. Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḍi'if*, Cairo, p. 92.

(L. MASSIGNON)

MAḤKAMA. [See MEḤKEME.]

MAḤMAL (or more correctly: MAḤMIL, A.), the name of the splendidly decorated empty litters, which since the xiiith century have been sent by Muḥammadan princes on the Ḥadjd to Mecca, to display their independence and claims to a place of honour at the ceremony. The camel which bears the maḥmal is not ridden but led by the bridle. It goes at the head of the caravan and is regarded as its sanctifying element. What extravagance the rivalry of princes led to is shown by the mention of a maḥmal adorned with much gold, pearls and jewels, which was

sent in 721 (1321) from the 'Irāk to Mecca (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, ii., 1859, p. 278). The maḥmal which is most esteemed, that which accompanied the pilgrim caravan from Cairo, is described by Lane as a square wooden framework, with a pyramid at top and covered with black brocade richly worked with inscriptions and ornamental embroidery in gold, in some parts upon a ground of green or red silk; it is bordered with a fringe of silk and silver balls are fixed to the corners and to the top of the pyramid. On the front of the pyramidal roof is a view of the Ka'ba embroidered in gold. In the brief description given by Burckhardt of the Egyptian maḥmal it is added that it is decorated with ostrich feathers. According to him there was only a prayer-book in the empty interior, which on its return was exhibited in Cairo and kissed by the people; according to Lane on the other hand there are two silver receptacles in the maḥmal which contain two Ḳur'āns, one in a scroll, the other in book form. The maḥmal is carried by a fine tall camel, which after the pilgrimage is spared any further work. On their arrival in Mecca the maḥmals are hailed with joy and led through the crowded streets in a solemn procession after which they go with the pilgrims to 'Arafāt where they occupy a position reserved for them. It used to be generally supposed that the covering of the Egyptian maḥmal was used to cover the tomb of Muḥammad or the Ka'ba but this is wrong; the *kiswa* is of course taken to Mecca with the great pilgrim caravan but it has nothing to do with the maḥmal.

According to Maḳrīzī the custom of sending a maḥmal to Mecca was first introduced in 670 A.H. by the Mamlūk Sultān Baibars but others attribute it to the Sharīf Abū Numayy; it is also said that it was a princess going on the pilgrimage in a splendid litter that gave Baibars the idea of sending one with the pilgrim caravan. This is however only a story; and it is a much more important question whether the custom did not arise at an earlier date and whether it did not originally have a direct religious significance. It is natural to recall the portable sanctuaries of the Arabs and the maḥmal particularly reminds one of the description which Musil (*Die Kultur*, 1910, p. 8 sq.) gives of the "Abū Ḍḥur al-Markab" of the Riwāla tribe: a framework of thin pieces of wood adorned with ostrich feathers which is fastened on to the saddle of a pack-camel and is the visible centre of the tribe. This would at any rate lead us to the practical significance of the later maḥmal, a visible sign of independence and claim to suzerainty of the various Muslim states. It is just this significance which gives the maḥmals a certain historical interest as political changes and rivalries are reflected in them in course of time. There have occasionally been rulers who by sending maḥmals gave expression to their endeavour to obtain recognition as sovereigns and protectors of the sharīfs, only to be soon driven from power again by others. That the Egyptian maḥmal came to obtain a place of honour, that from Syria being the only other at all comparable to it, was a result of the political influence of the Mamlūk Sultāns. It is noteworthy that Ottoman rule made no alteration in this respect and an attempt to send a maḥmal from Constantinople met with no success. In 1807 an interruption was

caused by the conquest of Mecca by the Wahhābīs who forbade this empty pomp so hateful to them; but this ceased when they were driven out and Muḥammad 'Alī's rule again gave the Egyptian maḥmal pride of place.

After the World War the sending of a maḥmal from Syria stopped. Difficulties arose between the Egyptian government and King Ḥusain (1915—1924) regarding the powers of the heads of a field-hospital which was to accompany the maḥmal as well as regarding the ceremony of its reception, which twice resulted in the maḥmal not being sent.

When Ibn Sa'ūd had become king of the Ḥijāz, long negotiations took place over the maḥmal. The Wahhābī ruler insisted on the music which usually accompanied the maḥmal being omitted and all sort of superstitious customs being dropped; he also protested against the armed escort as a denial of his sovereignty. The attempt made in 1926 to harmonize the demands of the two sides came to nothing: a fight broke out between the *Ikhwān* of Ibn Sa'ūd and the Egyptian soldiers which was only stopped by the personal intervention of Ibn Sa'ūd. Since then the Egyptian government has not sent a maḥmal, but neither does it any longer send a new *kiswa* for the Ka'ba to the Ḥadjj.

Bibliography: Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 394, 396, 407 sq.; Burton, *A Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Mecca*, 1856, iii., p. 12, 267; Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, 1912, p. 152, 155 sq.; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1836, ii., p. 180—186, 245 sqq. (with a picture of the Egyptian maḥmal); Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 29, 83 sq., 152, 157 (with a photograph in the *Atlas*, Pl. v.); Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 151 sq. (FR. BUHL)

MAḤMŪD I, twenty fourth Ottoman Sultān, reigned 1143—1168 (1730—1754). He was born on the 3rd Muḥarram 1108 (Aug. 2, 1696), the son of Muṣṭafā II — the *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī* gives the date 7th Ramaḍān 1107 (April 10, 1696) — and had spent his life in seclusion up to his accession. He came to the throne through the mutiny of the Janissaries under Patrona Khalil, a mutiny which cost the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, the Kapudan Pasha and the Kiaya Beg their lives, and forced Sultān Aḥmad III to abdicate in favour of Maḥmūd; these events took place on the 17th Rabi' I, 1143 (Oct. 1, 1730). The mutiny, which really had the sympathy of most of the 'ulamā' and seems to have been in the nature of a social revolution (Jorga), was only suppressed after some time through the efforts of the Kızlar Agha Beshir; before its suppression a certain number of appointments to important offices dictated by the rebels had to be conceded and the many palaces built in the luxurious reign of Aḥmad III were allowed to be pillaged. After the Janissaries had been pacified by considerable largesse on the accession of the Sultān, Beshir Agha succeeded in plotting the death of Patrona Khalil, who was assassinated on Nov. 15, 1730. The Kızlar-aghā continued to exercise a preponderating influence on affairs of state; the Sultān, who was by nature more interested in literature and in the erection of more or less useful buildings, did nothing to throw off this influence, which on the whole was for the good of the state. One of the consequences

of this system was the very frequent changes of grand viziers — there were no fewer than 16 in Maḥmūd's reign — but the state possessed a number of able men who worked for the good of the empire in the offices of grand vizier, re'is efendi and kiaya beg. The state finances were kept in good order, as much by the confiscation of any great fortunes amassed by high officials as by a financial system which made no distinction between the public treasury and the personal revenues of the Sultān. The situation abroad was also favourable, especially after the peace of Belgrade in 1739, which secured to Turkey a fairly long period of peace in Europe.

At the beginning of the reign, Turkey was at war with Persia. The campaign of 1731 was favourable to the Turks, who reconquered Kirmānshāh and took Hamadān (battle of Koridjān, Sept. 15), Urmiya and Tabriz; however, by a peace signed on Jan. 10, 1732 by the ser'asker and grand vizier Topal 'Othmān Pasha, Turkey gave up Tabriz and Hamadān. This peace neither pleased the powers in Constantinople, who replaced the grand vizier by Hekim Zāde 'Alī Pasha [q. v.] nor Tahmāsp Quli Khān, who on his return from Herāt had dethroned Shāh Tahmāsp and was making new preparations for war. On Oct. 6, 1732, the Porte issued a formal declaration of war and in December a Persian army invaded Mesopotamia, took Kirkūk and laid siege to Baghdād; the great battles of this campaign were those of Duldjalik on the Tigris, where the Persians were defeated (July 19, 1733), and that of Kirkūk, where a week later the Turks suffered a defeat which involved the death of the ser'asker Topal 'Othmān Pasha. In the same year, the Persian war produced a conflict with Russia, provoked by the Khān of the Crimea's march through the Caucasus to reinforce the Turkish troops fighting against Persia. Russia declared she could not allow the passage of the Tatars through the country of the Kumuk and the Kaitak, which she regarded as under her authority; the Khān's force was therefore held up and several battles were fought in Daghestān between Turks and Russians. The negotiations opened at Constantinople showed more and more that a war with Russia would be inevitable and they were finally broken off by the siege and capture of Azof by the Russians in March 1736. Meanwhile the war with Persia, which had ceased in 1734 on an armistice being concluded by the Pasha of Baghdād, had been resumed in 1735 when Aḥmad Köprülü was appointed ser'asker. The campaign was unfortunate for the Turks. They lost a number of towns in the Caucasus; however the development of affairs in Persia where Tahmāsp Quli, afterwards Nādir Shāh, proclaimed himself king on Dec. 1, 1735 in his camp on the Caucasian front, was favourable to the peace negotiations which were begun at this time. These negotiations ended in a peace signed at Constantinople on Oct. 17, 1736; the frontiers of the two countries remained as they had been fixed in the time of Murād IV. In the same year a Russian army invaded and laid waste the Crimea, although negotiations still went on, first at Constantinople and then in the country. Austria, posing as mediator, took an active part in these negotiations, which were finally broken off at the Congress of Niemirow in Aug. 1637, when it became evident that Austria was really Russia's ally, so that Turkey had to

deal with two adversaries. The war began badly for the Turks who lost Nish to the Austrians and Oczakow to the Russians. Nish however was won back in Oct. 1737. During the next two years fortune was rather on the side of the Turkish armies under the grand vizier Yegen Muḥammad Paṣha. The conclusion of the war was marked by the appearance of the forces of the grand vizier Hādīdī Muḥammad before Belgrade in July 1739. It was before this town that the famous peace of Belgrade (Sept. 18) was negotiated with the assistance and mediation of the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, by which Turkey again obtained possession of the town. Russia was included in the same treaty and had to promise to demolish the fortifications of Azof.

This ending of the war in a way very advantageous to the Porte was followed by a long period of peace with the states of Europe, which, as a result of the Seven Years' War, had no time to devote to plans for the partition of Turkey. From 1743 to 1746 there was a new Persian war. It began through the demands of Nādir Shāh to have the Persian Shī'a recognised as a fifth *Madhhab*, that of the *Djā'fariya*; the Porte at first gave an evasive answer but after they had become convinced that Nādir Shāh intended to make himself lord of Mesopotamia, the *Shaikh* al-Islām gave a *fatwā* against the recognition of the *Djā'fariya*. In 1743 Nādir Shāh took Kirkūk and laid siege to al-Mawṣil, only to be forced to raise it after a while. In the following year the scene of hostilities shifted to the Caucasus. The Porte then attempted to support a Persian pretender of the Ṣafawid family, whom it sent off with great pomp to Karṣ; in 1746 the Turkish ser-asker, the former grand vizier Yegen Muḥammad, fell in the battle of Murād Tepe in Kurdistan. During all this time, peace negotiations were going on in Constantinople and conducted through the Turkish commander-in-chief. During these negotiations Nādir Shāh had dropped his demand for the recognition of the *Djā'fariya* and finally agreement was reached on the basis of the frontiers of Murād IV (Sept. 4, 1746). In July of the same year the all powerful Beshīr Agha died at the age of 96; in spite of the efforts of the grand vizier al-Saiyid Ḥasan Paṣha, his successor Beshīr Agha the younger succeeded in procuring the same influence in affairs. This new regime only lasted till 1752 when there was reason to fear a new outbreak of discontent among the Janissaries and the 'ulamā' also; the Sultān seems therefore to have decided to sacrifice the Kızlar Agha by having him treacherously assassinated along with some other favourites (July 10, 1752). Two years later, on Friday, Dec. 13, 1754, Maḥmūd himself died suddenly on his way from the mosque; he was buried in the Yeñi Djāmi'.

The Sultān left a pleasing memory behind him; it is even said of him that he took a personal part in the affairs of state (*Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, l. c.) although the sources give little evidence of this. He did not continue the splendours of the court of his predecessor, respecting public feeling which had led to the latter's fall. Maḥmūd is especially celebrated for the large number of buildings he had erected; in Constantinople he built no less than four *ceşme* and he began the building of the Nūr-i 'Othmāni mosque. This activity was equally displayed in the provinces. This Sultān also acquired considerable merit by founding four

libraries in the capital, those of Aya Sofia, the Wālide Djāmi'i mosque, the Fātiḥ mosque and the Ḡhalaṭa Serayi. The reign of Maḥmūd is further marked by the display of a very skilful diplomatic activity by the Porte, conducted by several very able re'is efendis, like Rāghib Paṣha [q. v.]. They had profited by the lessons of European diplomats and also by the advice of the famous French renegade Bonneval, who lived in Constantinople from 1729 till his death in 1747 and introduced several useful reforms into the army. But in spite of appearances, the Ottoman empire was far from being a strong power as the historian Djewdet Paṣha (*Tā'rikh-i Djewdet*, 1302 ed., i. 63) has very justly remarked; therefore, in the period of anarchy that followed in Persia the death of Nādir Shāh, the Porte consistently declined to interfere in Persian affairs. From time to time minor revolts contributed to weaken the strength of the empire; besides the always dangerous Janissaries, there were several risings in Anatolia (e.g. Ṣarī Beg Oghlu in Aidin in 1739). It was also in the reign of Maḥmūd I that the Wahhābīs first began to give trouble to the government. In Egypt the Mamlūk begs succeeded in ruling the country in practical independence, in spite of the energetic steps taken by Rāghib Paṣha, when the latter was governor of this province. As to foreign relations, it is interesting to note that it was in this reign that France, which became very influential after the peace of Belgrade, succeeded in 1740 in obtaining the celebrated capitulation which became in time the most important document on the extra-territorial rights of foreigners in Turkey.

Bibliography: The principal Turkish sources are the imperial historiographers *Tā'rikh Sāmī we-Shākīr we-Suhbī*, Constantinople 1198 (years 1143—1156), *Tā'rikh-i 'Izzī*, Constantinople 1199 (year 1157—1165) and the beginning of the *Tā'rikh-i Wāṣif*, Constantinople 1219 (beginning in 1166); then there are the reports of certain embassies like the *Tahkik we-Tewfiq* of Rāghib Paṣha on the peace negotiations with Nādir Shāh in 1736, a manuscript which was used by von Hammer. There are also several works still in manuscript on the history of the reign of Maḥmūd I, noted by Babinger, *G.O.W.*, Leipzig 1927, p. 332. The same author (*op. cit.*, p. 289) also quotes a series of monographs in Turkish which deal with the wars of Nādir Shāh. For these wars, a complementary source is the biography of Nādir Shāh by Maḥdī Khān and Hanway, *A Journal of Travels from London through Russia into Persia*, 1753. — General sketches of the reign of Maḥmūd I are given in von Hammer, *G.O.R.*², Pesth 1836, iv. 266—482; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, v., Gorha 1857; p. 629—847; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1911, iv. 409—462. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MAHMÜD II, the twenty-ninth sultan of the Ottoman Empire, reigned from 1808 until 1839. He was the son of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I and was born on the 20th July 1784 (13th Ramaḍān 1199, cf. *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, i. 73). He succeeded to Muṣṭafā IV on July 28, 1808, directly after the tragic events, which had led to the assassination of Salīm III [q. v.]. Maḥmūd himself had a narrow escape from the fate of Salīm. Until his coming to the throne he had lived in seclusion and during the preceding year his intercourse with the

dethroned sultan had undoubtedly exercised a great influence on Maḥmūd's ideas, making him appear afterwards as Salim's avenger.

The grand-vizierate of Muṣṭafā Bairakdār Paṣha, the consequence of the latter's victory, lasted only until November 1808; a revolt put an end to his reformatory tyranny and to his life. The next years were taken up by the war against the Russians, who had occupied the Danubian principalities in December 1806. Endeavouring to continue their conquests on the southern side of the Danube, the Russians met with more resistance from the Turks than had been expected; it was, however, due principally to the increasing danger of a Franco-Russian war, that the Turks obtained the peace of Bucarest, signed on May 28, 1812, and negotiated, on the part of the Turks, by Ḡhālīb Efendi. By this peace, Turkey had only to cede Bessarabia to Russia. In the meantime the new sultan had inaugurated a policy of internal consolidation of the empire, a policy which lasted until the Greek revolt in 1820 began to absorb all the strength of the state. He put an end to the almost independent position of the *a'yān* in Rumelia and to that of the numerous derebeys in Anatolia, especially to the families of the Kara 'Oṭhmān Oghlu in Şarukhān and Aidin and of the Capan Oghlu in the region of Kaışariye [cf. DEREBY]. The sultan's authority was equally reestablished in southern Mesopotamia after the death of Sulaimān Paṣha of Baghdād in 1810. The aid of Muḥammad 'Alī Paṣha of Egypt had to be invoked to repress the Wāḥḥabī power in Arabia; Mekka and Medina were reconquered in 1813 by Tūsun Paṣha [cf. IBN SA'UD]. In Serbia it was only after years of trouble that an arrangement could be attained, which left Milosch as supreme *knez* of this principality. The submission of Bosnia only took place after 1821. On the contrary 'Alī Paṣha of Yanina succeeded in keeping his strong position during this period; not till 1820 were the Turkish troops able to lay siege to Yanina. In Constantinople the sultan took severe measures to maintain order, especially against the dangerous element of the Janissaries.

During this time the diplomatic difficulties with Russia, relating to the interpretation and the execution of the peace treaty, continued, especially with regard to the regime in Moldavia and Wallachia. These difficulties were to become a real danger after the Greek insurrection had broken out.

This insurrection, being in a way a consequence of the autocratic regime of 'Alī of Yanina, and secretly favoured by Russia, began in 1820 with the appearance of Alexander Ipsilanti in Rumania and a feeble revolt in Morea, instigated by Demetrius Ipsilanti. The first reactions on the Turkish side were numerous executions at Constantinople, including that of the Greek patriarch. Then Turkish troops entered Rumania, where Ipsilanti was easily beaten. As this military action provoked sharp protests from Russia, whose ambassador Strogonow left Constantinople, the Turkish troops were soon withdrawn for the greater part. But in 1822 the insurrection in Morea spread quickly; Tripolitza and Corinth fell into the hands of the insurgents. In the same year 'Alī of Yanina was murdered. In May 1823 the Acropolis of Athens was surrendered by the Turks; the latter, however, remained on the whole stronger than the Greeks. In order to avoid all difficulties with Russia, the

Porte had evacuated in 1823 the whole of Rumania, while declaring that, henceforward, she would suffer no more foreign intervention in her internal affairs. But Russia continually came forward with new claims (e.g. the division of Greece into three principalities, after the model of the principalities on the Danube); at the same time the other European powers no longer remained indifferent towards the Greek affairs, partly because public opinion began to be influenced by the philhellenic movement, and partly because they feared that Russia might gain too much profit from the weakness of the Ottoman Empire. In these years Turkey had even to sustain a war with Persia occasioned by Persian incursions into Kurdistan; this war was ended by 1823. During the years 1824 and 1825, while Turks and Greeks were waging a guerilla war by land and sea, and while amongst the Greeks there reigned complete anarchy, nothing decisive happened. The situation was only changed by the death of Alexander I of Russia (December 1, 1825) — which brought to the throne Nicolas I, much more inclined to make short work of the Turks — and by the combined action in Morea of Egyptian and Turkish troops under the command of Ibrāhīm Paṣha, son of Muḥammad 'Alī. This action was crowned by complete success, for Morea was entirely subdued, and on April 23, 1826 the fortress of Missolonghi capitulated after a siege of more than six months.

The Turkish successes encouraged the sultan to realise his long considered project to form a new army, trained and equipped after the European fashion. These new troops were recruited from the Janissaries. Their inauguration took place on June 4, 1826 and occasioned, ten days afterwards, the revolt of the Janissaries which ended in the complete and bloody extermination of these once famous troops (June 16). The extermination of the Janissaries is an act that will always be connected with the name of Maḥmūd II; it made a formidable impression in the whole country and the reform party — who spoke of it as the *waḡ'a-i khairiye* — considered it as the beginning of a new era of prosperity. The first consequences, however, were disastrous; the strength of the empire was weakened to a degree, which made itself felt more and more in the development of the relations with Russia. Hoping to get rid of the everlasting demands of Russia, the Porte had given still more concessions by the convention of Akkerman (September 25, 1826), but soon afterwards followed an agreement between Russia, Great Britain, France and Prussia with regard to the Greek question (July 7, 1827), which prevented the Turks from the suppression of the insurrection. Though directed, since the beginning of 1827, by the fanatical Pertew Efendi as Re'is Efendi, Turkish diplomacy was powerless against this new intervention. One of the consequences of the agreement of the powers was the destruction of the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the Gulf of Navarino, on October 10, 1827, without previous declaration of war, by the English, French and Russian naval forces. Subsequently the diplomatic relations with these countries were broken off, but, when war actually broke out, it was only with Russia.

The Russian war, inaugurated by a declaration of war by Russia (May 7, 1828), was particularly disastrous for Turkey. The Russians immediately

occupied Rumania and crossed the Danube, while on the Oriental front they took ̲Karş and Akhaltik in the Caucasus. In 1829 the debacle was completed by the occupation of Adrianople by General Diebitch, on August 19. Thus, by the peace treaty of Adrianople of September 14, 1829, the Porte was obliged to make all the concessions required of her. Russia gave back nearly all her conquests, but obtained the payment of a heavy war indemnity. As to Greece, Turkey had to accept the decision of the great powers, which meant absolute independence. In the following years the new frontier and the future relations between Turkey and the new state were regulated by special conventions.

The principal political facts of the nine last years of Maḥmūd's reign were the conflict with Muḥammad 'Alī of Egypt and the Russian intervention, which was its consequence and put Turkey in a state of dependence on Russia. The activity of Muḥammad 'Alī [q. v.] began in 1831 with the invasion by Ibrāhīm Paṣha of the territory of the paṣha of Akka; this town was besieged and fell in May 1832. Within a short time Damascus and Aleppo also submitted to Ibrāhīm. The military measures of the sultan were unable to stop the advance of the Egyptian troops, who marched from Syria into Asia Minor; the Turkish General Raṣīd Paṣha was beaten by them in the battle of ̲Konya (December 21, 1832) and was himself made a prisoner. The Porte then was obliged to accept the aid offered by Russia and the mediation of France, the result of which was an agreement, concluded on April 8, 1833 at Kutāhiya, with Ibrāhīm Paṣha; Muḥammad 'Alī had to be recognised as paṣha of Syria while the province of Adana was given to Ibrāhīm. In the meantime Russian troops had been landed in the Bosphorus. These were only withdrawn after the conclusion of the notorious treaty of Hunkār Iskelesi, signed on July 4, 1833 between Turkey and Russia. The treaty was a defensive alliance and contained a secret clause by which Turkey undertook to prevent any eventual enemies of Russia from entering into the Black Sea. Thus Turkey became still more politically linked to Russia, without the other powers being able to hinder this.

On the other hand Maḥmūd continued with tenacity the consolidation of his authority in the interior. The principal agent of this policy was the former grand-vizier Raṣīd Paṣha, appointed governor of Siwās after his return from Egyptian captivity. He succeeded in establishing order in eastern Anatolia and in Armenia, especially by subduing the Kurdish tribes. After his death, in 1836, he was replaced as ser-asker by Ḥāfiẓ Paṣha. The latter, unlike Raṣīd, was in favour of the introduction of modern tactics into the Turkish army; in his successful expeditions in the north of Mesopotamia he was accompanied by the Prussian lieutenant von Moltke, one of the army instructors who had been sent by the King of Prussia. These military measures of Maḥmūd had also in view the strengthening of the frontier on the Syrian side, in order to be prepared for a new conflict with Muḥammad 'Alī. This event happened only after 1838, when Khusrāw Paṣha [q. v.], the zealous reformer and ancient enemy of the Egypt, came again into power as president of the new Turkish cabinet. The next

year Ḥāfiẓ Paṣha, appointed again as ser-asker in Kurdistan, crossed the Euphrates and occupied 'Aintāb, but he was completely beaten by the Egyptians under Ibrāhīm Paṣha, in the battle of Nizib, on June 24, 1839. This battle left Turkey again in a desperate condition, just a week before the death of Maḥmūd himself.

During the same period the sultan had to suppress dangerous and repeated revolts in Albania and Bosnia; the situation in Serbia had remained quiet after a *khatt-i sharif* of 1830. In 1837, the situation in the interior had become sufficiently stabilised for Maḥmūd to undertake a journey in his European provinces, which journey was an unheard of breach with the traditional customs of the Ottoman rulers. It was to be one of his last public acts. Maḥmūd died on July 1, 1839 at Constantinople in his palace of Çanlīdjā, above Scutari.

It is quite clear, from the many descriptions we possess of this sultan, that he was a strong personality, who made his own ideas prevail in the government of his empire. In his immediate entourage only few first rate men were to be found. But the task which Maḥmūd had set himself, of reforming the empire after the European model was nearly super-human in the extremely unfavourable political circumstances that prevailed during his reign. To which must be added the enormous difficulties presented by the traditional institutions and views existing in all ranks of the Turkish people of those days (cf. e.g. the severe judgement by von Moltke, p. 434 *sqq.*). Maḥmūd has often been compared, as a reformer, with Peter the Great, though the conditions were quite different. On the other hand he has been blamed for having commenced his reforms where he should have finished ("par la queue"), for demolishing things existing without being capable of constructive activity; especially in Turkey of to-day Maḥmūd is judged severely (cf. Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, London 1926, p. 237 *sqq.*). It is very probable, however, that without the drastic measures of this sultan, the following period of the *Tanzīmāt* [q. v.] would have been an impossibility (cf. Rosen, i. 300 *sqq.*). The most important reform was that of the army; it brought about the extermination of the Janissaries, but the formation of an army after the European fashion did not succeed till much later; the most zealous reformers, such as Khusrāw Paṣha, had only very vague ideas about what it really meant. The most useful work was done by the Prussian military instructors. By sending young officers to military schools in Western Europe, Maḥmūd prepared, however, a more efficient reorganization. In the government system there gradually developed a cabinet of ministers of state after the Western fashion; at a certain period in 1837, the ancient title of *sadr-i a'zam* was even temporarily abolished, and the ministers received the new title of *wakil*. Moreover, by a *firmān* of October 1826, Maḥmūd had opened the way to the development of a better and more dignified position of the state functionaries; this *firmān* abolished the sultan's right of confiscating the possessions of the functionaries after their death. It was, however, a long time before a new corps of real and loyal functionaries came into existence. The men whose services Maḥmūd was obliged to use were too often highly corruptible, a circumstance of which the other powers,

especially Russia, took advantage in a large degree.

Maḥmūd II lies buried in the *türbe* that bears his name; it was constructed in Stambul on the Diwān Yolu by his son and successor ‘Abd al-Majjid.

Bibliography: The Turkish historical works deserve more attention than has been paid so far to them. The more accessible ones are: Djawdat Pasha's *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1303, vol. ix—xii., comprising the period from 1223 to 1241, and its continuation, the *Ta'rikh* of Aḥmad Luṭfi, Constantinople 1290—1306, vol. i—vi., comprising the period from 1241 to 1255. Other printed sources are: Abū Bakr, *Waḳ'a-i d̲j̲ed̲ide*, Constantinople 1332; *Ta'rikh-i Aṭā*, Constantinople n. d.; Maḥmad As'ad, *Üss-i Zafer*, Constantinople 1243, a monograph on the extermination of the Janissaries; Maḥmad Thü-reiṣā, *Nukhbat al-Waḳā'ir*, Constantinople (cf. also Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 387). European general treatments of this period: Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vii., Gotha 1863, p. 561 *sqq.* (until 1812); Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, Leipzig 1866, vol. 8 (after 1826); Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, v., Gotha 1913, p. 182—387. A valuable contemporary source is H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, Berlin 1883. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MAHMÜD I, NĀṢIR AL-DĪN, was Sulṭān of Bengal from 1446 to 1460. When the ferocious tyranny of Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh, grandson of the usurper, Rādjā Kāns, or Ganesh, could no longer be borne, he was put to death, and Nāṣir Khān, one of his amirs, seized the throne, but after a reign of one week was slain by his amirs, who would not submit to one of their own number. Their choice fell on Maḥmūd, who was a descendant of Ilyās, the founder of the old royal house, and he was raised to the throne. He reigned with justice and clemency for twenty-six years, and restored and beautified the city of Gawr. On his death in 1460 he was succeeded by his son Barbak Shāh.

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MAHMÜD II, NĀṢIR AL-DĪN was the third of the Habashī, or African Sulṭāns of Bengal. He succeeded his father in 1494, but was a mere puppet in the hands of one minister after another. His first minister, an African entitled Habash Khān, was slain by a rival, another African known as Malik Badr the Madman, who afterwards slew Maḥmūd, he having occupied the throne for no more than six months, and usurped the throne.

Bibliography: See MAHMÜD I of Bengal. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMÜD III, GHİYĀTH AL-DĪN, was one of the eighteen sons of 'Alā' al-Dīn Husain Shāh of Bengal. He remained loyal to his eldest brother, Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh, throughout his reign, but after his death slew his son, 'Alā' al-Dīn Firūz Shāh, in 1533, and ascended the throne. During a troubled reign of five years he never ruled the whole of Bengal. Shīr Khān Sūr, who ultimately ascended the throne of Dihli, was already powerful in Bihār, and allied himself to Maḥmūd's rebellious brother-in-law, Makhdūm-i

'Ālam, who was governor of Hājdjīpūr. Shīr Khān defeated an army sent against him by Maḥmūd, but Makhdūm was less fortunate, and was slain in another battle. Shīr Khān then forced the Teliyāgarhi defile, invaded Bengal, and besieged Maḥmūd in Gawr in 1537. Maḥmūd appealed to Humāyūn Shāh of Dihli for aid, and Shīr Khān was recalled to Bihār by a rebellion in that province, but left his son Djalāl Khān to continue the siege of Gawr. In April, 1538, Maḥmūd was forced to evacuate Gawr, and fled, leaving his capital and his sons in the hands of Djalāl Khān. Shīr Khān, returning from Bihār, then pursued Maḥmūd, overtook him, forced him to a battle, and defeated him. Maḥmūd was wounded and fled, and nothing more is known of him.

Bibliography: See MAHMÜD I of Bengal. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMÜD, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, the fourteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was raised to the throne at the age of twelve on the death of his father, Muḥammad III, on March 22, 1482, and remained under tutelage throughout his reign of thirty-six years. The ascendancy of his first minister, Malik Ḥasan Bahri, Nizām al-Mulk, who had been responsible for the death of Maḥmūd Gāwān [q.v.] was distasteful to the Foreign amirs of the kingdom, at the head of whom was Yūsuf 'Adil Khān of Bidjāpūr, and the assassination of this minister, ordered by the young king, embittered the relations between him and the Dakani party, which attempted to dethrone him in 1487. The plot was discovered and frustrated, and was followed by a massacre of the Dakanis, ordered by the king. But the youth could not stand alone, and was completely dominated by his next minister, Kāsim Barid al-Mamālik, a Turk. In 1490 Aḥmad Nizām al-Mulk, governor of Djunnār and son of Malik Ḥasan Bahri, proposed to Yūsuf 'Adil Khān and Faṭḥ Allāh 'Imād al-Mulk of Berār that they should proclaim their independence of the king of the Dakan, and both accepted the proposal. In the numerous wars of the reign Maḥmūd was no more than a figure-head, being carried into the field by his minister, who issued orders without any pretence of consulting his nominal master's wishes. Maḥmūd made more than one attempt to free himself from the control of Kāsim Barid al-Mamālik, and of his son Amir 'Alī, who succeeded him in 1504, but each attempt resulted only in the tightening of his bonds. In 1512 Sulṭān Kūltī Kutb al-Mulk, who had been appointed governor of Telingāna in 1494, followed the example of the other provincial governors and declared himself independent, and in 1518 Maḥmūd died, worn out with debauchery. Four puppets followed him on the throne of Bidar, and his line was finally extinguished in 1527, when Amir 'Alī Barid al-Mamālik assumed the royal title in Bidar.

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MAHMÜD, NĀSIR AL-DIN, Sultān of Dihlī, was the son of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish by the daughter of Kutb al-Dīn Aibak [q. v.]. In 1246, when the nobles at Dihlī were growing weary of the sloth, incompetence, and tyranny of Mas'ūd, Mahmūd, then about 18 years of age, was governor of Bahraich, and hastened secretly to the capital when he learned that the throne was likely to become vacant. On June 10, 1246, Mas'ūd was deposed and thrown into prison, where he died shortly afterwards, and Mahmūd, his uncle, was enthroned in the Green Palace. He was an amiable and pious prince, with a taste for calligraphy, which he displayed in making copies of the *Qur'ān*, but as a ruler he was a mere cipher. He was well served by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, whose daughter he married, and who ultimately succeeded him on the throne. Balban restored the royal authority in the Pandjāb, the Dūāb, Mewāt, Multān, Nāgawr, and northern Mālwa, but his enemies had been busy during his absence from court, and on his return attempted to assassinate him. He frustrated this design, but was banished from court. The nobles soon grew weary of the arrogance of the eunuch Raihān, who had supplanted him, and Balban and other nobles assembled their troops at Bhātinda. Raihān and the king marched against them, but as most of the nobles in the royal camp were in sympathy with Balban, who hesitated to attack the king, serious hostilities were avoided, and the royal army retreated. The nobles at court now prevailed upon the king to dismiss Raihān, who was banished, first to Budāun, and afterwards to Bahraich, a reconciliation between the king and Balban was effected, and they returned together to Dihlī in January, 1255. Raihān was soon discovered to be in communication with Kutlugh Khān of Bayāna, who had secretly married the king's mother, and the eunuch was captured and put to death. In 1256 Mahmūd and Balban marched against Kutlugh Khān, who fled, and when he was pursued, in 1257, into Sirmūr, again fled and took refuge with Kishlū Khān, the rebellious governor of Multān and Uṭch. Balban marched against the rebels, but they evaded him and marched on Dihlī. Finding, however, that preparations had been made to receive them, and that Balban was menacing their retreat, they fled, and in 1259 joined an army of Mughuls which was invading the Pandjāb. It was feared that the Mughuls would attack Dihlī, but they retired without crossing the Satlādj. Order was then again restored in the Dūāb, and in the following year the Meos of Mewāt expiated by a terrible punishment a long series of crimes. Their country was ravaged, and 250 of their principal men were brought to Dihlī and put to death with torture. In a second expedition 12,000 of them, men, women, and children were put to the sword. Meanwhile negotiations had been in progress with Hulāgū Khān at Tabriz, and in 1260 a Mughul envoy reached Dihlī and promised, in his master's name, that raids into India should cease. At this point a hiatus of nearly six years occurs in the history of the Muslims in India, and the next fact which is recorded is that Mahmūd died on Feb. 18, 1266, and was succeeded by Balban.

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G. S. A. Ranking; Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, text; all in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Muḥammad Kaṣim Firishtā, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay lith. ed. of 1832. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMÜD II, NĀSIR AL-DIN, was the grandson of Firūz Shāh, of the Tughluḳ dynasty, and was placed on the throne of Dihlī on March 8, 1393, on the death of his elder brother Humāyūn (Sikandar Shāh) and was never more than a puppet in the hands of intriguing ministers. The eunuch Sarwar, deputed by him to quell a Hindū rebellion in Awadh, received the title of Sultān al-Shārk, and never returned to Dihlī, but established his independence in Djaunpūr. Another *amir*, Sarang Khān, became virtually independent in the Pandjāb, and the minister Sa'adat Khān, resenting his supersession by Muḥarrab Khān, set up Mahmūd's cousin Nuṣrat as a rival king within the narrow limits of the kingdom of Dihlī. In 1398 Mallū, the brother of Sarang Khān, murdered Muḥarrab Khān and assumed complete control of Mahmūd, who conferred on him the title of Iqbal Khān. Nuṣrat Shāh was then driven into the Dūāb, but the kingdom of Dihlī was in a state of utter confusion when, in October, 1398, news was received that the *Amir* Timūr [q. v.] had crossed the Indus and taken Multān. He reached Pānipat on Dec. 2, and meanwhile the capital had been filled with fugitives, fleeing before him. The resources of the kingdom were so restricted that no adequate preparations could be made to resist him, and Mahmūd and Mallū were filled with terror; but such troops as could be collected were assembled within the walls, and on Dec. 15, the king and his minister marched forth to meet the invader, who had crossed the Djamna from his camp at Lonī. They were utterly defeated, and fled by night, Mallū to Baran in the Dūāb, and Mahmūd to Guḍjarāt, and afterwards to Mālwa. Timūr left Dihlī on Jan. 1, 1399 when his work of plunder, devastation, and bloodshed was finished, and Mahmūd's rival, Nuṣrat Shāh, occupied the ruins of the capital, but was expelled by Mallū, and driven into Mewāt, where he shortly afterwards died. Mallū returned to Dihlī in 1400, and in 1401 was rejoined by Mahmūd. In 1402 Mallū, carrying Mahmūd with him, marched to Kannawdj to attack Ibrāhīm Shāh of Djaunpūr, but Mahmūd, weary of the domination of Mallū, fled and joined Ibrāhīm, who, however, received him so ill that he again fled, and established himself in Kannawdj. Mallū then made a fruitless attempt to recover Gwāliyar, and returned to Kannawdj in order to recapture Mahmūd, but was baffled by the strength of its defences and returned to Dihlī. He attempted to subdue Khidr Khān of Multān, but was defeated and slain by him in November, 1405. After his death Dawlat Khān Lodi became the virtual ruler of Dihlī, and at his invitation Mahmūd returned to his capital. The rest of his reign was spent in attempts to re-establish his authority in Sāmāna, Sambhal, and Baran, and to punish Ibrāhīm of Djaunpūr for his reception of him when he had fled from Mallū; but he was obliged to conclude an inglorious peace with Ibrāhīm, and his success in other directions was neutralized by the advance of Khidr Khān, who pretended that Timūr had appointed him his viceroy in India, and in 1406 stripped Mahmūd of all his possessions beyond the walls of Dihlī except the Dūāb, Rohtak, and

Sambhal. In 1409 and 1410 **Khiḍr Khān** captured Rohtak, Nārnawī, three towns to the south of Dihli, and Fīrūzābād, and besieged Maḥmūd in his capital, which was only saved by a famine which compelled the invader to retire. In 1413 Maḥmūd died, the last of his line, at Kaithal, after a nominal reign of twenty years.

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MAHMŪD, SHAH SHARQĪ, succeeded his father, Ibrāhīm Shah, on the throne of Dīawnpūr in 1436. In 1443 he obtained permission from Maḥmūd I of Mālwa to punish Naṣr Khān, governor of Kālpī, which was a fief of Mālwa, for breaches of the law and customs of Islām committed by him, but Maḥmūd of Mālwa repented of his complaisance, and war broke out between Mālwa and Dīawnpūr. Hostilities, which were indecisive were terminated by a compromise. In 1452 Maḥmūd Sharqī, on the invitation of some disaffected nobles, attacked Dihli in the absence of Bahlūl Lodi, but was defeated and compelled to retreat to Dīawnpūr. The foolish act of aggression served only to arouse in Bahlūl a sense of the danger to Dihli of the existence of an independent kingdom in Awadh and in 1457 he marched to attack Maḥmūd, who, however, died before he could meet him in the field.

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MAHMŪD I, SAIF AL-DIN, BEGARHA, the greatest of the Sultāns of Gujārāt, was a younger son of Muḥammad I, Karīm, and was born in 1444. In 1458 the nobles dethroned his nephew, Dāwūd, a vicious and depraved youth, and placed Maḥmūd on the throne. The boy immediately displayed great courage and resource in the suppression of a serious conspiracy and rebellion at the beginning of his reign, and in 1461/1462 he marched to the assistance of the youthful Nizām Shāh of the Dakan, whose dominions had been invaded by Maḥmūd I of Mālwa. He compelled the invaders to retire and frustrated a second attempt to invade the Dakan. In 1466/1467 he attacked and defeated the Rādjā of Gīrnār in Kāthiāwār, which had been independent since the capture of the fortress by Muḥammad b. Tughluq of Dihli in 1348, and reduced him to the position of a vassal. In 1470 he again invaded Gīrnār, and on Dec. 4, captured the Rādjā's stronghold and compelled him to accept Islām, thus putting an end to the Čudāsama dynasty, which had reigned in Gīrnār for about 1,000 years. The Rādjā became an amir of Gujārāt, and received the title of Khān-Djāhān, and Maḥmūd founded, near Gīrnār, a new fortress, which he named Muṣṭafā-ābād. He then invaded Kačch and suppressed a rebellion in that province, carrying its leaders, who were com-

pelled to accept Islām, to Muṣṭafā-ābād as hostages. In 1472 he crossed the Rann and marched into Sind, to assist Djām Nanda (Nizām al-Dīn) who was beset by rebels. He crushed the rebellion, and after his return marched to Dwārka, to punish the Rādjā, Bhīm, who had plundered a ship belonging to a Muslim merchant. Dwārka and Bait Shānkhodhar, the robber chief's stronghold, were taken, and a Muslim governor was appointed to manage the small state. Bhīm himself was captured and executed. Maḥmūd's next expedition was against some Malabāri pirates who had harassed the coast near Khambāyat (Cambay), and whose depredations were checked by the capture and execution of some of their number. Rādjā Patālī of Čāmpāner had long encouraged brigandage in the kingdom of Gujārāt, and Maḥmūd now retaliated by raiding some districts of his state. On his return to Aḥmadābād he discovered a plot to depose him, formed by some of his nobles, who were weary of his ceaseless activity, but the malcontents, who were well aware of the dangers which threatened the kingdom, were brought to their senses by his threat to perform the pilgrimage to Makka, leaving his young son as regent. After restoring order in various districts of his kingdom he marched, in December, 1482, to settle accounts with Čāmpāner. The fortress fell, after a siege of two years, at the end of 1484 and the Rādjā and his Minister, having refused, after five months' imprisonment, to accept Islām, were put to death. In 1491 Maḥmūd was disturbed by acts of piracy and aggression committed against his subjects by Bahādūr Gilānī, a rebel in the Konkan, and his protests compelled the nobles of the distracted kingdom of the Dakan to unite for the purpose of crushing the rebel. In 1507 Maḥmūd's fleet, under Malik Aiyāz of Dīu, participated with that of Malik Ashraf Kānsūh, of Egypt, in the victory over the Portuguese fleet, in which the gallant young Lourenço de Almeida, son of the viceroy, was slain, and later in the same year he invaded Khāndesh and placed on the throne of that kingdom his daughter's son, 'Ālam Khān, whose father was descended from the ruling family of Khāndesh, and who ascended the throne under the title of 'Ādil Khān. In this campaign he was opposed by Nizām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar. In 1511 a mission from Shāh Ismā'īl Šafawī of Persia arrived in Gujārāt for the purpose of inviting Maḥmūd to accept the Shī'a faith, but he refused to see the heretics. He had now been ailing for some time, and on Nov. 23, 1511, he died, at the age of sixty-nine (lunar) years, after a reign of rather more than fifty-three years. He was a tall, burly man, of commanding appearance, and was, besides being an able administrator, both warlike and chivalrous. His nickname of Begarha has been variously explained, but it undoubtedly had reference to his capture of the two great fortresses (*garh*) of Gīrnār and Čāmpāner. His elder brother had died of poison, and strange stories are told of his precautions against a like fate. He is said to have gradually absorbed poisons into his system until he was so impregnated with them that a fly settling on his hand instantly died. Butler refers to this strange prophylactic treatment in the lines:

"The King of Cambay's daily food
Is asp, and basilisk, and toad".

He was also distinguished by his voracious ap-

petite. His daily allowance of food was between twenty and thirty pounds' weight, and before going to sleep he placed two pounds, or more, of boiled rice on either side of his couch, so that he might find something to eat on whichever side he awoke. When he rose in the morning he swallowed a cup of honey, a cup of butter, and from 100 to 150 bananas.

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(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMŪD II of Guḍjarāt, was the sixth son of Muzaḥaffar II, on whose death his eldest son, Sikandar, was raised to the throne, but was assassinated on July 12, 1526. The minister then placed on the throne Maḥmūd, who was an infant, in order that he might rule in his name, but Bahādur, the second son of Muzaḥaffar, who had been absent at Dihli and Djawnpūr, hastened back to secure his birthright, and on July 11, ascended the throne at Aḥmadābād and marched on to Čāmpāner, where his infant brother was. He entered the fortress without opposition, and Maḥmūd was dethroned and secretly murdered within the year.

Bibliography: See MAHMŪD I of Guḍjarāt.

(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMŪD III, SA'D-AL-DĪN, of Guḍjarāt, was the son of Laṭīf Khān, third son of Muzaḥaffar II. On the death of Bahādur Shāh Muḥammad Shāh Fārūḳī of Khāndesh was offered the crown of Guḍjarāt, but died on his way thither. The choice of the nobles then fell on Maḥmūd, the heir male, but his cousin, Mubārak II of Khāndesh, in whose custody he was, and who had himself expected an offer of the crown of Guḍjarāt, refused to surrender him, until an army from Guḍjarāt compelled him to do so. The prince was escorted back to his country, and on Aug. 8, 1537, was enthroned as Maḥmūd III, being then only eleven years of age. For the first three or four years of his reign he was a puppet in the hands of powerful ministers, and when he escaped from tutelage proved himself to be weak and inefficient. His attempt, in 1546, to recover Diū from the Portuguese, was a miserable failure, brutally avenged by him on the few Portuguese prisoners in his hands. In 1549 he retired to Maḥmūdābād, where he lived in slothful luxury, ruining his constitution with drugs. On Feb. 15, 1554, he was stabbed, as he lay in a drunken stupor, at the instigation of an attendant named Burhān al-Dīn, who attempted to usurp the throne, but was slain by the nobles. The discovery of an heir was no easy matter, for Maḥmūd, dreading an heir as a possible competitor, had taken the barbarous precaution of procuring an abortion whenever a woman of his harem became pregnant. The choice of the nobles ultimately fell on a young prince entitled Raḍī al-Mulk, the great-grandson of Shakar Khān, a younger son of Aḥmad I, and he was raised to the throne under the title of Aḥmad II.

Bibliography: See MAHMŪD I of Guḍjarāt.

(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMŪD I, KHALDJI, of Mālwa, was the son of Malik Mughth, sister's son to Dilāwar Khān, the first independent Sultān of Mālwa. On May 12, 1436, Maḥmūd caused his cousin, Muḥammad Ghūrī, a debauched and barbarous prince, to be poisoned, frustrated an attempt to enthrone his young son, Mas'ūd, and offered the crown to his own father, Mughth, who refused it, whereupon Maḥmūd himself ascended the throne. He was beset by difficulties, and after quelling a rebellion raised on behalf of Aḥmad, a Ghūrī prince, repelled an invasion by Aḥmad I of Guḍjarāt, who attempted to restore Mas'ūd to his father's throne. A pretender was set up in Čanderī, and died while Maḥmūd was besieging the fortress, but he was obliged to turn immediately against Dongar Singh of Gwāliyar, who had taken advantage of the disturbed state of Mālwa to invade the country. He expelled the Hindūs and returned to Māndu, whence he was summoned, in 1440, by a faction among the nobles of Dihli, who offered him the throne. He marched to Tughluḳābād, but his partisans failed him, and he was met by the army of Muḥammad Shāh the Saiyid, under Bahlul Lodi. After some indecisive fighting he agreed to retire, assenting the more readily owing to news of a serious rebellion in Māndū. On his return he found that the rebellion had been suppressed by his father, and in 1442 he invaded Mewār to punish the Rānā for the assistance which he had given to the pretenders who had troubled the early years of his reign. He had considerable success in the campaign, but retired without attempting to besiege Čitor. On his return to Māndū he quarrelled with Maḥmūd Shāh Sharḳī [q. v.] of Djawnpūr, regarding Naṣir Khān, the turbulent ruler of Kālpi, but after an indecisive campaign the two kings made peace on the basis of a compromise. In October, 1446, he again invaded Mewār, extorted some tribute from the Rānā, established his own authority in Ranthambhor, compelled Awhad Khān of Biyāna to do homage and pay tribute, and collected tribute from the Rāḍjā of Kota. He left a force to besiege Čitor, but the siege was not formed. In 1450 he invaded Guḍjarāt to establish his claim to the allegiance of Kanak Das, Rāḍjā of Čāmpāner, but gained nothing except an instalment of tribute from the Rāḍjā, and in the following year he suffered a severe defeat during a second invasion of Guḍjarāt. In 1451 he subdued the turbulent Hāra Rāḍjputs on his northern frontier, and later in the year invaded Berār and besieged Māhūr, but retired when the Bahmanī king marched to its relief. In 1455 he again invaded Mewār, recaptured Adjmer, collected tribute from minor chieftains, and harassed and plundered large tracts in Rāḍjputānā. In 1461 he was induced to invade the Dakan, where he defeated the army of the boy-king, Nizām Shāh, and besieged him in his capital, but was obliged to retire by the news that Maḥmūd I of Guḍjarāt was marching to the assistance of Nizām Shāh, and suffered severely at the hands of the Korkūs of the Melghāt during his retreat. He invaded the Dakan in the following year, but before he could effect anything was again obliged to retire by Maḥmūd I of Guḍjarāt. In the same year Kherla, a fortress of Berār held by him, was taken by the officers of the Bahmanī king, but he succeeded in recovering it. In 1466 he again invaded Mewār, but though he defeated Rānā

Kumbha in the field he failed to take his capital by surprise, and returned to Māndū. In 1468 he marched to Čanderī, and his officers captured and destroyed the fortress of Karahra. On his way back to Māndū he suffered severely from the heat, and on June 1, 1469, he died, at the age of sixty-eight. He was the greatest of the Muslim kings of Mālwa, and under him the kingdom reached its greatest extent. The "column of victory" at Čitor is said to commemorate Rānā Kumbha's victories over Maḥmūd I of Guḍjarāt, and Maḥmūd I of Mālwa, but if this be so it is more mendacious than most lapidary inscriptions, for the successes of Mewār against Mālwa were gained by Sangrama against Maḥmūd II, not by Kumbha against Maḥmūd I. Maḥmūd's fame had reached distant Egypt, for he received an envoy from the phantom 'Abbāsīd *Khalīfa*, who formally recognized him as Sulṭān of Mālwa. He was a zealous Muslim, and restored the use in all public offices of the inconvenient lunar calendar of Islām, and, while he gloried in his successes against the "infidels", was careful to excuse himself for his attacks — often unjustifiable — on sovereigns of his own faith.

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(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMŪD II, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN, *Khalḍjī*, of Mālwa, was raised to the throne on May 2, 1511, on the death of his father, Nāṣir al-Dīn *Khalḍjī*. The early days of his reign were disturbed by rebellions on behalf of his brothers, and of other pretenders, and he was once driven from his capital, but was enabled to return and expel the rebels by the assistance of Mednī Rāy, with a force of Rāḍjpūts. The king soon had reason to repent of having accepted their aid, for Mednī Rāy assumed the place of minister, and the dominance of the Hindūs alienated and disgusted all the Muslim nobles of the kingdom. Bihḍjat *Khān*, governor of Čanderī, openly espoused the cause of a pretender, and Maḥmūd, while engaged in correspondence with him, was disturbed by news of a revolt in his capital and of the invasion of his kingdom by Muẓaffar II of Guḍjarāt, but the revolt was suppressed, and the invader was recalled to Guḍjarāt by domestic disturbances. After protracted negotiations the pretender fled, and Bihḍjat *Khān* received Maḥmūd at Čanderī and endeavoured, but in vain, to free him from the influence of the Hindūs. Maḥmūd returned to Māndū early in 1514 and fell entirely under the control of the Rāḍjpūts, at whose instance he put to death many of the Muslim nobles of the kingdom. The arrogance of the Hindūs at length became intolerable, and in 1517 Maḥmūd fled to Guḍjarāt and sought aid of Muẓaffar II, who led an army into Mālwa to restore his authority, captured Māndū, and massacred the Rāḍjpūts who had held it. The rest of the Rāḍjpūts in the state established themselves on its northern border and transferred their allegiance to Rānā Sangrama of Čitor. Muẓaffar retired to Guḍjarāt leaving 10,000 horse to assist Maḥmūd, and Maḥmūd besieged Gāgrawn, held by Hemkaran

for Mednī Rāy. The Rānā marched to its relief, and Maḥmūd, turning aside to meet him, suffered a severe defeat, and was wounded and captured. Sangrama received him courteously, but compelled him to surrender his crown jewels. He might now have annexed Mālwa, but, fearing to arouse the hostility of every Muslim ruler in India, made a virtue of necessity, and replaced Maḥmūd on his throne. A few years later Maḥmūd harboured and encouraged Čānd Khān, brother of Bahādur Shāh of Guḍjarāt, and a pretender to his throne. Bahādur invaded Mālwa and besieged Māndū. Maḥmūd's sloth and negligence infected his army, and on March 17, 1531, Bahādur captured the city, and Maḥmūd appeared before him. Mālwa was annexed to Guḍjarāt, and Maḥmūd and his family were sent towards Čāmpāner, to be imprisoned there. On April 12 the camp was attacked by a force of Bhils and Kolis, and Maḥmūd's guards, fearing a rescue, put him to death. His seven sons were conveyed to Čāmpāner, and nothing more is known of their fate.

Bibliography: See MAHMŪD I of Mālwa. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMŪD B. ISMĀ'ĪL. [See IBN KĀDĪ ŠIMĀWNA.]

MAHMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MALIKSHĀH, a Saldjuḳ ruler in the 'Irāk (511—525 = 1118—1131), ascended the throne as a boy of 13, being the eldest of his father's five sons. To his misfortune, his trusted advisers only troubled about their own interests and made the young Sulṭān take various steps which were fatal to the prosperity of his reign. Anuṣharwān in al-Bondārī mentions no fewer than ten such fatal mistakes; the result was that even in the early years of his reign several ambitious Turkish emirs were in open rebellion while his father's Great Ḥāḍjib 'Alī Bār, who, during the latter's illness, had had and still retained control of the vast treasures which the latter had hoarded up, dissipated them in a very short time and let the young Sulṭān lead a gay life. Especially dangerous to him were the atābegs of his brothers Mas'ūd and Toḡhrīl, who found the opportunity a favourable one to dispute the sulṭānate on behalf of their infant protégés. The result was that in 513 (1119) Sandjar, the Sulṭān's powerful uncle, was forced to interfere and marched on al-Raiy after an attempt to appease him had failed. Maḥmūd was then forced to allow matters to come to an open fight but his troops were defeated at Sāwa [q. v.] and nothing was left for him but to go to the victor and accede to the demands made by him. Fortunately Sandjar, whose mother was Maḥmūd's grandmother, was favourably disposed to his nephew and announced himself content to add to his territory a few districts, e. g. al-Raiy, but otherwise received Maḥmūd in a friendly fashion and even gave him one of his daughters in marriage. Thereupon he retired and left Maḥmūd without his help to make the best of the difficulties that faced him in the 'Irāk. These were bad enough, for the Atābeg of Mas'ūd, whom Ibn al-Aṭhīr calls Aiyaba Djuyūsh-beg (cf. *Recueil*, ii. 132, note), in conjunction with the unruly Malik al-'Arab Dubais [q. v.] was plotting to proclaim his protégé Sulṭān. The plan failed however: Aiyaba's troops were routed at Asadābād (514) and Mas'ūd's unlucky vizier, the celebrated Arabic poet al-Tuḡhrā'ī [q. v.], was captured and soon afterwards put to death on the pretext

that he was an infidel. The two brothers readily made friends again as Mas'ūd was still a mere child; Aiyaba escaped, was afterwards pardoned by Maḥmūd, but lost to Aksonkor al-Bursukī [q.v.] the governorship of Mōshl which he had previously held. Dubais was preparing the Sultān still further trouble and soon found this opportunity, because Toḡhrīl, who with his Atābegs had meanwhile been given the province of Arrān as *ikhān* could not withstand the Georgians there, who had taken Tiflis in 515 (cf. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i. 365; Matthias of Edessa, ch. 230—232; Ibn al-Fāriḳi in Ibn al-Kālānisi, ed. Amédroz, p. 205), and came to the 'Irāk to seek help from Maḥmūd. The latter himself took the field against the Georgians without doing much and Toḡhrīl, who had now returned to his province, soon received a visit there from Dubais, who persuaded him to set out to the 'Irāk against the caliph al-Mustarshid. As they had no success in this enterprise, they went to Sandjar to lodge complaints against the Caliph and Maḥmūd. Sandjar thereupon went to al-Raiy and sent an invitation to Maḥmūd to come to answer the charges (522 = 1128). Maḥmūd was received with honours and instructed to restore Dubais to his territory in Hilla while Toḡhrīl and Mas'ūd who was also with him, went off with Sandjar. Maḥmūd however did not find the caliph inclined to tolerate Dubais in his neighbourhood, and the Sultān withdrew his claims for a sum of 100,000 dinārs and went to Hamadhān. There had been trouble between Maḥmūd and the Caliph before and in 520 (1126) for example there had been open fighting in the streets of Baghdād between the Arabs and the Sultān's Turkish troops. In all these circumstances Maḥmūd proved unequal to his task; while he left the business of government to his viziers, among whom al-Sumairami and al-Dargazīnī (or al-Anasābādī as Ibn al-Athir always has it) were the most prominent, he spent his time with his hawks and hounds, which, according to Mirkhwānd, were 400 in number and wore jewelled collars and coverings embroidered with gold. It became worse when he devoted himself to sensual pleasures and as a result of his sexual excesses fell ill and died at Hamadhān at the early age of 27 (Shawwāl 15, 525 = Sept. 10, 1131). Nevertheless he was by no means an insignificant figure; he had a good acquaintance with Arabic and was celebrated in a long panegyric by Ḥaiṣa-Baiṣa [q.v.]. Ibn al-Athir lauds his gentleness and emphasises that he never, as Sultāns usually did, laid violent hands on the property of his subjects.

Bibliography: in the article SELDJUKS; cf. also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1299, ii. 519 sq.

MAHMÜD of Ghazna, one of the most famous of Muslim conquerors, was the elder son of Subuktigīn and was born in 969 A.D. In 994 Nūḥ II of Bukhārā appointed Subuktigīn governor of Khurāsān, as a reward for assistance received from him, and Subuktigīn appointed as his deputy his son Maḥmūd, who took Nishāpūr from the Ismā'īli heretics and made it his capital. On his death in 997 Subuktigīn left his throne to his younger son, Ismā'īl, but Maḥmūd marched to Ghazna, defeated his brother, and ascended the throne in 999. Begtüzūn, an *amir* of Mansūr II of Bukhārā, attempted to deprive Maḥmūd of the government of Khurāsān, but failed, and the Sā-

mānid dynasty was shortly afterwards extinguished, its dominions being divided between Maḥmūd and Ilak Khān of Kashghar. The *Khalīfa* al-Kādir now recognized Maḥmūd as king of Ghazna and Khurāsān, and conferred on him the title of Amin al-Milla, and later that of Yamīn al-Dawla, from which his successors are sometimes known as the Yamīni dynasty. Maḥmūd now made a vow to invade India and chastise the infidels every year of his life, and during the remaining thirty years of his life led no fewer than seventeen raids into India. After an expedition in the year 1000 he defeated and captured Djaipāl I of the Panjāb in 1001, and took the town of Ūnd. Djaipāl was released on promising to pay tribute, but would not survive his disgrace, and burned himself to death, leaving his kingdom to his son, Anandpāl. Maḥmūd received the title of Ghāzi, and in 1003 subdued Sistān. Khalaf b. Aḥmad, whom he defeated, saved his life by addressing his conqueror as "Sultān", a title which so pleased Maḥmūd that he bore it ever afterwards, being, it is said, the first Muslim sovereign to do so. In 1004 he invaded the Multān state, and besieged its ruler, Dāwūd, who had adopted the Carmathian heresy, for seven months in his capital. Dāwūd saved his kingdom by abjuring his heresy and undertaking to pay tribute, and Maḥmūd returned to his dominions in time to meet Ilak Khān, who had invaded them, near Balkh. He defeated the invader and put him to flight, but while he was thus engaged Sukhpāl, a son of Anandpāl, who had accepted Islām and received the title of Nawāsā Shāh, recanted and rebelled. Maḥmūd marched towards Bhera, Sukhpāl's capital, but before his arrival there his officers had captured Sukhpāl, who was compelled to disgorge 400,000 *dirhams*, and was imprisoned for life. Maḥmūd then invaded the district of Ghūr, conquered it, and compelled the inhabitants to accept Islām. Meanwhile the princes of India had formed a confederacy to defend their country and their religion, and when Maḥmūd crossed the Indus in 1008 he was met at Ūnd by a great army composed of the troops of Anandpāl and those of the Rājās of Ujjjain, Gwāliyār, Kāliṇḍjar, Kannawḍj, Dihli, and Adjmar. Their combined forces nearly succeeded in defeating Maḥmūd, but after a hotly contested battle he won the day, and the Hindūs fled. The Rājās lost faith in each other, and the confederacy was dissolved. Maḥmūd pressed on to the fortress of Bhavan and the temple of Nagarkot or Kāngra, the gates of which were opened to him after a siege of seven days. The enormous plunder which the temple yielded whetted Maḥmūd's appetite for further exploits of the same nature. In 1009 he again invaded the Panjāb and plundered the country and slaughtered its inhabitants. Anandpāl, who dared not attack him, purchased peace by the payment of an indemnity, a promise of tribute, and an undertaking to allow him unrestricted passage through the Panjāb in future. Dāwūd of Multān had by now relapsed into heresy, and in 1010 Maḥmūd invaded his kingdom, took his capital, and after slaughtering and mutilating great numbers of his heretical subjects sent him to end his days as a prisoner in Ghūr. In 1011 Maḥmūd marched through the Panjāb to the plunder of the wealthy temple of Thānesar. The Rājās fled, and Maḥmūd plundered the temple, the city and the kingdom, and carried off the idol Čakravartin,

with much booty and large numbers of captives, to Ghazna.

In 1012 Maḥmūd's officers subdued Ghardjīstān, and he compelled the Khalīfa al-Kādir to cede to him those districts of Khurāsān which he had not yet occupied, but the Khalīfa returned a stern refusal to Maḥmūd's demand for Samarkand, and Maḥmūd was obliged to apologize for his presumption.

Anandpāl had now died and had been succeeded by his son, Trilokanpāl, a weak monarch who committed the management of his affairs to his son, Nidar Bhīm, or "Bhīm the Fearless". Bhīm reversed the submissive policy of his grandfather, and in 1013 Maḥmūd was obliged to invade the Panjāb in order to keep the road to Hindūstān open. In the spring of 1014 he defeated the Hindū prince in the Margala Pass, captured the fortress of Nandana, and pursued him into Kashmir, but was unable to come up with him, and was obliged to return. A second invasion of Kashmir was equally unsuccessful; he failed to take Lohkot, and in the spring of 1016 he retired, with heavy loss, from his only unsuccessful campaign in India, losing, on his way, many of his men in the flooded Dīhām. In the same year he marched to Khwārizm to avenge the death of his sister's husband, Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn, who had been slain by rebels. He crushed the rebellion and appointed one of his own officers, Altūntāsh, to the government of his new conquest. In the autumn of 1018 he set out on his long meditated expedition into Hindūstān, whither Trilokanpāl and Nidar Bhīm had retired. He crossed the Djamna on December 2 and received the submission of the Rādjā of Baran, 10,000 of whose subjects accepted Islām. He next defeated Rādjā Kulčand of Mahāban, who to avoid disgrace stabbed his daughter and son, and then himself. He sacked and destroyed the splendid cities of Mathurā and Bindrāban and, leaving the greater part of his army there, marched with a picked force, to Kannawdj, defended by seven forts on the Ganges. Its ruler, Rādjiyapāla, fled, leaving his capital undefended, the seven forts were plundered in one day, and the city was sacked. Asnī, further down the Ganges, shared its fate, and Mudjhāwan, "the Fort of the Brahmins", was plundered after its defenders had been slain to a man. Rādjā Čand of Sharwa fled, but this city was sacked, and he was overtaken and defeated on January 6, 1019. Maḥmūd then set out on his return march to Ghazna with a large number of elephants, 3,000,000 *dirham*'s, much other plunder, and captives so numerous that slaves were to be had for two or three *dirham*'s each. On his return he founded at Ghazna his great mosque, the "Bride of Heaven". Rādjā Nanda of Kāliṇḍjar and the Rādjā of Gwāliyār had marched to Kannawdj after Maḥmūd's retreat, and had punished Rādjiyapāla for his cowardly desertion of his capital by putting him to death. They were attempting to form a new confederacy of Hindū princes when Maḥmūd, in 1019, invaded Hindūstān to frustrate their design. He defeated Trilokanpāl on the Rāmganga and then turned to confront Rādjā Nanda, who was marching to meet him with a great army, at the sight of which even Maḥmūd quailed. Nanda, however, was smitten with a sudden panic and fled in the night, leaving his camp to be plundered by Maḥmūd, who obtained, with much other booty, 580 elephants, in addition to 270 already taken

from Trilokanpāl. Then, fearing lest his retreat through the Panjāb should be cut off, he returned to Ghazna. In 1021 he resolved to provide himself with a base for future raids, and having invaded Swāt and Badjāwr and compelled the inhabitants to accept Islām he attacked, but again failed to capture, the fortress of Lohkot, and, raising the siege, marched into the Panjāb. Trilokanpāl was dead, and Nidar Bhīm fled and took refuge with the Rādjā of Adjmar, where he died in 1026. Maḥmūd was thus able to annex the Panjāb, and brought it under his own sway. In 1022 he again invaded Hindūstān and attacked the fortresses of Gwāliyār and Kāliṇḍjar, but left their rulers in possession of them on their promising to pay tribute. On his return to Ghazna he mustered his army, and in 1023 invaded Transoxiana to establish his authority there. The smaller chiefs hastened to pay him homage, the ruler of Samarkand was brought before him in chains and was sent as a prisoner to Kāliṇḍjar, as were also the chiefs of the Saldjūk tribe, 4,000 families of which Maḥmūd, though he was apprehensive of their power, transported into Khurāsān. In 1025 Maḥmūd set out on the most famous of his raids into India, the expedition to Somnāth. The insolent boasts of the Brāhmins had annoyed him, but it was the reputed wealth of the temple that prompted the enterprise. He crossed the Indian desert after elaborate preparations, plundered both Adjmar and Anhilwāra, and reached Somnāth in the middle of January, 1026. Within two days his troops had stormed the ramparts and entered the city, but the temple was more strongly defended, and while he was attacking it he learned that the Hindū princes of Guḍjarāt, who had fled before his arrival, had rallied to the defence of the idol, and were before the city. Leaving a force to continue the siege of the temple, he marched against them, and, after a battle in which he narrowly escaped defeat, put them to flight. Their defeat sealed the fate of the temple, which was almost immediately captured. Maḥmūd plundered it of its vast treasures and broke up its idol, a huge *lingam*. From Somnāth he marched to punish Param Deo, Rādjā of Anhilwāra, for the attempt to relieve the temple, but the Rādjā fled, leaving his stronghold and its treasures to the conqueror. It is said that Maḥmūd was so captivated by the beauty and climate of Guḍjarāt that he was with difficulty dissuaded by his officers from making Anhilwāra his capital, and leaving Ghazna to his son, Mas'ūd. On his return march through the Sind desert his army suffered severely, and after crossing the desert was harassed by the Džāts, but succeeded in reaching Ghazna with its spoils. In 1027 Maḥmūd undertook his last expedition into India, in order to punish these Džāts. He collected a flotilla of boats at Multān, and, owing partly to their superior construction, defeated the Džāts in a naval battle on the Indus, and carried off their families, which they had removed for safety to islands in the river.

The remainder of Maḥmūd's life was devoted to the western provinces of his empire. He wrested 'Irāk, Raiy and Isfāhān from the Buwayhids, invested his son Mas'ūd with the government of the newly conquered territory, and employed himself in establishing order and security on the caravan routes throughout his wide dominions, and in extirpating the heretics whom the Shi'a Buwayhids had tolerated. In 1029 he returned from Raiy to

Balkh, and marched in the spring to Ghazna, where, on April 30, 1030, he died, at the age of sixty-three, worn out with the labours of forty years.

Maḥmūd was far from being the zealous champion of the faith depicted by Muslim historians. Occasionally he encouraged, and even compelled Hindūs and others to accept Islām, but the propagation of the faith was never the primary object of any of his campaigns. Temples were attacked rather because they contained treasure than because they contained idols, and he did not hesitate to employ bodies of unconverted Hindūs, even against his brethren in the faith. He has been described as miserly but he loved money chiefly as the source of power. He adorned Ghazna with noble buildings and his court was in that age the chief resort of poets and men of learning, and was adorned by al-'Utbi, al-Birūnī, 'Unṣuri, Asadi, 'Asdjadi, Minūchihri, Firdawsi, and many other poets and men of letters. His scurvy treatment of Firdawsi is to be attributed rather to the malice of a personal enemy than to the meanness of the king, and the poet's mode of resenting it placed him beyond the pale of forgiveness. Maḥmūd was one of the great figures in Islāmic history, and though his warlike career left him no leisure for the acquisition of learning he knew how to appreciate and reward literary merit in others.

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(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMÜD GĀWĀN, 'IMĀD AL-DIN, Khwādja, was born in A. D. 1405, of a family which had long held high office in the small principality of Gilān, and is said to have taken the name of Gāwān, by which he was afterwards known in India, from Kāwān, his birthplace. He received a good education and as a young man made the pilgrimage to Mekka. While he was there his family fell into disgrace, so that he could not safely return home. Refusing offers of employment in other parts of Persia he became a merchant, and in 1455 sailed from the Persian Gulf for India, and landed at the port of Dābhol. Thence he proceeded to Bidar, the capital of the Bahmanī kings, and was well received by 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmad II, who was then reigning. He received the command of 1,000 horse and was sent to quell the rebellion of Djalāl Khān in Telingāna. His conspicuous success secured his position as one of the leading nobles of the kingdom, and after the death of Aḥmad II in 1457 he received from his son and successor, Humāyūn, the title of *Malik al-Tuḡdijār* ("Chief of the Merchants"), then highly esteemed. During Humāyūn's short reign he was employed in suppressing rebellion and restoring order in Telingāna, and on the king's death, in 1461, was associated by his widow with herself and Khwādja Djahān the Turk in a council of regency. The foreign enemies of the kingdom took advantage of the childhood of the new king, Nizām Shāh, and Maḥmūd Gāwān bore an honour-

able part in repelling the invasion of the Rādja of Urisa, who was forced to pay a large indemnity. Maḥmūd Khaldji I of Mālwa next invaded the Dakan, defeated the army of Nizām Shāh, and menaced the existence of the state. Maḥmūd Gāwān succeeded in enlisting the aid of Maḥmūd I, Begarha, of Guḍjarāt, and with his help defeated and expelled the invader. Nizām Shāh died in 1463, and the kingdom was governed for his younger brother, who succeeded as Muḥammad III, by the same council of regency, but the arrogance and ambition of Khwādja Djahān the Turk so aroused the suspicions of the queen-mother that she ordered her young son to put him to death. She shortly afterwards retired from public life, leaving Maḥmūd Gāwān, now entitled Khwādja Djahān, sole regent. In 1469 he was sent to subdue the Konkan, and to suppress the pirates of that region, and, in a series of campaigns extending over three years, conquered the country and captured Goa, then one of the principal ports of Viḍḡayanagar. On his return to Bidar he was received with great honour and his position as first noble of the kingdom was assured. In 1472 he brought the siege of Belgaum to a successful conclusion, but the chief service which he rendered to the Bahmanī kingdom was the reform of its administration. It had originally been divided into four great provinces, Gulbarga, Dawlatābād, Berār, and Telingāna, to which the name of *ṭaraf* was given, and the power of the *ṭarafdar*, or provincial governor, was almost absolute. He collected the revenue; raised, paid and commanded the army; and appointed all officials, his responsibility to the king being limited to maintaining order, keeping the people contented, remitting to the capital the quota of revenue due, and joining the king, when summoned, with the contingent of troops which he was bound to supply. Even in the early days of the kingdom rebellions raised by provincial governors had not been unknown, but the system had worked well on the whole so long as the limits of the kingdom were comparatively narrow, and the kings were energetic; but the kingdom now stretched from sea to sea, the provinces were unwieldy and the defects and dangers of the old system were apparent to all. Maḥmūd Gāwān divided each of the original *ṭarafs* into two, so that their number became eight. Berār was divided into the two *ṭarafs* of Gāwīl and Māhūr; Dawlatābād into Dawlatābād and Djunnār; Gulbarga into Gulbarga and Bidjāpūr; and Telingāna into Warangal and Rādjamahendri. The powers of the *ṭarafdars* were at the same time curtailed. These reforms were resented by all the old *ṭarafdars*, and by none more than by Malik Ḥasan Bahri, Nizām al-Mulk, *ṭarafdar* of the great province of Telingāna, who was posted to the new *ṭaraf* of Rādjamahendri, and found his power, his influence, and his emoluments reduced by more than half. He was the leader of the Dakanī party and Maḥmūd, though he had done all in his power to end the strife between the Dakanis and the Foreigners, was a foreigner, and was regarded by all as the leader of the Foreign party. In 1481, the royal camp being then in Telingāna, Ḥasan Bahri took advantage of the absence of Maḥmūd's chief supporter, Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān the Turk, who had been sent on an expedition into the eastern provinces of the kingdom of Viḍḡayanagar, to compass the downfall and death of Maḥmūd. The minister's

confidential secretary was induced, by misrepresentation, to affix his master's seal to a folded paper. The paper was blank, and the conspirators wrote, above the deal, a treasonable letter to the Rājā of Urīsa, inviting him to invade the kingdom. The letter was shown to the king when he was drunk, and he at once summoned Maḥmūd, who, though warned by his friends that mischief was afoot, insisted on obeying the order. He was asked by the king what was the punishment of treason and unhesitatingly replied, "Death by the sword". He was then confronted with the letter, and though he declared it to be a forgery the king paid no heed to him, but bade the executioner do his office, and withdrew. Maḥmūd knelt down and repeated the symbol of his faith, and the executioner, Djawhar by name, struck off his head. An order for the plundering of his camp was then issued, and his followers were dispersed. The king was much disappointed by the examination of his late minister's affairs. He had, throughout his official life continued his mercantile transactions, and lived frugally on his profits. His great official emoluments were expended on the troops and establishments which he maintained and on public works, and the balance was disbursed in alms, in the king's name as well as in his own. Muḥammad III understood, too late, the value of the servant whom he had so summarily put to death, and his remorse was bitter. Maḥmūd was a great statesman and public benefactor. Learned himself, he was a munificent patron of learning, and built at Bidar a magnificent college, the ruins of which are still to be seen. The only private property which he left at his death was a splendid library. He is one of the foremost figures in the political history of India, and his death was the cause of the fall of the dynasty which he had served so well, for it destroyed the confidence of the nobles in the town, and hastened the advent of the day when the provincial governors proclaimed their independence.

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(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMÜD PASHA, grand vizier in the reign of the Ottoman Sultān Muḥammad II, often called Welī Maḥmūd Paṣḥa. He was born in Aladja Hişar (Krushewatz) in Serbia, of Christian parents; according to Chalcocondylas, his father was Greek and his mother Serbian. Taken in his youth to Adrianople, he was brought up at the court of Murād II, and began his public career on the occasion of the accession of Muḥammad II in 1451. Soon afterwards he became Beglerbeg of Rūm-ili; according to the historian Ramaḍān Zāde Meḥmed (Küçük Nishāndji) he had been also *Kādīasker* [q. v.]. As Beglerbeg, he took part in the capture of Constantinople. After this event he was appointed grand vizier in 1453; the office had been empty since the execution of Çendereli Khalil Paṣḥa. As grand vizier, Maḥmūd Paṣḥa frequently accompanied the Sultān on his campaigns but in 1456—1458 he was appointed to conduct the operations against the Serbs, while the Sultān

conquered the Morea; in 1459 Muḥammad himself advanced against Serbia which was completely subdued; during this war Maḥmūd Paṣḥa's brother was the leader of the Turcophil party in Serbia. In 1460 and 1461 the grand vizier took part in the expedition against Sinope and Trebizond as commander of the fleet while Muḥammad led the army by land. The capture of Trebizond was mainly due to Maḥmūd Paṣḥa; he was related to a high dignitary of the court there so that some Greek authors talk of treachery (Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaisertums Trapezunt*, p. 279). In 1462, Maḥmūd accompanied the Sultān against the Woiwod of Wallachia, Wlad Dracul and in the following year as commander of the fleet he was sent to conquer Lesbos and forced the Duke of Lesbos to capitulate. In the same year he drove the Venetians out of the isthmus of Corinth. In the Bosnian campaign of 1464, Maḥmūd prepared the way for the Sultān's advance by taking the principal towns of the country. In the war that followed with Mathias, king of Hungary, Maḥmūd forced the latter to raise the siege of Zvornik. In 1466 he aided the Sultān in the campaign which was to put an end to the power of the Karamānoghlu and defeated the Karamanid Ishāk Beg near Lāranda. The latter himself escaped and this fact combined with the too humane treatment which the governor wished to apply to the people of Konya and Lāranda and the intrigues of the second vizier Rūm Muḥammad Paṣḥa, brought the Sultān to dismiss him on the return march to Constantinople. Maḥmūd Paṣḥa then governed the sandjak of Gallipoli for some time. In 1472 he again became grand vizier. The Sultān wished in that year to send him against Uzun Ḥasan but was persuaded by Maḥmūd to send Ishāk Paṣḥa in his place; in the following year he accompanied the Sultān against the Aḳ-Köyünlü, who were finally routed after the Ottomans themselves had suffered the defeat of Beg Bazar. In the same year Maḥmūd was again dismissed; the reason alleged was a lack of zeal in the pursuit of the fugitives. He then retired to the village of Khāṣṣ Koy near Adrianople. Next year he came to the capital on the occasion of the funeral of Prince Muṣṭafā; this opportunity was taken to calumniate him to the Sultān on account of the intimacy which had existed between Muṣṭafā and Maḥmūd Paṣḥa. This was sufficient to get him imprisoned in the castle of Yedi Kule and executed a few days later in Rabī' I, 879 (July—Aug. 1474).

Maḥmūd Paṣḥa was one of the most popular grand viziers. His name still survives in the mosque which he built at Stambul in 868 (1463—64) on a site originally occupied by a church; in the mosque is the *türbe* of the founder. He also erected a *medrese*, a *meḥkeme*, a *meḥteb*, a well and a *hammām*. There is a legendary story entitled *Menāḳib-nāme-i Maḥmūd Paṣḥa*, in which his unjust execution is specially emphasised (printed in Fr. Dieterici, *Chrestomathie Ottomane*, Berlin 1854); the historian Şadr al-Dīn in his *Tādī al-Tawāriḳh* (i. 557) also devotes a chapter to the *Wāḳf'a-i Maḥmūd Paṣḥa*. Maḥmūd Paṣḥa was the patron of a number of men of letters and scholars, who dedicated their works to him. He was himself a poet but it is uncertain whether he wrote under the *tāḳhalluṣ* of 'Adanī or 'Adlī. There is a *Diwān* of 'Adlī (printed Constantinople 1308) which is generally attributed to Sultān Bāyazīd II but Gibb

(*Hist. Ott. Poetry*, ii. 25 ff.) thinks it should be attributed to Maḥmūd Paṣha.

Bibliography: The accounts in the early Ottoman chronicles: 'Aṣḥik Paṣha Zāde, p. 151—178, 191; *Tawārīkh-i āl-i 'Oṯmān*, ed. Giese, p. 112—115; Orudj Bey, ed. Babinger, p. 72—4, 126, are supplemented by the Byzantine historians Chalcocondylas and Ducas. Cf. also: 'Oṯmān Zāde, *Ḥadīkat al-Wuzarā*, Constantinople 1271, p. 9—11; Thureiṣā Efendi, *Sidjill-i 'Oṯmānī*, iv. 309; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusein al-Aiwānscrāyī, *Ḥadīkat al-Djāwāmī*, i. 191; von Hammer, *G O R²*, i. 434—515; Babinger, *G O W*, p. 25.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MAHPAIKER. [See KÖSEM.]

MAHR (A.), Hebrew *Mohar*, Syriac *Mahrā*, "bridal gift", originally "purchase-money", synonymous with *ṣadāḳ* which properly means "friendship", then "present", a gift given voluntarily and not as a result of a contract, is in Muslim law the gift which the bridegroom has to give the bride when the contract of marriage is made and which becomes the property of the wife.

1. Among the pagan Arabs the mahr was an essential condition for a legal marriage and only when a mahr had been given did a proper legal relationship arise. A marriage without a mahr was regarded as shameful and looked upon as concubinage. In the romance of 'Antar the Arab women, who are being forced to marry without a mahr, indignantly reject such a marriage as a disgrace. Victors alone married the daughters of the conquered without giving them a mahr.

In the pre-Islāmic period, the mahr was handed over to the *walī*, i. e. the father, or brother or relative in whose guardianship (*wilā*) the girl was. Here the original character of the marriage by purchase is more apparent. In earlier times the bride received none of the mahr. What was usually given the woman at the betrothal is the *ṣadāḳ*; the mahr, being the purchase price of the bride, is given to the walī.

But in the period shortly before Muḥammad, the mahr, or at least a part of it, seems already to be given to the woman. According to the Qur'ān, this is already the prevailing custom. By this amalgamation of mahr and *ṣadāḳ* the original significance of the mahr as the purchase price was weakened and became quite lost in the natural course of events. There can be no doubt that the mahr was originally the purchase price. But the transaction of purchasing in course of long development had become a mere form. The remains, however, as they survived in the law of marriage in Islām, still bear clear traces of a former marriage by purchase.

2. Muḥammad took over the old Arab patriarchal ceremony of marriage as it stood and developed it in several points. The Qur'ān no longer contains the conception of the purchase of the wife and the mahr as the price, but the mahr is in a way a reward, a legitimate compensation which the woman has to claim in all cases. The Qur'ān thus demands a bridal gift for a legal marriage: "And give them whom ye have enjoyed their reward as a wedding-gift" (lit. *farīḍa* "allotment of property", Sūra, iv. 28) and again: "And give the women their dowries voluntarily" (Sūra, iv. 3); cf. also Sūra, iv. 29, 38; v. 7; ix. 10.

The bridal gift is the property of the wife; it therefore remains her own if the marriage is

dissolved. "And if ye wish to exchange one wife for another and have given one a talent, take nothing of it back" Even if the man divorces the wife before he has cohabited with her he must leave half the mahr with her (Sūra, ii. 237—238).

Down into the Muslim period the wife was considered after the death of the husband as part of his estate; the heir simply continued the marriage of the deceased. Such levirate marriages are found in the Old Testament also. Muḥammad abolished this custom, which still remained in his time, by Sūra, iv. 23: "O ye, who are believers, it is not permitted to you to inherit women against their will".

3. There was an ample store of traditions about the mahr and these pave the way for the theories laid down by the jurists in the *fiḥh*-books. From all the traditions, it is clear that the mahr was an essential part of the contract of marriage. According to a tradition in Bukḥārī the mahr is an essential condition for the legality of the marriage: "every marriage without mahr is null and void". Even if this tradition, so brief and to the point, is not genuine, a number of traditions point to the fact that the mahr was necessary for the marriage, even if it only consisted of some trifling thing. Thus in Ibn Mādja and Bukḥārī traditions are given, according to with the Prophet permitted a marriage with only a pair of shoes as mahr and approved of a poor man, who did not even possess an iron ring, giving his wife instruction in the Qur'ān as mahr.

A few ḥadīths endeavour to show that the mahr must be neither too high nor too low. From the traditions we also learn what mahr was given in particular cases in the Prophet's time: for example, the bridal gift of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf was an ounce of gold, that of Abū Huraira of 10 ūḳiya and a dish, that of Ṣḥāḥal b. Sa'd an iron ring.

In the ḥadīths we again frequently find the Qur'ānic regulation that in a divorce after cohabitation the woman has the right to the whole mahr.

4. According to Muslim *fiḥh*-books, marriage is a contract (*ʿaḳd*) made between the bridegroom and the *walī* of the bride. An essential element in it is the mahr or *ṣadāḳ*, which the bridegroom binds himself to give to the bride. The marriage is null without a mahr. The jurists themselves are not quite agreed as to the nature of the mahr. Some regard it practically as purchase-money (e. g. *Ḳhalīl*: "the mahr is like the purchase-money") or as an equivalent (*ʿiwaḍ*) for the possession of the woman and the right over her, so that it is like the price paid in a contract of sale, while other jurists see in the mahr a symbol, a mark of honour or a proper legal security of property for the woman.

All the things can be given as mahr that are things (*māl*) in the legal sense and therefore possible to deal in, that is can be the object of an agreement. The mahr may also — but opinions differ on the point — consist in a pledge to do something or in doing something, e. g. instructing the woman in the Qur'ān or allowing her to make the pilgrimage. The whole of the mahr can either be given at or shortly after the marriage or it may be paid in instalments. When the latter is the case it is recommended to give the woman a half or two-thirds before cohabitation and the rest afterwards. The woman may refuse to allow consummation of the marriage before a part is given.

Two kinds of mahr are distinguished:

a. *Mahr musammā*, "definite mahr", the amount of which is exactly laid down in the wedding contract.

b. *Mahr al-mithl* in which the amount is not exactly laid down, but the bridegroom gives a bridal gift befitting the wealth, family and qualities of the bride. This *mahr al-mithl* is also applied in all cases in which nothing definite about the mahr was agreed upon in the contract.

The mahr, becomes the property of the wife and she has full right to dispose of it as she likes. In the case of any dispute afterwards as to whether certain things belong to the mahr or not, the man is put upon oath.

The *Shari'a* lays down no maximum or minimum for the amount of the mahr; but limitations were introduced by the various law-schools; the *Ḥanafis* and *Shāfi'is* insist upon 10 dirhems as a minimum and the *Mālikis* three dirhems. The difference in the amount fixed depends on the economic conditions in the different countries where the *madhhab*s in question prevail.

If the man pronounces a divorce, the mahr must be paid in every case if cohabitation has taken place; but the bridegroom may withdraw from the marriage before it is consummated; in this case he is bound to give the woman half the mahr.

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MAHRA, a land on the southeast coast of Arabia on the Indian Ocean between Ḥaḍramūt, the coast of which is inhabited by the *Qa'āṭi* (Ge'ez), and *Zafār*; the Arabs however and modern geographers include *Zafār* itself, formerly the town only and now the country, the old frankincense region [see *ZAFĀR*], in Mahra, so that Mahra may be said to be the country between Ḥaḍramūt and 'Omān (cf. al-*Istakhṛī*, *B. G. A.*, i. 12, 27; Ibn Ḥawqāl, *ibid.*, ii. 17; al-Mukaddasī, *ibid.*, iii. 53; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, iv. 700; al-Idrisī, ed. Jaubert, Paris 1836, i. 48; Ibn Khaldūn [in Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, p. 132]). This connotation of Mahra seems to have been already known to the Greeks of the fourth century B. C.; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, ix. 4, 2, numbers among the lands of Arabia which yield spices, along with Saba', Ḥaḍramūt and *Qatabān*, a fourth, *Μαμάλι* (var. *Μάλι*). A satisfactory identification of this land, which would also explain the name has not been made. Of the various attempts to explain it, given in the article SABA', in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, coll. 1331 sqq. [cf. the article SABA', iv., p. 6a] that which suggests *Μαμάλι* is a corruption of *Μαυαίος* (*Maivaia*) which Strabo, xvi. 768 gives with the three

South Arabian kingdoms above mentioned, following Eratosthenes — these two authors represent one original source; Eratosthenes and Strabo are two different sources — is certainly wrong. The identification of *Μάλι* with Mahra proposed by A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, p. 92, 263, 266, without however any attempt at proving it and also adopted by Fr. Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, Munich 1926 (I. v. Müller, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Sect. iii., Pt. i., vol. 1) p. 137, is worthy of attention. It was naturally to be expected that the botanist Theophrastus, whose duty it was to give as full a list as possible of lands in Arabia producing aromatic plants, should mention the real land of frankincense, *Zafār* or in a wider sense Mahra, including *Zafār*. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the mention in Theophrastus of a *Mamali* or *Mali*, which is quite unknown, after three well-known names, is remarkable, as it must of course be an important country, fit to be compared with Saba', Ḥaḍramūt and *Qatabān*. Simply for this reason E. Glaser's various attempts to identify it (*Skizze der Geschichte und Geogr. Arabiens*, ii., Berlin 1890, p. 3, 35 sq., 40, 132, 153 sqq., 217), not one of which is tenable (cf. *Realencycl.*, s.v. Saba', col. 1333 and here SABA', iv., p. 5^a), may be discarded. The passage in Theophrastus has been wrongly interpreted as mentioning *Mamali* only as the home of the cinnamon plant (see SABA', iv., p. 5^a and the literature there given to which may be now added: Hommel, *Ethnologie* [= *Grundriss*], p. 517, note 2). Although Mahra is not suggested without certain inherent probability, the question still arises how has it come to be called *Mamali* or *Mali*, which must remain more or less a puzzle. As the first two letters in Mahra and *Mali* are the same, it may be supposed that there is a corruption in the third letter of *Mali*. The name seems to conceal the Greek transcription of Mahra, which in the form *ΜΑΡΙΑ* (from *MAPA*), was corrupted to *ΜΑΛΙ*, because it was of course unintelligible to the Greek copyists, or it might have been altered by a learned editor with gemination of the first syllable to *ΜΑΜΑΛΙ*, especially as this form might seem to him to be superficially supported by the *Μαμάλα κώμη* in Ptolemy, iv. 7, 5. A further corroborating factor is that Theophrastus' description of the hilly country, where the *λιβαννός* grows, with the *ὕψηλόν καὶ δασύ καὶ υἱόμενον*, from which rivers pour down to the plain and which was visible to sailors from the coast, agrees very well with the description of the *χώρα λιβαννοφόρος ὁρεινή τε καὶ δύσβατος* of the land of *Zafār* [q.v.] in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* § 29 (cf. the *ὕψηλὰ καὶ πετρώδη καὶ ἀπόκρημα* § 32, very probably the *Qarā* mountains), and also recalls Carter's statement that nowhere else in South Arabia is there so much running water as in the frankincense country. This undeniable agreement is not affected by the fact that, according to Theophrastus, the frankincense country mentioned by him was in possession of the Sabaeans. The fact that he mentions this land as a fourth with Saba', Ḥaḍramūt and *Qatabān* and at the same time says that the Sabaeans were lords (*κύριοι*) of this frankincense country, suggests that the country which was quite a considerable distance from their original home, had passed to Saba' by direct conquest or automatically with the occupation of the

whole territory of some formerly independent power. This may have been either its ancient rival Ḳatabān, which, although still an independent kingdom, no longer exercised sovereign rights over the frankincense country and about two centuries later lost its independence to Saba', or the ancient kingdom of Ḥaḍramūt, which with the frankincense country was in the time of Juba a part of the Sabaeen kingdom, already ruled by the Ḥimyar (according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii. 52 sq.; see SABA') and to which, certainly in the time of the Periplus, i. e. in the Ḥimyar period of the early centuries A. D., long after the beginning of the dissolution of Sabaeen rule, the frankincense country belonged, but it may however have also done so before Saba' became a great power. Hommel assumes (*op. cit.*, p. 140 and notably p. 655) quite a close ethnic connection between the Ḥaḍramūtis and the Minaeans and he definitely says that the Ḥaḍramūtī Minaeans were those who took possession of the frankincense land, which geographically also appears most natural. No convincing argument can be brought against the evidence of Theophrastus that in his time or in that of his authority, perhaps Androstenes (cf. *Realencycl.*, s. v. Saba', col. 1306), the frankincense country was not independent, but belonged to Saba', so that the latter was already a great power, which possessed the hegemony of South Arabia and numbered its weaker neighbours among its feudatories. The frankincense land only became independent early in the Christian era. That the campaigns of the Sabaeans extended considerably to the east may be deduced from the Širwāḥ inscription (Glaser, N^o. 1000) (cf. Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 658 sq.). On the unjustified alteration in the text (Σάρα) in Theophrastus, see SABA', iv. 6^a (to the literature there quoted may now be added: Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 516 sq. and 653 sq. [in addition to 138]). To support the assumption that the Ḳatabānians occupied the frankincense land, it is not necessary to presume Gebban as a later name of Ḳatabān (in allusion to the Gebbanitae in Pliny, vi. 153; cf. MA'IN; on Glaser's chronological error in the period of Ḳatabānian occupation of the frankincense country, see ZAFĀR, N^o. 4). The expression *Yamanat* in the longer titles of the south Arabian kings of the last epoch means, according to Hommel in *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, ed. by D. Nielsen, Copenhagen-Paris-Leipzig 1927, p. 96, note 5, "perhaps the frankincense coast as the "southland" of Ḥaḍramūt"; it might well be interpreted as a general name of the southern coastlands, at a later date still included in Yemen, in contrast to the lands of Saba', Dhū Raidān and Ḥaḍramūt preceding it in the title.

Sprenger's remark, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammedi*, Berlin 1865, iii. 437: "The Mahrites were called Sachalites by the Greeks", is misleading; the land around the Sachalite Gulf is in the conception of the author of the Periplus and of Ptolemy not only Mahra, but also the land lying east of it and especially the part of al-Šihir in the wider sense lying west of it, the land of the Ka'aiti (cf. the article IOBARITAI in *Realencycl.*). [The *regio turifera* in Pliny, xii. 52 (vi. 161) is probably to be understood as Zafār in the narrower sense but may include Mahra to which alone Glaser refers it (*Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich 1895, p. 125; see at the beginning). The Ἰσθμὸς Ἀραβίας used in Herodotos, ii. 73, in

the story of the phoenix is practically a reference to Mahra (Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 138) although it is not mentioned by name. On the Ἀβαρῆνοι in Stephanus, see below].

The inscriptions which, according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 150, are inscribed on stone pillars on an island off the South Arabian coast (cf. the article RHINNEA in the *Realencycl.*) cannot, as Ritter for example (*Erdkunde*, Vol. viii., Sect. 1., Pt. xii., Berlin 1846, p. 290) thought, be attributed "to the Mahri who were settled in the neighbourhood of Kane" but were probably Minaean (or Nabataean). The position of the emporium of *Kavḥ* which according to the *Periplus*, § 27 and Pliny, vi. 104 belonged to the frankincense country and is also mentioned by Ptolemy, vi. 7, 10 cannot be definitely ascertained. Recently several scholars, following Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 175, C. Landberg, *Arabica*, iv., Leyden 1897, p. 75 sq. and *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, i. (Ḥaḍramūt), Leyden 1901, p. 196 and earlier writers (see the list in *Realencycl.*, s. v. Saba, col. 1330), have again expressed the view that this port is probably to be located at Ḥiṣn al-Ḡhurāb (Nielsen in *Handbuch*, *op. cit.*, p. 8) while Sprenger, *Geographie*, p. 82 sq. had placed it at Bāl-Ḥāf. Since Sprenger, nothing new has been produced in favour of the old view and against his localisation. In favour of the latter is the description in the *Periplus*, § 27 according to which two uninhabited islands, the Ὀρνέων νῆσος ("Bird Island") and Τροβίλλας were 120 stadia distant from Kane. These, according to Sprenger, are the islands of "Ḥalany and Gibus, also called al-Sikka" (to be written: Ḥillāniya and Ḳanbūs also called Saḫā; see Landberg, *Arabica*, iv. 66). Their mention makes certain the reference to Bāl-Ḥāf as the opposite point on the coast from which they are 110 and 130 stadia distant respectively, but not to Ḥiṣn al-Ḡhurāb which, according to Carter, is only a mile from Ḥillāniya. Landberg himself tells us that the island of Ḳanbūs seems never to have been inhabited. The distances from Kane adduced by Glaser from Ptolemy, which besides varying in the manuscripts, naturally yield nothing really convincing in favour of Ḥiṣn al-Ḡhurāb (particularly of "Ra's al-'Aṣida, the equivalent of Cape Kane, west of Kane", according to Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 216; but this promontory of al-'Aṣida is at Bāl-Ḥāf!); these measurements can equally well be made to fit Bāl-Ḥāf. H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Brunswick 1873, p. 225 sqq. who could not yet have known of Sprenger's view, had already called attention to the *k-n* (he transcribes it Kane) occurring in the (third) smaller inscription of Ḥiṣn al-Ḡhurāb (a reproduction in Landberg, *Arabica*, iv., Pl. ix.), and connected it with "Cane Emporium"; J. H. Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxix. (1885), 233 likewise explained it as *Kavḥ*, the harbour of the citadel of al-Ḡhurāb. Even if we readily grant that the uncertain word in the text of the inscription, most recently and probably definitively published and translated by B. Mlaker in *W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiv. (1927), p. 72, really reproduces the name *Kavḥ*, this does not prove, as Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 83 has pointed out, that the ancient seaport lay on the present rocky point of Ḥiṣn al-Ḡhurāb. It must also be remembered that the names of many Arabian harbours have in course of time been transferred to other places in the vicinity, e. g. Zafār [q. v., N^o. 4] and Mirbāt. Landberg's

objection (*Arabica*, iv. 76) that the *Periplus*, if *Κανή* had been Bāl-Hāf, would not have said (§ 29) that after Kane came another gulf running far inland, the *Σαχαλίτης*, but would have mentioned the harbour of Bir 'Alī to the east of it, is not a cogent one. The *Periplus* gives a list of the most important gulfs of South Arabia and the comparatively small bay of Bir 'Alī might easily be overlooked behind the broad Sachalite gulf which runs far inland, especially as the use of the term *Σαχαλίτης* is a fairly elastic one (cf. the article IOBARITAI in *Realencycl.*) and the list of the places on the coast in the *Periplus* is not as a rule scientifically complete and exact but sometimes even gives wrong names (e.g. *Μόρχα*), to say nothing of the fact that in many places on the South Arabian coast, the harbourage conditions have changed since ancient times. Landberg himself (*op. cit.*, p. 65) observes that the promontory of Ḥiṣn al-Ḡhurāb must have had a different appearance in earlier times. M. Hartmann, also, who had previously, *Die arabische Frage (Der islamische Orient*, ii.), Berlin 1909, p. 175, 371 declared for the older views, said later in the very same work, p. 418, 614 that he had now adopted Sprenger's opinion. The *ḡ-n* in the inscription is still not sufficient ground for the conclusion that the identification of *Κανή* with Bāl-Hāf should be rejected in opposition to Sprenger, who himself appreciated the force of this evidence. The form of the name used by Sprenger, Bāl-Hāff (Bul-Hāf), is incorrect however (as also is Glaser's Bā el-Haff; cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramūt*, p. 195); *ḡ* is equivalent to *ibn*. But Sprenger rightly recognised that in this name there is preserved a memory of a son of al-Hāf, the son of Kuḍā'a and ancestor of the Mahra (al-Bakrī, i. 19; *Tādī al-Arūs*, iii. 551; see below).

The Arab geographers had no accurate knowledge of Mahra, nor of Ḥaḍramūt; modern explorers have found out much more about these regions. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa Dīasirat al-ʿArab* (ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884), p. 45 mentions al-Asʿā — which Landberg *Ḥaḍramūt*, p. 158, wishes to restore to al-Ashghā from manuscript preferences — as the capital of Mahra, which, according to Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 87 stretches to the district lying roughly between Damkūt and Rās ʿArbat 'Alī, almost in the centre of the modern coast region of Mahra. On p. 53 he says, as do Ibn al-Muḍāwir and others after him, that the Mahra people also inhabit Soḳoṭrā (on the conversion to Christianity of the mixed population of Soḳoṭrā, see Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 102; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, iii. 36 sq. etc.; further particulars in the article SOḲOTRĀ). On p. 51 sq., he talks of the Mahra tribes and their fighting and on p. 86 sq. of the road from Ḥaḍramūt to Mahra and tells us about the tomb of the Prophet Hūd. This sanctuary on the frontier between Ḥaḍramūt and Mahra is still held in particular veneration and is much visited by the inhabitants of these two lands (a text from Ḥaḍramūt showing this is given in Landberg, *Ḥaḍramūt*, i. 432 sq.). — The Arab geographers include Mahra in the Yemen, e.g. Yāqūt, *Muḥṭarik*, p. 394; see the reference to the Mikhlāf Mahra in Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 700, who in this, his main reference, also repeats the view that Mahra is the name of a tribe and that the correct form is Mahara (a Bālād Maharāt in Mahra is mentioned on iv. 697). It is sometimes more accurately defined as "in extreme (furthest) Yemen", e.g. Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*,

i. 280; ii. 510 (= *Muḥṭarik*, p. 166); iii. 366; iv. 345, 495; *Muḥṭarik*, p. 415. The Arabs speak of a Najd in the land of the Mahra (Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, i. 280; iii. 681; iv. 345, 495, 697; *Muḥṭarik*, p. 394, 415; cf. al-Muḳaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 98; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1980). This is the Najd (or Najdī) which Carter also mentions as a district in which the frankincense especially flourishes, the highland country about two days' journey north of the coast within the latitude which Carter has also defined, although too narrowly [cf. ZAFAR]. The Mahra are also said to be inhabitants of the coastland of al-Shihr [q.v.], for example by al-Masʿūdī, i. 333 and Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 387 and we find the land of Mahra is called al-Shihr (al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 25 = Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 32 sq.; al-Idrīsī, i. 48; Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 132; cf. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, p. 51 and al-Bakrī on al-Asʿā; the statement in Rommel, *Abulfedae Arabiae Descriptio*, Göttingen 1802, p. 32 sq., is obscure). Al-Shihr however in the later and modern use of the name is applied to the coast not only of Mahraland proper but of the land of Zafar also, that is of the frankincense country generally, i.e. the "frankincense coast" which is identified by many modern writers with the Mahra country but at the same time includes the part of the Ḥaḍramūt which adjoins on the west (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 132), i.e. in general the name of the shores of the Gulf of the Moon, finally in a still wider sense, the name of the whole coast between 'Aden and 'Omān.

Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 25, and almost in the same words, Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 32, also al-Masʿūdī, i. 333 sq.; al-Idrīsī, i. 48, 150; Abu 'l-Fidā' (see Rommel, *op. cit.*, p. 33); Ibn Khaldūn (*loc. cit.*) describe Mahra as a desert in which there are no palms and no agriculture and the inhabitants therefore are not acquainted with bread. Carter, like these Arab writers, also emphasises the contrast between the frankincense region and the dreary desert west and east of it and more recent travellers like Bent agree with him. The only possessions of the inhabitants, according to these authorities, are goats and very fine camels, particularly renowned for their swiftness, mentioned also by al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 100, 201; Ibn Hishām, *Ṣira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 963 and the poets as well as the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii. 36; *Kāmūs*, i. 455 and *Tādī al-Arūs (Mahriya)*; the *Lisān* quotes three plural forms: *Mahāriyu*, *Mahārin*, *Mahārā*; on the first cf. Howell, *Grammar*, i. 997, 1000). The camel which Muḥammad chose for himself out of the booty after the battle of Badr had been purchased in Mahra; his governor in the Yemen procured Mahra camels for the Caliph Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik (714—717) (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjā'ib*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 41). Ibn Ḥawḳal (*ibid.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*; cf. al-Idrīsī, i. 48) adds that the Mahra live on meat, milk and its products, and fish (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 100) and that they also feed their camels and goats on fish. Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 700, records a note that the Mahrī camels do not take their name from the land but from the ancestor of the Mahra's, Mahra b. Haidān (cf. al-Djauharī, also *Lisān*, *Kāmūs* and *Tādī*, *loc. cit.*, and Rommel, *op. cit.*, p. 33). According to Landberg, *Ḥaḍramūt*, p. 87, and others the Mahrī riding camels have for long had a bad reputation, as they are really not swift; the best of this kind are said to be those of the Banū

Ṣubaiḥ (N. E. of 'Aden) and of the Dhiyāb. It is doubtful whether we may assume with Landberg that their fame takes us back to a period when the Mahra occupied a great part of South Arabia. In any case, L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-Land und Ḥaḍramūt*, Leyden 1897, p. 77 refers to the "celebrated Mehri riding-camels" which in his time were called *maṭiye* in al-Shihr.

The above mentioned authors and al-Muḥaddasi, *op. cit.*, p. 98 also record that there was frankincense in the country which was exported. Al-Idrisi lays stress on the commerce which was one mode of livelihood of the Mahra. Parts of their land are also reckoned to 'Omān. In 226 (840) Mahra was for a short time tributary to 'Omān. Ibn al-Mudjāwir, who visited Mahra and Soḳoṭrā in 618 A. H. says that the Mahra also inhabit the mountainous country of Zafār and the islands of Soḳoṭrā [q.v.] and Maṣīra. In the division of the Yemen into two parts, Tihāma and Nadjd, according to al-Muḥaddasi, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 70, Mahra with the town of al-Shihr is a dependency of Nadjd (see Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients, Abhandl. für die Kunde des Morgenl.*, iii. 3, Leipzig 1864, p. 109).

Yāḳūt (e.g. *Muḍjam*, i. 154, 280; ii. 175, 510 [= *Mushtarik*, p. 166], 881; iii. 366, 681, 691; iv. 345, 495 [= *Mushtarik*, p. 394], 697), mentions places in or near Mahra and distances on roads from and to Mahra are given by Yāḳūt *Muḍjam*, iv. 626, 700; al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 27 sq. (= Ibn Hawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 17, 33 sq.). — According to Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 132, Ḥaḍramūt and al-Shihr (Mahra) were under one king; in olden times however, al-Shihr had been the land of the 'Ad, the predecessors of the Mahra who had come from Ḥaḍramūt. In the legends of the 'Ad and the prophet Hūd, a part is played by the land of Mahra, poor in water, which adjoined the country of this mythical people (al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 233 sq.); the Mahra call the interior of their country al-Aḥḳāf (cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramūt*, p. 157), where according to tradition (see al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 106, 271 etc.) the home of the 'Ad was located [cf. WABĀR]. Mālik b. Himyar al-Shihr is said to have been the first of the Kaḥṭānis to settle there and he was succeeded by his son Ḳuḍā'a, whose possessions were limited to Mahra and he in turn by his son al-Ḥāf, whose great grandson was Mahra b. Ḥaidān b. 'Amr (Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, iv. 700; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 132 etc.; cf. above). In the early days of Islām (year 12 A. H.), Mahra was one of the rebellious districts against which Abū Bakr and his generals had to wage war; al-Tabarī, i. 1881, 1929 (on the subjection of the Musailima), p. 1963, 1976 sq. (al-'Arfaḍja's campaign against Mahra), p. 1980 sq. (victorious campaign of al-'Ikrima against Mahra); the conquest of Mahra was much facilitated by schisms among the enemies of Islām in the country. The Mahrīs participated in the great campaign of conquest which began under the Caliph 'Umar I, and some settled with other South Arabians in al-Fuṣṭāṭ where a street (*Khiṭaṭ mahra*) bore their name (cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten nach dem Arabischen des Abu 'l-Abbās Ahmed ben 'Alī al-Calcaschandi I, Abh. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxv., 1879, p. 51 sq.; al-Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, iii., Cairo 1914, p. 331).

Of modern explorers F. Fresnel was the first to bring back accurate information about Mahra.

In 1837 he obtained some information about conditions along this coast through his intercourse in Djidda with merchants from Ḥaḍramūt or Mahra (in *Journ. As.*, 3rd Ser., 1838, vol. v. 507 sqq., vol. vi. 529 sqq.); he gave an account of Gishin, the capital of Mahra and the Sultān whose authority did not extend beyond the walls of the city. His description of the boundaries of the country was incorrect. Much more detailed and accurate were the topographical data collected by Captain S. B. Haines, who was appointed in 1834 to make an astronomical and nautical survey of the South Arabian coast from Bāb al-Mandab eastwards (as far as Rās al-Ḥadd). In his *Memoir of the South and East Coast of Arabia* (in *J. R. Georg. Soc.*, London 1845, xv/i. 104 sqq.), he describes the western boundary of Mahra, the Wādī Masīle, which is rich in water and well tilled by the Mahra and contains many villages lying among palm groves. He then gives his short notes on the town of Sēḥūt east of the Wādī and corroborates Fresnel's account of Gishin about which he is the first to give fuller details. C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 287, had already mentioned "Keschin" and the independent *shaikh* there, who was also lord of Soḳoṭrā; he also gives a plan of the harbour from a drawing by an Englishman, whom he had met in Bombay (Pl. xvii.). Haines observes, like later writers, that Gishin is only a wretched little village of at most 300—400 inhabitants, which consists mainly of reedhuts and has only a few stone houses and that the trade there is very slight. He also gives some details of the Mahra people and its tribal divisions, its customs and dress, and in confirmation of Fresnel's observations their attitude to Islām, which only the chiefs profess, while the people are indifferent to the Ḳur'ān and are not even able to perform the daily ṣalāts. He ends by giving the promontories and villages on the coast east of Sēḥūt as far as the eastern frontier of Mahra towards Zafār. The English officers cooperating in this survey of the coast visited only a few points on it, which were practically confined to the Gulf of Gishin because their duty was really confined to surveying the coast west of Mahra. Valuable information about the Mahra is given in H. J. Carter's *Notes on the Mahra Tribe of Southern Arabia with a Vocabulary of their Language*, in *J. R. A. S.*, Bombay Branch, July 1847, vol. ii., p. 339 sqq. Maltzan combined ethnological research with his study of the Mahra language (in the introduction of his edition of *Adolph von Wrede's Reise in Ḥaḍramaut*, Brunswick 1873 [the preface is dated 1870], p. 18 sqq., and 28 sqq., and in his article cited below) but regarding the country itself which he never entered, he knows no more than the English naval officers. The extracts in Ritter, *op. cit.*, xii. 625 sqq., and 635 sqq. he says, are sufficiently accurate according to his own information. The coastlands east of Wādī Masīle to Rās al-Ḥadd, i. e. Mahra, Zafār and 'Omān he however calls the great "terra incognita of Oceanic Arabia". "The names Mahra and Gāra (also written Gara)" by which the two countries on the coast are distinguished, he described as "not clearly defined" (*op. cit.*, p. 28). We now know that these are the Mahra and Ḳarā (the hill-people of Zafār) and the language of the latter is Ḳarawī (Grawī) or Shḥawrī, in modern times also called Ḥakillī, or Shehrāt [cf. ZAFĀR]. Maltzan recognised

that the two peoples are fundamentally different in language, mode of life, and religion from the people of Central Arabia.

Glaser, *Skizze*, ii., p. 26, wrongly identifies *Maṣāla* in Strabo, xvi. 768 (quoting Eratosthenes) with Mahra (*Realencycl.*, s.v. *Saba*, 1334 sqq.). On p. 20 he gives the land of Ḥaḍramūt (after the fall of the "Abyssinian-Arab kingdom") too great an extent (as far as Mirbāt). On his note that the *Ṭawāṣiṭ* of Ptolemy are the hill-peoples of all Mahra cf. *Realencycl.*, s.v. IOBAPITAI. — As a result of the enquiries made by him on his travels in Arabia, he states (*Abessinien*, p. 87) that there are now three different divisions of the Mahra tribes: the eastern is called *Shehrāt* or *Zair* and inhabits, according to his information, the coast from Rās Nūs (55° 17' East Long. from Gr.), according to another authority from the island of Maṣīra, to Rās Ḍarbat 'Alī (53° 3' East Long.); the western that to which the name Mahra is generally applied, stretches from Rās Ḍarbat 'Alī to Sēhūt, while the third group inhabits Soḳotrā (cf. above on Ibn al-Muḍjāwir). — L. Hirsch gives not a little new and valuable information about the people of the southwestern coast. His account of Mahra is based on his ten days' stay (1893) in Gishin (or Gishn; transcribed *Kishin* or *Kishn*; Hirsch writes sometimes [*op. cit.*, p. 48, 50, 52 sq.] *Gischin* and sometimes *Kischin*, like W. Hein and others [p. 2 etc.], he gives "Käschen" in the Index as the Mahri pronunciation which is also given by Jahn [see below]). Of the wretched little capital of the country, he tells us, practically agreeing with Haines before him and Hein and Bent after him, that it consists almost entirely of isolated mudhouses in a ruinous condition and a few ragged tents and reedhuts which, being scattered aimlessly over a wide area, leave irregular wide open spaces between them. Even the palace of the Sultān whose rule over Gishin and Sēhūt and other places on the coast is quite nominal, as he can do nothing without the approval of his Beduins, is a broken down mud building; there is said to be only one building in the town that is kept clean, the house of another Sultān. According to Hein, the most imposing of the mud houses, which are not built according to any system, is that occupied by the reigning Sultān's bodyguard. There is nothing like a regular market or regulated trade there. Even the most rudimentary necessities of life are acquired by barter and money is unknown. From the government buildings a little mosque may be seen. While Maltzan, corroborating Fresnel and Haines, pointed out (*Wrede's Reise*, p. 29), that the Mahra have long been distinguished as heretics from the great majority of the orthodox and indeed can hardly be called Muslims at all, Hirsch says that at least in Gishin and Sēhūt, the Mahra are no less attached to Islām than any other Arabs; he saw them regularly performing their *ṣalāt*. This contradiction may perhaps be explained by the observation already made by Haines on the same question. According to Hirsch the ruling Sultāns or *Shaikhs* are pure Arabs and not Mahra's. In any case the attitude to Islām of Beduins living north of the coast territory is quite superficial. The Sultān of Gishin belongs to a dynasty which has also a kind of suzerainty over Soḳotrā. The Mahra coast, like Soḳotrā is under British suzerainty. Hirsch (p. 76 sq. and on his map) gives the names of several places on the coast east of Gishin. Th.

Bent (*Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 280) notes the striking contrast between the sandy plain of Gishin, which he did not succeed in reaching, and the fertile stretch of the coast of Ḍafār. Shortly before his arrival in Ḍafār (in the winter of 1894—1895) the wālī residing in al-Ḥāfa had been fighting with the Mahra tribes. The coast-town of Raḳhyūt, west of Rāisūt, has a little fort to defend it from the Mahra. Bent gives a more detailed account of the Mahra who live in Soḳotrā [q. v.].

The statement in A. Jahn (*Südarabische Expedition* of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, iii., 1902, *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*), p. 1.: "The Mehri is the language of the South Arabian coast between Ḥaṣwēl and Ḍafār which is called *bilād mahra* by the Arabs" — is misleading. Ḥaṣwēl lies roughly in the centre of the Mahra coast in 50° 9' East Long., N. E. of the capital Gishin. — W. Hein, who was sent out by the Vienna Academy to continue the work of collecting specimens of the language begun by the South Arabian expedition, arrived in Gishin with his wife in 1902. During his stay of 66 days, during which his work was much impeded as he was interned most of the time, he collected, among other information, statistical and topographical data for the adjacent parts of the coast and also for the interior (see his article, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik Südarabiens*, in the *M. Geogr. Ges.*, Vienna 1903, p. 219 sqq.). In D. H. Müller's preface to vol. ix. of the South Arabian Expedition, introductory remarks to W. Hein's record of his journey are given (p. viii. sqq.). According to him Gishin is the name of the whole stretch of country along the coast from Rās Shirwēn to Rās Derḍja for a breadth of 5 to 15 miles. About 2 miles to the north of the coast a ridge runs parallel to it. Immediately on the coast lie the *dhura* fields of the district of Maghlōl, behind it, the centre Gishin, the district of Rihbēt, in which the Sultān lives, east of it the most important district Ventif, west of Rihbēt Salāla, the western boundary of which is the Wādī Ḡhaburī. Further inland lies Durub, where prominent Sultāns have their homes. Hein clears up many statements by Hirsch and gives further topographical details about the surroundings of the capital. Gishin has an area of about 80 square miles. Hein estimated the permanent population at 2,386; Hirsch put that of the capital and its immediate neighbourhood at about 500.

From the results of exploration so far, it appears that the country of Mahra stretches from Wādī Maṣile eastwards to Rās Ḍarbat 'Alī i.e. from 51° 13' to 53° 3' East Long. and between 16° and c. 17° 30' N. Lat. The Mahra rule the lower course of the main wādī which runs through Ḥaḍramūt. No European has yet penetrated into the interior of the country, their presumed original home; it was however equally unknown to the Arab geographers.

In the coast district of al-Shiḥr (Mahra to 'Omān) old south Arabian dialects are still spoken, which differ essentially from Arabic and indeed from Semitic in general. The Mahra as a rule speak very little Arabic. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 32; al-Idrīsī, i. 48, 150 who identifies it with the old Ḥimyarite language; Ibn al-Muḍjāwir [cf. Soḳotrā], Abu 'l-Fidā' (see Rommel, *op. cit.*, p. 33) and others describe it as unintelligible to Arabs. Al-Ḥamdānī also (*Ṣifa*,

p. 134) calls their language a jargon and al-Mas'ūdi, i. 333, points out differences between it and Arabic. Fresnel was the first, apart from early vague reports of a peculiar language in Ḥaḍramūt, to establish the existence of a hitherto unknown language quite different from Arabic "in the interior of Yemen towards Ḥaḍramūt". He had become acquainted with it from natives who called it Eḥkili. This name however he gave (*Note sur la langue Ḥimyarite*, J. A., 1838, 3rd Ser., vi. 79 sqq.) not only to Mehri or what he considered as such but to other South Arabian dialects and, as Maltzan has already pointed out, to Ḥimyarite also, although we must confess that this (or Sabaeen) has several features in common with Mehri. Ritter, *op. cit.*, xii. 46 ff., 254 and others followed Fresnel's error, including Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, iii. 437; it is however quite an old mistake; it was made by Ibn Duraid (see Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, Register, p. 280) whom Sprenger follows (on al-Idrisi see above). Haines (see above) said that the language of the Mahra was strange to the Arabs. With these earlier and recent statements may be compared Landberg's observation given by Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 153, that, "according to the statements of Arabs, Beduin tribes of the great desert of el-Rub'a el-ḥālī north of Ḥaḍramūt and the frankincense coast speak a language which the ordinary Arabs do not understand"; this, according to Hommel, could best be explained if a Mahra dialect were spoken there. M. v. Oppenheim (*Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 332) was told that in el-Rub'a el-ḥālī lived people who spoke a language unintelligible to the Arabs and he supposed that this was Mehri. After Fresnel, Carter (see above) studied Mehri and particularly Maltzan (*Über den Dialect von Mahra*, Z. D. M. G., xxv. [1871], 196 sqq.; *Dialectische Studien über das Mehri*, *ibid.*, xxvii. [1873], 225 sqq.; *Dialect von Mahra*, *ibid.*, p. 252 sqq.). He was the first to give scientific proof of the difference between this language and Arabic in vocabulary and grammar. He also classed Mahra and Karā together as Eḥkili and describes it as a modern dialect of old Ḥimyarite, from which he said it was descended through an unknown intermediary. He called attention to the similarity with Ethiopic and its modern forms, Ge'ez and Amḥāric, and presupposed a homogeneous group distinct from Qur'ānic Arabic (see also his edition of Wrede's *Reise*, p. 30 ff.). In Sprenger's belief (*Geographie*, p. 268), the Semites of Ethiopia are of Mahri origin.

Maltzan's studies in spite of their defects were most valuable preliminary work. Glaser was the first to define more accurately the limits within which Mehri was spoken (*Abessinier*, p. 87). Fresnel, Maltzan and Glaser had not been in Mahra or Zafār, but they ascertained the existence of the two dialects: Fresnel in Djidda, Maltzan and Glaser in 'Aden (Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 184). The latter states (*Skizze*, ii., p. 96) that the Ḥakili live east of Ḥaḍramūt and western Mahra (on the form of the word cf. Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 235), and their language is called Shehrāt, while the dialect of the territory west of it is "Mahri (certainly not Eḥkili!)", similarly on p. 178 sq. In his *Abessinier*, p. 185, also he identifies the Karā people with the Ḥakili [as does Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 153, who says: "ḥrā (villages) is the Arabic name for the native-tribe of Ḥakili, whose language

is called Shehrāt"]. Ḥakili is the name given by Glaser (*Skizze*, ii., p. 95) to the inhabitants of Mahra whose tribal name in the form Eḥkili, Fresnel took for the name of the language spoken there and thus introduced it into European philological literature. Landberg's opinion (*Arabica*, v., Leyden 1898, p. 153) that the name Eḥkili is "toute à fait juste à côté de la vraie forme Ḥak[i]-li", is contradicted by Hirsch's testimony (*op. cit.*, p. 52; from Seḥūt) that the name Eḥkili applied by European scholars to Mehri is unknown there and simply means "barbaric, unintelligible". Hommel records (*op. cit.*, p. 153) that Glaser had interesting specimens of the Karā dialect and of Mehri and Soḳoṭri; but these have not been published.

Glaser (cf. *Skizze*, ii., p. 20, 96, 181 sq., 246, 503; *Abessinier*, p. 84 sqq. and Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 12, 148, 150 sqq.) further developed these ideas of Maltzan on the South Arabian-Ethiopic group of languages. According to the latter, the Ethiopic alphabet came from the Axum inscriptions and that of the later literature in the Ge'ez language from a variety of the alphabet of the South Arabian inscriptions, once common in the Mahra country and the frankincense land in general was the ancestral home of the Semitic Abyssinians and Amḥārs. Against the view that the name of the latter is a plural of Mahra, it is sufficient to quote the form Amḥār (Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 152, N^o. 182). There is no reason to doubt contacts between Mehri and Ethiopic (Hommel, p. 153). That in ancient times members of the people called Ḥabashat in the South Arabian inscriptions (cf. Glaser, *Skizze*, i., p. 25—27 and *Abessinier*, p. 28) were settled in Arabia is suggested by the mention of the 'Αβασσηνοί in Stephanus Byzantinus s.v. from Uranius' *Arabica* (μετὰ τοῦς Σαβαίους Χατραμῶται, 'Αβασσηνοί) and the 'Αβισσα πόλις in Ptolemy, vi. 7, 11 (in Zafār, q. v.). From the first passage, Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 88 has concluded that the Abasenoī lived east of Ḥaḍramūt, while in *Skizze*, i., p. 26 he had previously supposed that by the land of the Abasenoī was understood the whole coast from eastern Ḥaḍramūt to Mahra and islands lying off it: his further identification, which however had been suggested by his predecessors, of the Abasenoī with the Abyssinians (cf. *Sabäische Denkmäler* by J. H. Mordtmann and D. H. Müller, Vienna 1883, p. 40, where attention is called to the Ḥabashān of the inscriptions) is however worthy of attention. C. Conti Rossini in his article *Sugli Ḥabashāt* (*R. R. A. L.*, Vol. xv., Ser. 5^a, 1906, p. 39—59) has however shown that the old home of the Ḥabashāt of the South Arabian and Axumite inscriptions was in the southwest of Arabia and on the plains along the coast west of Ṣan'ā', roughly between Luhaiya and Zabīd. In the Abasenoī of Uranius, Rossini rightly sees only an isolated section of this people or a military settlement. Glaser moreover (*Skizze*, i., p. 27) had at once identified the people Σαβαῖται mentioned in the Monumentum Adulatinum (cf. D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien*, *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, xliii., p. 5, 7 sq.) with the Mahra and the people of the islands off the coast, which cannot at all be considered proved. In any case one cannot draw any deductions from the spread of Mehri regarding the extent of an old Ḥabasha kingdom (with Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 179) nor assume that as late as 100 B. C. the kings of Ḥabashat

were established in the land of Mahra (Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 151).

D. H. Müller and his collaborators were the first to collect and investigate texts in the Mahra language in a systematic and comprehensive fashion. In Vol. iv. of the *Südarabische Expedition*, Vienna 1902, *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache* (I) he published Biblical texts, stories, poems and proverbs, which he collected for the most part on the Swedish steamer placed at the disposal of the expedition from the mouths of natives, who had been taken on board in 'Aden and Soqotrā. For Mehri in particular, he had a single authority, the same man as Jahn had. In the third volume of the same collection appeared *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien* by A. Jahn, texts and glossary, Vienna 1902. On these two works cf. the brief review by Glaser, *Zwei Wiener Publikationen über den habaschisch-puntischen Dialekt in Südarabien*, *Beilage der Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 1902, No. 186 and 187 of 16th and 18th August, and the very thorough and expert criticism by Landberg, *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien... von A. Jahn und... D. H. Müller, kritisch beleuchtet*., Leipzig 1902 (Vol. ii. ed. by D. H. Müller, *Soqotri-Texte*, Wien 1905, forms Vol. vi. of the collection).

The already mentioned traveller W. Hein had in 1902 in Gishin with the assistance of various natives collected Mehri and Ḥaḡramī texts. He died in 1903 before he was able to put his material into its final form; D. H. Müller edited and published it in vol. ix. of the collection (*Mehri- und Ḥaḡrami-Texte*..., Vienna 1909). Some of these texts are also included in vol. vii., *Ṣḥauri-Texte* (III) by D. H. Müller, Vienna 1907 and supplied with *Ṣḥawrī* and *Soqotrī* parallels.

M. Bittner's grammatical studies in Mehri are full of matter and excellent in method (see *Bibl.*). The modern South Arabian dialects in spite of some features in common with Sabaeen cannot be explained as daughter-languages and the last surviving relics of the South Arabian language which is found in the Sabaeen and Minaean inscriptions (Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 1; see also *soqotrā*). In them, especially Mehri and Soqotrī, we can at most recognise with Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 152 "a daughter language of south Arabian dialects formerly spoken there (in Mahra-land and on Soqotrā)", a pronouncement to which Maltzan had already come very near. On the other hand Glaser went too far when he described Mehri and Soqotrī as remains of the oldest "Puntic" Arabic or (*Das Weihrauchland und Sokotra, Beilage der Münchener Allgem. Zeitung*, 1899, No. 120 and 121 of May 27 and 29) as descendants of the old language of Ḥabasha from which Ethiopic and Amhāric are also said to come (see Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 153, note 1 and 4 and in Nielsen's *Handbuch*, p. 91).

According to Vollers (*Z. A.*, xxii. 223) the South Arabian dialects go back to the time of the settlement from 'Omān; the immigrant Azd, not long before the coming of Islām, had occupied Mahra from 'Omān and influenced its language by their dialect. So early as al-Mas'ūdī, i. 333 we find the Mahra described as a mixed people. Glaser (*Skizze*, ii., p. 188 and 96) also speaks of the influence of eastern and north-eastern peoples on the Mahra language, but he wrongly ascribes to Parthian and Indian elements "the notable corruption of the Arabic language in the district of Mahra This".

hypothesis is in any case sufficient to help to explain the similarity of 'Omānī to the neighbouring dialect of Zafār. As regards Mehri, the possibility of older and deeper causes for its fundamental divergence from Arabic must be taken into consideration. That the foundations for the modern South Arabian dialects were laid not much before the coming of Islām is not probable. The Mahra may, as has already been suggested, be the remains of an original population, which was driven into the inhospitable south from more habitable territory by later immigrations of Arab tribes. Even now, as Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 187 tells us, the whole area in which Mahra is spoken is becoming more and more Arabic because no foreign people is now predominant in these regions, but traders who are mainly Arab. The cultural level of the Mahra is very low. They have never played a part of any note in history.

Bibliography: The Arab authors and the modern travellers, whose works come into consideration have been mentioned in the context with bibliographical references (Fresnel, Haines, Carter, Maltzan, Sprenger, Glaser, Hommel, Landberg, D. H. Müller, Hirsch, Hein, Jahn). We may further add: Hein, 1. *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Reise nach 'Aden und Gischin*, in *Ann. Akad. Wien*, xxxix., 1902, of 18th June, 2. *Südarabische Itinerarien*, *M. G. G. W.*, lviii., 1914, p. 32 sqq.; and to the literature on the language: Ewald, *Über die himjarische Sprache*, in A. Hofer's *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, i., Berlin 1846, p. 311 sqq.; and especially M. Bittner, 1. *Studien zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*, i-v., *S. B. Ak. Wien*, clxii. sqq., 1911-1915, 2. *Neues Mehri-Material*, *W. Z. K. M.*, xxiv. 70 sqq.; also N. Rhodokanakis, *Zur Formenlehre des Mehri*, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, clxv., 1910; Jahn, *Grammatik der Mehri-Sprache*, *ibid.*, cl., 1905; (J. TKATSCH)

AL-MĀ'IDA (A.), the Table, title of the fifth Sūra of the Qur'ān.

AL-MAIDĀNĪ AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD ABU 'L-FADL, Arabic philologist born in Maidān Ziyād, a quarter of Nisabūr, pupil of the Qur'ān exeget and philologist 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, teacher of Sam'ānī among others, died in his native town on 25th Ramaḍān 518 (Oct. 27, 1124). His principal work, the great collection of proverbs *Maḡima' al-Amṡāl*, exists in numerous MSS. (listed by Hidayat Husain in *Cat. Buhār*, No. 400, also Paris, No. 5861, 6511, 6702), pr. Būlāḡ 1284, Cairo 1310, lith. Ṭeherān 1290, with Lat. transl. by G. W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbial*, Bonn 1838-1843; synopsis *al-Durr al-muntakhab* by al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad al-Bakradjī († 1169 = 1756), Berlin, Ahlwardt, No. 8672, anonymous metrical version by an Ottoman, Gotha 1250, do. with commentary by Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab al-Bairūtī entitled *Farā'ia al-La'āl fī Maḡima' al-Amṡāl*, Bairūt 1312 (1895). His Arabic-Persian Dictionary *al-Sāmī fī 'l-Asāmī* is arranged in subjects in the following categories: a. technical terms of fiḡḥ, b. living, c. heavenly, d. earthly things, finished on 14th Ramaḍān 497 (Juni 11, 1104), in many MSS. (s. *Cat. Lugd. Bat.*, i., No. cv.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 284; also Paris, No. 5883, 6592, *Cambr., Suppl.*, No. 750, *Brit. Mus.*, Or. 6241, ascribed to Ṭḥālibī, and in a very different form *ibid.*; s. *Oriental Studies... to E. G. Browne*, p. 149, No. 88), lith.,

along with al-Thaʿalibī's *Sirr al-Adab fī Maǧārī ʿUlūm al-ʿArab*, Teherān n.d., s. Weijers, *Orientalia*, i. 368 sqq.; two anonymous commentaries thereon Leyden, N^o. cvi., cvii. (s. Weijers, *op. cit.*, i. 371 sqq.); a synopsis prepared by his son Abū Saʿīd Saʿīd († 539 = 1144; s. Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 254) in the order of al-Djāwharī's *Ṣaḥāḥ* entitled *al-Asmā fī l-Asmā* is perhaps in Leyden, N^o. cviii. Besides a grammar *Nuṣḥat al-Ṭarf fī ʿIlm al-Ṣarf* (Brit. Mus., Or. 5964; pr. Stambul 1299), a syntax with Persian notes *al-Hādī li l-Ṣādī*, with anonymous commentary on the verses Leyd. clxii. (also Paris, Schefer, N^o. 6066), and minor grammatical treatises (Leyden, N^o. clxviii., Paris, N^o. 4000), he wrote a critique of al-Djāwharī's *Ṣaḥāḥ*, mainly based on al-Azhārī's († 370 = 980) *Tahdhīb al-Lughā*, entitled *Kaid al-Awābid min al-Fawā'id*, Berlin, Ahlwardt, N^o. 6942.

Bibliography: al-Anbārī, *Nuṣḥat al-Alibbāʾ*, p. 466; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ii. 107; Ibn Khallikān, *Bulak* 1299, p. 157; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 155; Quatremère, *Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de M., J. A.*, Ser. 2, vol. 1, 1828, p. 177—233 (mainly extracts from the *Maǧmaʿ al-Amthāl*; s. do., *Proverbes arabes de M.*, ibid., March 1838, p. 211 sqq.). (C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-MAIL (A.), the inclination, a factor which plays a very important part in astronomy. The first inclination (*al-Mail al-awwal*) is an arc of the circle which goes through the two poles of the equator and one degree (point) of the ecliptic, namely the arc which lies between this point and the equator. This circle is perpendicular to the equator. The second inclination (*al-Mail al-thānī*) is an arc of the circle, which goes through the two poles of the ecliptic and a point of the ecliptic, namely the arc which lies between this point and the equator. This circle is perpendicular to the ecliptic.

In the figure let ab be the ecliptic, ac the equator, bc be perpendicular to ac , bd perpendicular to ab , then bc is the first and bd the second inclination. For the calculation it is important that we should have a right angle in each of the two spherical triangles, abc and abd . The first inclination is also called *Mail al-falak muʿaddil al-nahār*, inclination towards the equator.

Of special importance is the obliquity of the ecliptic, i.e. the inclination of the plane of the ecliptic to the equator; it is equal to the first inclination in the solstitial points. It is called *Mail falak al-burūǧ*, inclination of the ecliptic, *al-Mail al-aʿṣam*, the greatest inclination, *al-Mail kulluhu* or *al-Mail al-kullī*, the whole inclination. To distinguish it, the inclination of any degree is called *al-Mail al-djuzʾī*, the degree-inclination.

If it is a question not of points on the ecliptic but of some star, the arc corresponding to the first inclination is called *buʿd*, "interval" that corresponding to the second "arḍ", "width". We speak in the first case quite generally of declination, in the second of latitude.

The obliquity of the ecliptic is one of the fundamental magnitudes of the solar system. It was therefore continually being calculated anew and almost always so as to obtain the altitudes of culmination α_1 and α_2 of the sun at the summer and winter solstices. The sun is at these times at the same distance from the equator, north in one case and south in the other. The obliquity of the

ecliptic is the $\frac{\alpha_1 - \alpha_2}{2} = \epsilon$. It should be mentioned

that Muḥammad b. Ṣaḥbāḥ (c. 875) claims to ascertain the magnitude from three different points (O. Schirmer, *op. cit.*, p. 52).

The first method was that used by Hipparchus, Ptolemy and Eratosthenes, using the most varied instruments, the two rings, the quadrant and the armillary spheres. In the Muḥammadan period these observations were continued with larger and larger instruments and account taken of the fact that the sun does not always enter the solstices in question by day but may do so at night, that the heavens may be obscured at the time etc. From observations made before and after the time in question the value has to be obtained by interpolations. This is how al-Khujandī, for example, worked (on the instruments used, cf. e.g. E. Wiedemann and Th. W. Juynboll, *Avicennas Schrift über ein von ihm ersonnenes Beobachtungsinstrument*, *Acta orientalis*, v., 1926, p. 81—167). The values ascertained have been calculated by O. Schirmer (O. Schirmer, *Studien zur Astronomie der Araber*, *S. B. P. M. S. Erl.*, lviii., 1926, p. 30—90). From the measurements, it was found that the obliquity of the ecliptic decreases in course of time, i.e. that the plain of the ecliptic approaches the plain of the equator. A conspectus of the views of Muslim scholars on this question has been given by O. Schirmer (*op. cit.*).

Further expressions used in this connection are *al-ufk al-māʾil*, the inclined horizontal; it means any horizontal, except that of the equator, i.e. the horizontal inclined towards the horizontal of the equator. *Khaṭṭ māʾil ʿan khaṭṭ al-istiṣwāʾ*, i.e. the line which is inclined towards the equator; this is a line (a circle) which lies parallel to the equator on the globe of the earth either north or south. *Falak māʾil ʿan falak muʿaddil al-nahār* has a corresponding meaning on the globe of the heavens; *irtifāʿ alladhī lā mail li-samtihi*, third altitude in the first vertical i.e. the vertical which goes through the eastern and western points of the horizontal. (E. WIEDEMANN)

MAIMANA, situated at 36° N. and 64° 45' E., was formerly known as al-Yahūdān, al-Yahūdiya (Yāqūt also calls it Yahūdān al-Kubrā), but the name was changed to Maimana, "the auspicious town", for the sake of good omen. It is at present the capital of the little province of Almār in Afghān Turkistān on the trade route between Herāt and Balkh. Afghān Turkistān includes the western Khānates of Sar-i-pul, Shibarghān, Andkhui and Maimana, sometimes classed together as the Čahār Wilāyat. Dost Muḥammad took this territory from Bukhārā in the year 1855; the sovereignty remained in dispute between Kābul and Bukhārā, till it was settled in favour of Kābul by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1873.

The low spurs and offshoots of the Band-i Turkistān range subside gently into the Oxus plains and this favoured part of Afghānistān is

rich in agricultural possibilities. Until Maimana was visited by Professor Vambéry in 1863, but one European, Captain Stirling, had set foot within it. According to Vambéry, the place consisted of some fifteen hundred mud huts and a dilapidated brick bazar. Its inhabitants are Uzbeks with a sprinkling of Tadjiks, Herātis, Jews, Hindus and Afghāns. Trade is now considerable and Maimana is renowned for its carpets and other stuffs made partly of wool and partly of camel's hair. It traffics with Persia and Baghdād in raisins, and pistachio nuts. Horses are good, plentiful and cheap.

Bibliography: A. Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, London 1864, p. 244; C. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 424; Th. Holdich, *The Gates of India*, London 1910, p. 249.

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

AL-MAIMANDĪ, **SHAMSU 'L-KUFĀT ABU 'L-KĀSIM AḤMAD B. ḤASAN**, the famous wazīr of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, was a foster-brother of the Sulṭān, and had been brought up and educated with him. Ḥasan, the father of Aḥmad, was the *ʿAmīl* of Bust under Subuktigin; but on a charge of misappropriation of the revenue, he was put to death. In 384 (994), when Amīr Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr the Sāmānid conferred on Maḥmūd the command of the troops of Khurāsān, Maḥmūd put Aḥmad at the head of his correspondence department. After this Aḥmad rapidly rose in the service of his master, and occupied in succession, the posts of *Mustawfi-i Mamlukat* (Accountant General), *Ṣāhib-i Diwān-i ʿArḍ* (Head of the War Department), and *ʿAmīl* of the provinces of Bust and Rukhkhādj. In 404 (1013), Sulṭān Maḥmūd appointed him wazīr in place of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad al-Asfārāʾīnī. For twelve years, Aḥmad managed the affairs of the growing empire of Sulṭān Maḥmūd with great tact and diplomacy. Aḥmad was very strict and exacting, and did not tolerate any evasion of duty or departure from the usual official procedure, with the result that many of the dignitaries of the Empire became his enemies and worked to bring about his ruin. He was disgraced and dismissed in 415 (1024), and sent as a prisoner to the fort of Kālingdj, in the southern Kaṣhmīr hills. After his accession to the throne, Sulṭān Maṣʿūd, whose cause Aḥmad had always supported, re-appointed him wazīr in 422 (1031). Aḥmad died in Muḥarram, 424 (December, 1032).

Aḥmad is considered to be one of the greatest of Oriental wazīrs. He was a learned man, encouraged scholars and showed great respect to them, and ordered all official correspondence to be carried on in Arabic instead of Persian.

Bibliography: al-Uṭbī, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* (Lahore ed.), p. 266—274; *Ātharu 'l-Wuzarā'* (India Office MS., No. 1569), fol. 89b—106a; and scattered notices in *Ta'rikh-i Maṣʿūdī* of Baihaḳī.

(M. NAZIM)

MAIMŪNA, the last wife that Muḥammad married. She was the daughter of al-Ḥārith of the Hawāzin tribe of Ṣaṣā'a and a sister-in-law of ʿAbbās. After she had divorced her first husband, a Thakīfī, and her second, the Kuraishī Abū Rukm, had died, she lived as a widow in Mecca where the Prophet wooed her, primarily no doubt for political reasons, on the *ʿumra* allowed him in the year 7. His wish to marry her in Mecca was refused by the Meccans in order not to prolong his stay there; the marriage therefore took place in Sarif,

a village north of Mecca. Her brother-in-law ʿAbbās acted as her guardian at the ceremony. The question whether the Prophet on this occasion was still in the *ihṛām* or not is a much disputed and variously answered question. The bridal gift is said to have been 500 dirhams. Maimūna survived the other wives of the Prophet and died in 61 (681) in Sarif, where she is said to have been buried on the spot where she was married.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 790 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, viii. 94—100; Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1595 sq.; al-Bakri, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 772 sq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii. 66 sq. (FR. BUHL)

MAIMŪNĪ. [See IBN MAIMŪN.]

MAISĀN, the name of a district in southern ʿIrāq.

The origin and significance of this name, which fell into disuse in the late middle ages, is unknown. There is no certain trace of it in the cuneiform inscriptions; for the Babylonian *Mish*, which Hommel (*Ethnogr. und Geogr. des alt. Orients*, Munich 1926, p. 261, 263) identifies with it is as little worthy of serious consideration as the Old Testament *Mēsha* (נִמְשָׁא, Gen. x. 30) which Biblical exegists

frequently quote. Maisān first appears in the form *Mešānu* in Strabo in the first century A. D. Ptolemy gives *Μαίσανης πόλις* as the name for the innermost part of the land of the Persian Gulf. The word is certainly not Greek; the meaning "middle land", the land between two rivers, may be dismissed as a fanciful etymology. The territory or Mesene is in the cuneiform inscriptions the region of the southern Kaldū states, especially the most southerly Bit-Yakin; at the same time we find in them the term the sea-land (*mūt-tāmdī*) as almost identical with Bit-Yakin; the part of Mesene between the Tigris and Khūzistān was in the Babylonian period the home of the nomadic Aramaic tribe of Gambulu; cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, iii. 778, 783, 796—97.

In classical literature Mesene is usually absolutely synonymous with *Charakene*. Mesene or Charakene appears in the second century B. C. (after ca. 129) as a small independent kingdom founded by a certain Hyspaosines, our knowledge of whom is practically limited to his coinage. After an existence of three and a half centuries Ardashīr I put an end to this kingdom shortly after his accession, between 224 and 227 A. D.: for Arabic sources for this event, see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 13 (Ṭabari, i. 818). In the strict sense of the word, Charakene is only the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris before the junction of the two streams, the land on the north was Mesene: we have no information about the eastern and western frontiers of Charakene. Perhaps, as Weissbach suggests (see *Bibl.*), Mesene was only later conquered by the rulers of Charakene and its name transferred to this southern district.

The Talmud knows Mesene as *Mēshān* (and *Mēshūn*), Syriac literature as *Maishān*. Among the Persians we have *Mēshūn* and the Armenians *Mēshun*; cf. thereon Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 11. The Arabs took the word over as Maisān; but we occasionally also find *Maishān* (e.g. Ṭabari, iii. 1980, 5). The old name Mesene is perhaps concealed in that of the little town of *Mashān*, which, according to the Arab sources, was near Baṣra and was celebrated as the birthplace of the Maḳāma

poet Ḥarīrī (q. v.; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 536; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 167; Kaẓwīnī, *Akhār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 308).

As in the case of Mesene-Charakene, we have no exact information about the mediaeval Arab Maisān, which would enable us to define exactly the area and boundaries of the district. According to Yāqūt, iv. 714 and Kaẓwīnī, p. 310, Maisān is "an extensive district with numerous villages and palm groves between Baṣra and Wāsiṭ, the capital of which is also called Maisān". This district formed the sixth in the old Sāsānian division into *sawād*, which was taken over by the Arabs [q. v.] and was called *Shādh-i Bahman* or "the Tigris district"; the name Furāt-Baṣra is also found. It was divided into four divisions (*ṭassūdjī*, q. v.) namely, Bahman Ardāshīr, Maisān, Dastimaīsān and Abaz-Ḳubādh; according to Ḳudāma (*B. G. A.*, vi. 236, 12), these four divisions of the Tigris district later passed into the administrative district of Baṣra. All four *ṭassūdjī* are to be located on the east side of the Tigris. Bahman Ardāshīr, the capital of the district of the same name, lay on the left or north bank of the Tigris, opposite Ubulla on the west or south side of the river (the latter roughly on the site of the modern 'Ashshār, the port of modern Baṣra). The second division, Maisān in the narrow sense, must have been that in which stood the capital of the whole district of the same name. *Al-Madhār* however usually figures as such in the Arabic sources; it may be supposed that this was the successor of an older town called Maisān. The locality of al-Madhār cannot be exactly fixed (see below); it lies on the east bank of the Tigris, about thirty miles (as the crow flies) north of Ḳurna. Dastimaīsān also is to be sought east of the Tigris, in the region of al-Madhār, probably south or south-east of it. As to the fourth district, Abaz-Ḳubādh, a name, which Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 41 and Herzfeld, *Isl.*, xi. 150 would emend to Iẓadh-Kawādh (Ḳubādh), relying on Ḥamza al-Isfahānī (*Ta'rikh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 57), this also must be placed east of the Tigris not too far from al-Madhār. A reference in Ḳudāma (p. 235, 15 sq.) agrees very well with this, according to which the four divisions of the land of Maisān lay east of the Tigris.

Even under the Sāsānians there was a separate Nestorian ecclesiastical province of Maishān, which was again divided into four subdivisions, the bishoprics of Perāt de Maishān, Karkhā de Maishān, Bēh Raimā and Nehar Gul (Gūr); cf. especially Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 48 sq. Marquart, *op. cit.*, assumed it as certain that these four dioceses must correspond to the four political divisions of the district of Maisān. This view in itself probable and first found by Sachau, p. 49 as worthy of consideration is untenable, as Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 29 sq. has shown. Perāt de Maishān is certainly identical with Bahmān; but the second bishopric Karkhā de Maishān does not correspond to the *ṭassūdjī* of Maisān or Madhār but is to be located much farther south in the district of the modern Muḥammara. Bēh Raimā very probably lay not on the east but on the west bank of the Tigris at some distance N. E. of Baṣra, so that it does not even come into consideration as the equivalent of one of the four Arab divisions. Nehar Gul (Gūr) may be equated to *Nahr Dūr* of the Arab geographers (see Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 37). This is to be sought towards Khūzistān somewhere in the

neighbourhood of Huwaiza (see below). Whether the fourth *ṭassūdjī* Abaz-Ḳubādh corresponds to it cannot be settled.

If then the capitals of all four divisions of the Tigris district are to be located on the east bank of the river, the lands on the west bank, also included in the sawād must have belonged to the same district as did the whole delta down to the Persian Gulf; for there is no district to which only the doubtful western and southern divisions might be allotted. In the Sāsānian period, according to the Turfan fragments (cf. Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 28), the term Maisān was usual for the whole of southern 'Irāk (or Mēshūn) and this remained the case under the Arabs. But according to the Muslim sources, it does not seem to have been limited to the south proper but to have extended a considerable distance northwards. The quotations above given from Yāqūt and Kaẓwīnī show that Maisān was considered to stretch northwards to Wāsiṭ (q. v. and vol. i., p. 676, ii., art. KASKAR); indeed it is most probable that the extreme N. E. frontier of the area known as Maisān lay in the vicinity of the modern Kūt al-Amāra (q. v.; the *Mādharāyā* of the Arab geographers; cf. 969 sq.; Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 310 sq.). The district of Kaskar also stretched up to here and seems in the main to have included lands east of the Tigris (cf. KASKAR). To avoid misunderstandings it should here be expressly mentioned that for the Arab period, of the present course of the Tigris only the *Shatt al-'Arab* and the stretches as far as al-Madhār come into question; in those days the Tigris bed corresponded with that of the *Nahr al-Gharraf* (*Shatt al-Haiy*) which was the western boundary of the district of Kaskar. For further details of the hydrography of Maisān, see below. Maisān is occasionally used as synonymous with Kaskar; cf. Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 14, 17 sq. Maisān probably stretched to the east as far as the alluvial land of the sawād, up to the frontier of Khūzistān in places beyond the present frontier of 'Irāk. At least Huwaiza (the modern Ḥawīza [q. v.]) which is now on Persian soil, is expressly mentioned as a town belonging to Maisān.

The swamp regions, *al-Baṭā'ih*, for the most part came within the area of Maisān. On this cf. AL-BATĪHA and the articles on al-Baṭā'ih al-Hāliya and al-Djazā'ir by 'Alī Sharḳī in the periodical *Lughat al-'Arab*, iv. (Baghdād 1927), p. 375-384, 474-477, 526-530 and vi. 277-279; also Ḥāshim al-Sa'dī, *Djughrāfiyat al-'Irāk*², Baghdād 1927, p. 40, where the more important of the swamps (*hōr*'s) are given. In modern times the practically synonymous name *al-Ahwār* (plur. of *hōr*) is used for al-Baṭā'ih (see 'Alī Sharḳī, *op. cit.*, iv. 376). The two specifically 'Irākī words *hōr* and *khōr*, which are very often used indiscriminately in European works, especially on maps (usually the one form *khōr*) (cf. AL-BATĪHA where *khōr* is wrongly given for *hōr*), have to be carefully distinguished. For *hawr* (older alternative *hawf*), popularly *hōr* = "permanent swamp, temporary lake, land liable to inundation" (cf. *B. G. A.*, ed. de Goeje, iv. 370; G. le Strange, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 298) and *al-khawr*, popularly *khōr* = "arm of a river, creek, lagoon-like gulf", cf. especially the remarks of Père Anastase-Marie, the editor of the Baghdād periodical *Lughat al-'Arab*, in M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (Giessen 1915, p. 145).

One of the divisions of the Tigris district was called, as already mentioned, Dast-i Maisān. The

name is also vocalised Dastu- and Dasta-Maisān in our Arabic texts. Ibn Khallikān always writes the Persian form Dasht-i Maishān; cf. *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, v. 468. *Dasht*, *dasht* can here only be the Persian *dāsh*t = "plain". Schaefer's assumption, *op. cit.*, p. 34, that Dast represents an abbreviation of the Pahlavi Daskert (Arabic Daskara, q. v.) seems to me hardly tenable. Why this division in particular was distinguished as the "plain of Maisān" from Maisān proper (especially from the second division of the district), is however not apparent. Could it here have been a more level plain, less filled with swamps? In any case, it is not correct to equate Dast-i Maisān without more ado to Maisān (as does G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 43). Yāqūt (ii. 574) thus defines Dast-i Maisān: "It is an important district between Wāsiṭ, Baṣra and al-Aḥwāz [q. v.] (= Khūzistān, q. v.) lying near to the last-named. The capital is Basāmātā; Dast-i Maisān is not identical with Maisān but is connected with it; it is also said that it is a district with the capital al-Ubulla and Baṣra belonging to it". Nothing further is known of Basāmātā, here mentioned as the capital of Dast-i Maisān; the form in which the name is handed down varies (see the variants in the *Marāṣid*, ed. Juynboll, v. 468); it is apparently identical with Basāmiya, which al-Mukaddasī (*B. G. A.*, iii. 114, 9) details among the places of the district of Wāsiṭ (cf. Ṭabari, iii. 1958, 17; *Z. D. M. G.*, xxix. 660; xxxix. 26).

From the rather general remarks in Yāqūt the boundaries of the district of Dast-i Maisān cannot unfortunately be ascertained. We are brought a step forward by a note in Ibn Rosta (*B. G. A.*, vii. 94, 22) which expressly states that a place named 'Abdasī, frequently mentioned in Arabic sources, is in Dast-i Maisān. When Yāqūt in another connection (iv. 275, 2-3) mentions 'Abdasī alongside of Dast-i Maisān (i. e. distinguishing the two), as a division of Kaskar, this probably is an inaccuracy. From the passage of Ibn Rosta quoted it is further evident that 'Abdasī must have been above al-Madhār in the direction of Wāsiṭ. In keeping with this is an itinerary given by Kudāma (*B. G. A.*, vi. 126, 5-6), according to which a road from Wāsiṭ via Bādhībīn (5 farsakhs S. or S. E. of Wāsiṭ; cf. Yāqūt, i. 461) to Baṣra passed successively through 'Abdas (= 'Abdasī) and al-Madhār. The distance of Bādhībīn from 'Abdas is put at 5 stages (*sikka*'s), and from 'Abdas to al-Madhār at 8; cf. also Streck, *Babylonien*, i. 13-14. As a *sikka* on the average may be put at 4-5 miles (see Streck, *op. cit.*, p. xv) the distance from Bādhībīn to 'Abdasī may be estimated at 30-40 miles; from Bādhībīn to Wāsiṭ was about 15 miles. To this location of 'Abdasī agrees very well a note in Ibn Ḥawkal (*B. G. A.*, ii. 159, 13) who says that the date-palm groves of the district of Baṣra stretched without interruption for over 20 parasangs = 150 miles from 'Abbadān (then away to the south on the seashore; q. v.) as far as 'Abdasī(!); the latter must therefore mark the northern limit of the then district of Baṣra. From the passages mentioned we have to look for 'Abdasī a fair distance to the north of al-Madhār, probably rather near the bank of the eastern arm of the Tigris which was dry in the middle ages. The position given to 'Abdasī by G. Le Strange in his map to Ibn

Serapion (*J. R. A. S.*, 1895) and in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (map ii.) — south of al-Madhār on the left bank of the Tigris (in map ii.) or on the right bank opposite al-Madhār — seems untenable. For further reference to 'Abdasī (with the variants 'Abdasī, 'Abdās or 'Abdas; according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī in Yāqūt, iii. 603, 19, a Persian word) see *B. G. A.*, iv. (glossary), p. 94.

The approximate identification of the position of 'Abdasī, which we have obtained, gives us a clue to that of Dast-i Maisān. This must have been above Maisān proper (with al-Madhār), and have comprised roughly the most northern part of the whole district of Maisān in the wider sense. It should be noted that the order in which the four divisions of the Tigris district are officially given (Bahman Ardāshīr, Maisān, Dast-i Maisān, Abaz-Kūbādī; see above) is apparently that from south to north or rather north-east. To the east Dast-i Maisān extended as far as Khūzistān. But it should not be forgotten that the eastern frontier of Maisān during the caliphate must have undergone changes as a result of several alterations in the organisation of the provincial administration (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 290, 291); this explains the apparent contradictions in our sources, in which one and the same place is sometimes put in the 'Irāk, sometimes in Ahwāz [q. v.] (Khūzistān, q. v., 'Arabistān; see 'ARABKĪR).

When we know definitely that Dast-i Maisān was separated by the division of Maisān from that of Bahman Ardāshīr to which Ubulla belonged, it appears rather remarkable that in Ibn Khordādābih as well as in Yāqūt (cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 16, 19) Dast-i Maisān is equivalent to Ubulla. If this is not simply a mistake, it might at most be explained, as Schaefer does (*op. cit.*, p. 35), by saying that under the 'Abbāsids the headquarters for the collection of taxes for Dast-i Maisān was moved to Ubulla. The whole system of division into sawād, originally simply made for convenience in taxation, had lost any practical importance, at least under the later rulers of this dynasty. We are further definitely told that the Tigris district later passed under Baṣra, where no doubt some of the officials of the old administrative district were moved to towns near Baṣra like Ubulla.

A part of Dast-i Maisān was known as *Djūkhā*. It must have lain to the west of the modern course of the Tigris roughly from al-Madhār to 'Abdasī. Ibn Rosta (*op. cit.*, p. 95) tells us that in *Djūkhā* between the two towns just mentioned, a part of the Tigris water used at one time to collect into swamps, before the river altered its bed in the direction of Wāsiṭ. From the accounts of the campaigns of the Khāridjīs in the Umayyad period when the *Djūkhā* was a favourite place for these rebels to assemble (see vol. ii., p. 905b), it is evident that this district must have occupied the position here sketched out for it; cf. Wellhausen, in *N. G. W. Gött.*, N. S., vol. v., n^o. 2 (1901), p. 22. Whether al-*Djūkhā* stretched as far as the Nahr al-Gharrāf (Shaṭṭ al-Haiy) and even beyond it, we do not know. There is a Tell *Djūkhā* at some distance from the west bank of the Nahr al-Gharrāf, to be exact in 45° 52' E. Long. Greenw. and 31° 45' N. Lat. It is possible that the mediaeval name of the division *Djūkhā* has survived in that of this mound, which conceals the ruins of the very ancient, not unimportant town of *Umma* (ideographically written *Gish-Ukk*).

For Umma, which is mentioned in inscriptions as early as 3200 B. C., and disappeared from history even before the time of Hammurabi, see Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 354—355, 1019, 1102 (Index) and Unger in the *Reallexik. der Vorgeschichte*, xv. (1928), p. 3—4. Names like *Djūkhā*, *Djawkhā*, *Djawkhān* are found elsewhere in the mediaeval geographical nomenclature of 'Irāk and *Khūzistān*; see *Yākūt*, i. 669, 15—16; ii. 143, 144, 1; iii. 15, 13; cf. on *Djūkhā* (*Djawkhā*) also Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

In southern 'Irāk, to which the district of Maisân of the Arab middle ages roughly corresponds, in course of time far reaching changes have taken place in the appearance of the country. The history of the hydrography of this area is thus a very complicated problem and the solution of topographical questions especially difficult. The first thing to note in this connection is the fact that the Persian Gulf, the *Khālīdj al-Baṣra* or al-Fāris, as the modern inhabitants of al-'Irāk call it (cf. *Hāshim al-Sa'dī*, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 41; 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī, *op. cit.*, p. 115; *Lughat al-'Arab*, iii. 58, and the article *BAḤR al-FĀRIS*), stretched much farther north in ancient times and the middle ages than it does to-day. In the Babylonian period it was a lagoon almost as wide as a sea called *Nāru Marratu* (see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, iii. 796) and stretched northwards nearly as far as 31° N. Lat. The lagoon must have stretched from *Ḳurna* in a westerly direction indicated by the later course of the Euphrates or the modern swamps (*ḥor's*) of Abū Kelām and al-Hammār, as far as the region of the mound of ruins of Abū Shahrain (c. 12 miles S.W. of al-Muḳaiyir-Ur). Abū Shahrain, the ancient Eridu, certainly lay on the shore of this lagoon as we know from inscriptions found there; cf. Langdon, *Ausgrabungen in Babylonien seit 1918* = *A. O.*, xxvi. (1928), p. 3—4; Weissbach's objections to the equation Abū Shahrain = Eridu (in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, vi. 1205) are now disposed of. From *Ḳurna* the lagoon probably sent an arm to the east as far as the *Kārūn*. The land south of *Ḳurna* beyond *Baṣra* on both sides of the broad arm of the sea now marked by the bed of the *Shatt al-'Arab* was probably only partly under water in ancient times (cf. Herzfeld, in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäolog. Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, vol. i. Berlin 1911, p. 251), although it was probably exceedingly swampy. In any case in the Sargonid period, the Euphrates, Tigris, *Kerkhā*, and *Kārūn* all entered the sea or rather the lagoon running up from it by separate mouths. Cf. also *AL-BATĪḤA* and ii., p. 777.

If then the question of the extent of the advance of the delta since the beginning of the historical period can be approximately answered, it hardly seems possible to allot accurately the increase in land to each century, as we do not know if the sea always retired at a constant rate. In the middle ages 'Abbadān (q. v. and below) in 48° 22' E. Long. Greenw. and 30° 12' N. Lat., c. 45 miles in a direct line from *Baṣra*, was still regarded as the most southerly town of the 'Irāk. According to Ibn Baṭṭūta's *Travels* (ed. Paris, ii. 18) in the first half of the xivth century, it was already an hour's journey from the coast. This distance has now increased to over 20 miles. In the last 50 years there has been an average increase of land of at least 2½ miles a century. For further information on the

steady formation of land by alluvial deposits at the north end of the Persian Gulf cf. *SHAṬṬ AL-'ARAB*; S. Genthe, *Der Pers. Meerbusen*, Marburg 1896, p. 54 sq.; *The Persian Gulf* (= *Handbooks of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office*, No. 76, London 1920), p. 13; *Hāshim al-Sa'dī*, *op. cit.*, p. 51—52. Since the last century the most southerly settlement immediately on the sea has been the telegraph and lighthouse station of *Fāo*; on this cf. below.

On the hydrographical conditions in Southern 'Irāk, especially the course of the Euphrates and Tigris and the canal systems connected with them, as well as the swamps there (*al-Batīḥa* [q. v.] or *al-Baṭā'ih*), we have a full and lucid description of the beginning of the tenth century in the part of the *Geography* of Ibn Serapion that has survived to us; see the pertinent passages in Le Strange's edition, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 9—10 (sect. i—ii.), 28—30 (sect. xiii—xvi.), and translation and notes on p. 33 sq., 46 sq., 296—311.

The Tigris, probably, was in ancient times forked at the site of the modern *Kūt al-'Amāra* [q. v.], the *Mādhārāyā* of the mediaeval Arabic sources (see above), into an eastern and western arm. For four centuries the main body of the Tigris has used the eastern bed running via 'Amāra to *Ḳurna*, while the western arm, a more canal-like channel only navigable at high water, has connected it with the Euphrates. This western arm is in modern European literature known as *Shatt al-Haiy*. This seems to be a name coined by European travellers, apparently first found in the last decades of the xviiith century (in Beauchamp; see Ritter, *Erkunde*, xi. 973). *Shatt al-Haiy* = "river of al-Haiy" was and still is the name given locally to the northern stretch of the river reaching as far as Haiy; but its whole course is usually called in the 'Irāk *Nahr al-Gharrāf* (cf. the quotations noted below from the works of *Hāshim al-Sa'dī* and 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī); *Yākūt* (ii. 533, 5 sq.; iii. 781, 3) already knows *Nahr al-Gharrāf* as the name of one of the five arms of the Tigris and of a district belonging to it. The *Nahr al-Gharrāf* was at one time called *al-Musarhad*; cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 51. At the little town of al-Haiy the *Nahr al-Gharrāf* divides into five channels of which only the western *Abū Djuhairāt* has any water, while the eastern *Shatt al-'Amā* (or *'Amā*; on the name cf. above ii. 777) is now quite dry; cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 51, with note and correction on p. 225 sq. Four miles above *Shatra* the main western arm also divides into two channels: the large *Nahr al-Shatra* in the west, which enters the Tigris at *Nāṣiriye* (*Nāṣriye*, see *KUT AL-'AMĀRA*), the capital of the *liwā* of *Muntafiḳ* — for some years joined by a branch line to the station of al-Muḳaiyir-Ur (Ur-Junction) on the *Raghdād-Baṣra* railway —, and the smaller eastern *Nahr Bad'a* (*Bad'a*) said to have been originally dug out by the *Muntafiḳ* which enters the *Hōr al-Hammār* somewhat east of *Sūk al-Shiyukh* [q. v.].

On the *Nahr al-Gharrāf* (*Shatt al-Haiy*) and the territory through which it flows, of which now as in the Turkish period, the northern part (including al-Haiy) belongs for administrative purposes to the *liwā* of *Kūt* (al-'Amāra) and the southern to the *liwā* of al-Muntafiḳ, cf. vol. i., p. 676; ii. 513 sq. and *KUT AL-'AMĀRA*; and Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 311 sq.; *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 51 sq., 152, 217, 219,

222—226; Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 17, 25, 142, 144 sq., 147, 159, 162 sq., 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī, *op. cit.*, p. 41 sq.; 68, 109—113, 130. Here we may emphasise once more that the whole river and canal system of the Nahr al-Gharrāf, especially the wide area between the Nahr al-Gharrāf in the west, the Tigris in the east and the Euphrates in the south have only been very insufficiently explored as yet. The accounts of the older travellers are given in Ritter, *Erkunde von Asien*, xi. 935 sq., 973, 998 sq.; cf. also H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861, ii. 82, 138—139; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 66—80 (with map ii.) and A. Liedekerke-Beaufort, in *Babyloniaca*, vii., Paris 1922, p. 110—116.

The bifurcation of the Tigris at Mādhārāyā (or Kūt al-'Amāra) is certainly very old, and may be assumed for the old Babylonian period at least. The ruins of Tellō (the old town of Lagesh), N.E. of al-Shatrah, and of several neighbouring mounds of ruins (like al-Hibba, Serghul) are at a short distance to the east of the modern Nahr al-Gharrāf, on an arm (canal?) or older bed of it. It is possible that the western bed of the Tigris, Nahr al-Gharrāf, is of artificial origin (cf. above ii., p. 513 sq.) and was a canal dug at a remote period planned to give a convenient connection with the Euphrates. The western arm of the river was in all probability the regular course of the Tigris in the Babylonian period (cf. also the sketch map in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, vol. i.); it is only since the last centuries B.C. that the main channel of the Tigris, for reasons not known to us, must have made its way into the eastern modern river bed. Under the later Sāsānians another change took place, originally connected with the great extension of the swampy area of the Baṭiḥa. According to a note in Yāqūt (i. 669, 5), the Tigris had already ceased in the reign of Bahrām V Gūr (420—438) to flow in the direction of al-Madhār and instead of this had chosen the route of the arm that runs towards Kaskar. In any case burstings of dams which took place, especially in the reigns of Kūbādīh Pērōz (457—484) and Khusrāw II Parwēz (590—628) (cf. i., p. 676), considerably furthered this development. It is certain that at the beginning of Muslim rule, the Tigris was using the western bed exclusively. The eastern was quite dry as far as al-Madhār, and only after this town did it contain water again. On the state of the river in the middle ages cf. especially the descriptions in Ibn Rosta (*B. G. A.*, vii. 94, 21 sq.) and thereon G. Le Strange, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 300 sq. and Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 21 sq.; see also Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 27—28 and above i., p. 969 sq.

In the early decades of the ninth (xvth) century the Tigris was still flowing in its western bed; but in the next century it again altered its course and sent the mass of its water to the eastern bed, so that this again became the usual route for navigation. It was used as such, as we know from European travellers (see Le Strange, *The Lands etc.*, p. 28 sq.) at least since the middle of the xvth century; the eastern arm has remained the Tigris proper to the present day.

The stretch of the eastern Tigris which alone was filled with water in the middle ages, south of al-Madhār, the Didjlat al-'Awra' (cf. below), joined the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad, which flowed out of the Baṭiḥa, according to Ibn Serapion, probably

a little below the modern Kurna; cf. i. 676, 969 sq., ii. 119. Yāqūt's account differs seriously from Ibn Serapion's description of the Lower Tigris. How far Yāqūt, who lived 300 years after Ibn Serapion, reflects an alteration in the river system, it is impossible to say. According to Yāqūt (ii. 553, 3 sqq.; cf. thereon Streck, *Babylonien*, i. 39—40 and above i., p. 676), the Tigris after passing Wāsiṭ divided into five arms, which reunited at a place called al-Matāra. This Matāra (var. Maṭārā and Maṭār in *B. G. A.*, ii. 53, 15; iii. 161, 3) lay a day's journey from Baṣra i.e. about halfway between this town and Kurna.

These five arms of the Tigris were, he says, the Nahr Sāsī, Nahr Gharrāf, Nahr Daḳla, Nahr Dja'far and Nahr Maisān. Sāsī is mentioned in another passage in Yāqūt (iii. 11, 10) as a place above Wāsiṭ. Gharrāf has already been mentioned as the usual modern name for the western arm of the Tigris (Shaṭṭ al-Haiy). The Nahr Daḳla (apparently the Aramaic form of the Arabic Didjla) flowed, according to Yāqūt, iv. 830, 22, or v. 838, 2, near the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad and east of the Nahr Dja'far. The latter was (see Yāqūt, v. 838, 2) between Wāsiṭ and Nahr Daḳla. The Nahr Maisān, finally, seems to be identical with the Didjla al-'Awra' from al-Madhār to the mouth of the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad (cf. also Yāqūt, i. 603, 4).

The bed of the upper Didjlat al-'Awra' which seems to have been dammed at al-Madhār was apparently also fed by the waters of the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad. The Arab geographer Kūdāma (*B. G. A.*, vi. 233, 3—4) says, "After leaving the Baṭiḥa, the Tigris divides into two arms, the one of which goes to Baṣra and the other to al-Madhār". On the banks of the Nahr Maisān, "between al-Madhār and Baṣra", lay the village of al-Bazzāz (Yāqūt, i. 603, 4).

As to the Euphrates, we are told that in the middle ages it poured its waters into the Baṭiḥa in two channels below Kūfa and Hilla, like the main body of the Tigris in the west; cf. especially Ibn Serapion, ed. G. Le Strange, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 10, 16 sq. (and p. 47, 260); G. Le Strange, *The Lands etc.*, p. 74 and above ii., p. 513, sq., art. AL-FURĀT.

The Nahr Abi 'l-Asad, which runs out of the Baṭiḥa and is often described by the Arab geographers as the eastern section of the (western) Tigris (cf. above and Yāqūt, iv. 830, 22) might with a certain amount of justice also be claimed as the last stretch of the Euphrates. It is in this sense that Yāqūt (iv. 561, 22) says that al-Matāra, mentioned above, is "on the bank of the Tigris and of the Euphrates at the junction of the two". On the alterations in the lower course of the Euphrates in the later middle ages down to the xviith century we have very little information (cf. AL-FURĀT), but we may assume that since about the xvth century, at latest since the beginning of the xvth, the whole volume of the Euphrates no longer disappeared in the swamps but a portion ran in a definite channel which roughly coincided with the course of the modern bed, and ultimately used the channel of the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad and thus effected a direct communication with the Eastern Tigris. From the reports of European travellers (see G. Le Strange, *The Lands etc.*, p. 28 sq.) it is evident that at the junction of the two rivers there stood since at least the middle of the xvth century a castle named al-Kurna (now a small

town; see also below, iv. 364). Since the great scheme for regulating the Euphrates was carried out by Willcocks in the first decade of this century (cf. ii., p. 515^a and *SHAṬṬ AL-ʿARAB*) only a small and insignificant arm of the Euphrates now flows out at Kurna while its main arm cuts through the swamps of al-Ḥammār in a new channel and enters what is now called the *Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab* above Ḳarmat ʿAlī (c. 10 miles N. of Baṣra). On this modern Euphrates channel called after Karmat ʿAlī (popularly Ḳurmat and Gurmat ʿAlī) cf. Ḥāshim al-Saʿdī, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 6 sq., 36, 10, 159, 5 sq.; ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī, *op. cit.*, p. 69, 2; *Lughat al-ʿArab*, i. 365, 8 sq.; iv. 527, 3; *Mesopotamia (Handbooks of the Foreign Office, N° 63)*, London 1920, p. 6, 52 sq., 55 and cf. ii., p. 515.

The Eastern Tigris from al-Maḍhār to its mouth on the Persian Gulf bore in the middle ages the name of *Diḍjlat al-ʿAwrāʾ* = the "one-eyed Tigris" (on this cf. above, ii. 777); cf. especially Ibn Rosta (*B. G. A.*, vii.), p. 94 sq. and Ibn Serapion (*J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 28, 299—303); Streck, *Babylonien*, i. 41—42; G. Le Strange, *The Lands etc.*, p. 43; Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 21—23 and cf. i., p. 676, 969 sq.; ii., p. 513 sq. Yāḳūt (iv. 830, 22) however limits the name *Diḍjlat al-ʿAwrāʾ* to the stretch from al-Maṭāra to the sea, i. e. the combined Euphrates and Tigris. At the same time we find other special names for this last section among the Arab authors of the middle ages like *Diḍjlat al-Baṣra* (the Tigris of B.), *Faiḍ al-Baṣra* (cf. e. g. Yāḳūt, iii. 931, 10), *Bādhaward* (Yāḳūt, i. 462, 11). A specifically Persian name is *Bahmanshīr* = the river of the district of Bahman Ardashīr (cf. ii., p. 777; see Yāḳūt, i. 770, 20).

Even in the Babylonian period the lower Tigris seems to have had a special name, *Surāpu*; see Meissner, *op. cit.*, p. 5. For nearly two centuries the combined Euphrates and Tigris has been known as *Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab* = "the river of the Arabs", because its banks, although since 1640 (with interruptions) they have been in parts incorporated in the Persian kingdom, are almost exclusively inhabited by Arab tribesmen. (The name *Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab* is found in the middle of the 13th century in *Nāṣir-i Khusrāw* [*Sefernāme*, ed. Schefer, p. 89] but this is the only early occurrence). In its lower half the *Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab* has since that date formed the often contested frontier between Persia and Turkey or (since the World War) the Kingdom of ʿIrāk; about an hour's journey above (or west of) Muḥammara, the eastern bank becomes Persian. Cf. also the article *SHAṬṬ AL-ʿARAB* and *The Persian Gulf (Foreign Office Handbook, N° 76)*, London 1820, p. 15, 54.

The stretch of the *Diḍjlat al-ʿAwrāʾ* corresponding to the modern *Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab* in the middle ages sent out numerous canals on either side; the very complicated canal-system of the country round Baṣra was especially celebrated. The most important canals on the west bank were the *Nahr Maʿkīl* (still to-day the name of a small village, an hour above al-ʿAshshār) and the *Nahr Ubulla* (apparently the modern *Nahr al-ʿAshshār*) which united at the town of Baṣra and connected it with the Tigris. The mediaeval *Nahr Abi ʿl-Khaṣīb*, c. 15 miles south of Baṣra on the west side, may also be mentioned: this still exists to-day and has given its name to a district and its capital (belonging to the sandjak of Baṣra); see Cuinet, *op. cit.*, p. 23; ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Of the canals

on the west bank the most important was the *Nahr Bayān* (cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 311, 390—391). The *Nahr Bayān* formed an artificial channel connecting the Tigris and the *Kārūn*; we have also mediaeval references to a similar communication between these two rivers. Another canal still in existence on the west side is the *Nahr Raiyān* (Rayān?; modern *Riyān*) north of the *Nahr Bayān*. The most northern canal on the east side which left the Tigris about the neighbourhood of the modern Kurna, was called *Nahr al-Mubarak*, not *Nahr al-Maḍhār* (cf. thereon de Goeje, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 749; emendation to *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 30, 2, 307, 308 and Streck, *Babylonien*, i. 41). Generally speaking, there are not now so many canals in the *Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab* as there were in the middle ages. The best account of conditions in the caliphate is that of Ibn Serapion: see the text in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 29—30 (thereon p. 303—311); cf. also Streck, *Babylonien*, i. 42 and G. Le Strange, *The Lands etc.*, p. 46—48. Cf. particularly the article *al-Baṣra wa-Anḥārūha*, which gives a list of old and new names of canals, in *Lughat al-ʿArab*, iii. (1913), p. 57—68, 128—132 and p. 673—674 (additions) and p. 700—704 (indices); al-Nabḥānī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Nabḥaniya fī Taʾrikh al-Djāsira al-ʿArabiya*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1342 (1923), ii. 15—53.

After the hydrography of the district of Maisān, we may now deal briefly with the more important places in it. The mediaeval Arab geographers give as its capital the already frequently mentioned *al-Maḍhār* on the eastern bank of the Tigris, 4 days' journey from Baṣra. The *Shīʿa* inhabitants according to Yāḳūt (vi. 468) had a splendid mosque here with the tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī who fell at Karbalāʾ in the year 680; on this see the references in Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der arab. Stämme, Register* (1853), p. 8 and Yāḳūt, vi. 506; cf. also Ḥawīza. This sanctuary still survives and it enables us — which has not been noticed before (hence, for example, the inaccurate locations by G. Le Strange in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 300 and in *The Lands etc.*, p. 42) — to define quite exactly the site of *al-Maḍhār*. The name *al-Maḍhār* is no longer known on the spot; as of the old town the highly revered ʿAlid sanctuary is all that remains, the place is now called simply ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī. Keppel, who paused here on his way up the river in 1824, speaks erroneously of "the residence of Sheikh Abdilla bin Ali, an Arab chief"; cf. his *Personal Narrative of a Journey from India to England* (London 1827), i. 91. According to Chesney's map (see *Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1856, Atlas, Pl. x.), ʿUzair and ʿAbd Allāh are only 10 miles apart in a direct line, a figure which has however to be doubled when allowing for the many windings of the river if one goes by boat. The traveller Schlāffli, who in 1862 went down the Tigris on a steamer, took two hours to go from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī to ʿUzair; cf. his *Reisen im Orient* (Winterthur 1864), p. 137; Rich took six hours to ascend (Ritter, xi. 945). On my own journey in March 1927 I visited ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī; the steamer covered the distance from here to ʿUzair with the river in favourable condition in not quite three hours. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī lies on a slight eminence ten minutes from the left bank of the Tigris, which describes a curve here. The mosque of the tomb with its dome

visible from a long distance off stands within the south side of an oblong court, to which entrance is given by a door in the slightly built north wall. The *Maḡama*-poet al-Ḥarīrī, born in Maṣhān (near Baṣra) is said by Yāqūt (iv. 468) to have died in al-Maḡhār. As Ibn Rosta (*B. G. A.*, vii.), p. 95, 21 tells us, the tides came up as far as al-Maḡhār; this agrees with Schläfli's observation (*op. cit.*). The tide indeed is sometimes perceptible as far up as the town of Kaḷ'at Šāliḥ, farther north; cf. Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 39, 2; cf. also *The Persian Gulf Pilot*, London 1898, p. 295. Opposite al-Maḡhār, on the west bank was the little town of al-Ḥaṭrā (Yāqūt, iv. 947, 6).

When Yāqūt observes in one passage (iv. 714) that the capital of Maisān was also called Maisān, he can only be referring to al-Maḡhār, the centre of the district of Maisān in the narrower sense, not perhaps, Furāt Maisān, for which we also find an abbreviated form Maisān. The name al-Maḡhār probably first came into existence in the Muslim period, perhaps for a new foundation on the site of the old town of Maisān.

As to Kaḷ'at Šāliḥ already mentioned on the left bank of the Tigris which like 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī belongs to the *ḫuḏ* of 'Amāra, see Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 151; 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī, *op. cit.*, p. 123—134 and *Lughat al-'Arab*, iv. 377, 2, 378, 4, 536. This town of modern origin a couple of hours' journey below 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī has now about 3,000 inhabitants (including many Mandaeans). The site of al-Maḡhār cannot be marked by Kaḷ'at Šāliḥ for al-Maḡhār was certainly of moderate extent and the 'Alid mosque is to be sought within it and not in its vicinity.

As to 'Uzair already mentioned (now usually pronounced 'Azēr), south of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī on the west bank of the Tigris, it is especially mentioned that it belonged to the district of Maisān; see Yāqūt, iv. 319, 714; Kaẓwīnī, *Aḥkār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 310. The proper name of this place with the alleged tomb of Ezra ('Uzair) in the middle ages was, according to Arabic and Jewish sources, Nahr Samura (popularly Simmara); cf. e. g. Yāqūt, iv. 840, 20. Cf. on 'Uzair especially D. S. Sassoon, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*); J. R. Ghanima, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 189 sq. and the article 'UZAIR.

The town of 'Abdasī ('Abdas etc.) to the north of al-Maḡhār has already been discussed. On the town of Ḥuwaiza (now Ḥawiza) also belonging to Maisān see above i., p. 676 and art. ḤAWIZA; to the *Bibliography* may now be added: Layard in *J. R. G. S.*, xvi. (1846), p. 34—36; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientif. en Perse, Étude géograph.*, ii., Paris 1895, p. 278 and Schwarz, *Irān im Mittelalter*, p. 392 sq.; *Lughat al-'Arab*, vi. 277 sq. An extensive swamp (*ḥār*) (cf. i., p. 676) takes its name from this town, the water from which flows into the Tigris a little south of Ḳurna; cf. Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 21, 1.

The modern towns of importance on the Nahr al-Gharrāf (Shaṭṭ al-Ḥaiy) are of recent origin and are still developing. They are from north to south: Ḥaiy (Kūt al-Ḥaiy), a town with 9,000—10,000 inhabitants (cf. above and i., p. 676; *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 152, 224); Kaḷ'at Sikkar with 1,500 and Shaṭra with 7,000 inhabitants; on these three places cf. Cuinet, *op. cit.*, iii. 290, 310 sq., 312—315 (where Kaḷ'at Sakar is wrongly given for

Kaḷ'at Sikkar); Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 69 sq.; 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī, *op. cit.*, p. 111—113; 130 sq.; Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 147, 162—163.

At the spot which up till some two centuries ago was regarded as the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris stands the little town of Ḳurna (Ḳorna, Gurna) with 2,000 inhabitants. It is not known to have existed in the middle ages; on it cf. above and Mignan, *Travels in Chaldaea*, London 1829, p. 284 sq.; Ritter, xi. 1018—1023; Cuinet, *op. cit.*, iii. 211 sqq.; 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 156; *Lughat al-'Arab*, iii. 57. Halfway between Ḳurna and Baṣra must have stood al-Maṭāra where, according to Yāqūt, the two arms of the Tigris, or the Euphrates and Tigris met in the middle ages; cf. above. About 3 hours' journey above Baṣra on the right bank of the river is the little village of Ḳarmat 'Alī, where as already mentioned, the main stream of the Euphrates flows into the Tigris or the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab.

In the Muslim period, Baṣra was the largest and most important town in the old district of Maisān and in practice its capital, although under the 'Abbāsids, al-Maḡhār may have for a considerable period been regarded as the official capital. On Baṣra, mediaeval Baṣra, modern Baṣra and al-'Ashshār, cf. the article BAṢRA.

Al-'Ashshār stands approximately on the site of Ubulla which as a suburb and port on the Tigris for the mediaeval Baṣra was of some importance. In our sources we are expressly told that Ubulla lay north of the canal which bore its name, partly on an island, which was formed by the Tigris and the two canals of Nahr al-Ma'ḳil and Nahr al-Ubulla which joined one another at Baṣra. The modern Nahr al-Ḳhōra which leaves the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab about one hour south of al-'Ashshār, cannot be the Nahr al-Ubulla (in spite of *Lughat al-'Arab*, iii. 63). The modern al-'Ashshār, the principal commercial centre of southern 'Irāk, is only a little inferior to Baṣra as regards numbers of population. The two together have now a population of 50—60,000. On Ubulla, the ancient Ἀποδύρον ἐκπύριον (s. Pauly-Wissowa, *Reallex. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, Suppl.-Bd., i. 111), cf. G. Le Strange, *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 306 and *The Lands etc.*, p. 47; Drouin, *a. a. O.* (s. *Litt.*), p. 9; Sachau, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1919, No. 1, p. 20, 51 sq.; *Isl.*, xi. 151; *Lughat al-'Arab*, v. 477; vi. 200, 1 and the art. AL-UBULLA.

Opposite al-'Ashshār, on the east bank of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab stands the little town of al-Tanūma (cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, iii. 129, 3, 230, 9; 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 156, 6). On its site or at least somewhere in the neighbourhood, there was already in ancient and mediaeval times an important harbour, known to Pliny as Forat (cf. also Drouin, *op. cit.*, p. 8). In the Talmud (see Berliner, *op. cit.*, p. 44) and in Syriac sources it is called Perāt de Maishān, in the mediaeval Arab authors Furāt Maisān or Furāt al-Baṣra. In Syriac and Arabic texts we also find Perāt or Furāt, without the addition of Maisān; with Furāt = Euphrates the name has no connection. When the first Sāsānian king Ardashīr I refounded the city it received from him the new name or Bahman-Ardashīr, shortened to Bahmanshīr; see Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 37 sq., 46 and *Isl.*, xi. 149. Cf. the above mentioned

specifically Persian name of the *Didjlat al-ʿAwraʾ* and *Bamshir* (= *Bahmanshir*) as a name of an arm of the *Kārūn* (cf. ii., p. 777). That *Furāt Maisān* was opposite *Ubulla* on the left bank is quite clear from the Arabic references: cf. Wellhausen, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. F., v., No. 2 (1901), p. 34 and Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 31. The identification of *Furāt Maisān* with the modern *Baṣra* or even with old *Baṣra* (Berliner, *op. cit.*), which has been championed by different scholars (Nöldeke in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1893, *Abh.* ix., p. 18; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Sachau, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1919, No. 1, p. 49; only suggested as a possibility by Herzfeld in *Sarre-Herzfeld, Archäol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i. 251) is therefore untenable. *Perāt de Maishān* was the see of the Nestorian metropolitan which was later moved to *Baṣra* (first certain reference in 893); cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 31 sq. The old name of the diocese *Perāt de Maishān* was still frequently used in place of *Baṣra* even after the transfer of the episcopal see. If we have on one occasion, c. 900 A. D., a mention of a bishop of *Maishān* simply, we should refer it to *Perāt de Maishān* rather than to *Karkh de Maishān* (so Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 50) because the abbreviation *Maishān* for *Perāt de Maishān* is found elsewhere in Syriac literature (cf. Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 32-33). As to the coins of the Omayyad period of the mint of *Maisān*, this is probably to be explained also as *al-Furāt Maisān* and not as *Karkh Maisān* (so Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiii. 126) or *Maisān* (*al-Madhār*) as Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 34 thinks. *Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ*, *Takwīm al-Buldān* (ed. Reinaud, p. 296), also is obviously thinking of *Furāt Maisān* not *Maisān* (*al-Madhār*) when he says "*Maisān* is a little town in the lower part of the land of *Baṣra*".

On the east bank of the *Shatt al-ʿArab* about where the *Eulaeus* or *Dudjail* (the modern *Kārūn* [q. v.]) joins it, *Alexander the Great* built a new town on the site of an older settlement, which he called *Alexandria* after himself. After its restoration by one of the *Seleucids*, it was known as *Antiocheia*. When *Spasines* (*Hyspaosines*) created a kingdom of his own in *Mesene-Charakene*, *Alexandria-Antiocheia* became his capital and was known as *Χαπάξ Ἐπαύλου*; under this name (Aramaic *Karkhā Aspasinā* or simply *Karkhā*) it is mentioned in the *Palmyrene* inscriptions. Another refoundation of the town is ascribed to *Ardashir I*, hence its official designation in the *Sāsānian* period as *Astarābād* *Ardashir* (also abbreviated to *Astābād*); cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sāsāniden* (Leyden 1879), p. 14; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Herzfeld, *Isl.*, xi. 150; *Hamza al-Isfahānī*, *op. cit.*, p. 47, gives the (corrupt?) form of the name *Inshā Ardashir*. The older name *Karkhā* more exactly defined by the addition "of *Maishān*" remained in existence. The *Syriac* texts always write *Karkhā de Maishān*. There was a Nestorian bishopric here, which seems soon to have disappeared under *Islām*; see Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 49-50 and Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 33. The Arabs took over the *Syriac* name as *Karkh* [q. v.] *Maisān*; cf. e. g. *Yāqūt*, iv. 207, i. The Persian traveller *Nāṣir-i Khusrāw* who visited the *ʿIrāk* about 443 (1051) (cf. his *Sefernāme*, ed. Schefer, p. 89) mentions, besides *Baṣra*, in the district of *Maisān* a place called *ʿAkr Maisān*, probably an inaccurate reproduction of *Karkh Maisān*. The site of *Karkh*

Maisān is usually sought on that of the Persian port of *Muhammara*, which has only arisen since about 1812, or at least in its immediate neighbourhood; cf. Andreas in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realenzykl.*, i. 1394 sq.; Drouin, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Herzfeld in *Sarre-Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise*, i. 251; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 33. This identification does not have been absolutely certain: *Karkh Maisān* is perhaps to be located farther to the north; cf. e. g. the objections of Mordtmann in *S. B. Bayr. Ak.*, 1875, vol. ii., Suppl. Heft, iii., p. 14. Cf. also on *Alexandria-Charax Spasinu-Karkh Maisān* the important article "*Alexandria*" by Andreas in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realenzykl.*, i. 1390 sqq. and the article *Charax Spasinu* by Weisbach, *ibid.*, iii. 2122; Drouin, *op. cit.*, p. 7-8, 15; Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 31 sq. On coins struck in *Karkh Maisān* of the *Arsakid* and *Sāsānian* periods cf. Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiii. 126 sq. and G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia and Persia in the British Museum* (London 1922); cf. also *MUHAMMARA* and also vol. ii. p. 777.

In the middle ages the most southerly town in the *ʿIrāk* was *ʿAbbādān*, which then lay on the coast — under the later *ʿAbbāsids* it was already some distance from it — and was an important harbour. Cf. above and the article *ʿABBĀDĀN*.

At the beginning of the twentieth century it was still an insignificant little village. It is only since the last twenty years that it has undergone an unexpected development because of the *Anglo-Persian Oil Company* making it the terminus of their pipes from *Shuster* and *Maidān-i Naftun* (cf. ii., p. 779b). The oil is now pumped into tank-steamer at *ʿAbbādān*; important factories, warehouses etc. have been built there. *Brēm*, five minutes west of *ʿAbbādān* proper, has developed into a flourishing town which bears the name *Brēm ʿAbbādān* or *ʿAbbādān al-Hādītha* = New *ʿAbbādān*. On the meaning of the word *brēm* (a particular kind of date) cf. *Lughat al-ʿArab*, i. 125, i sq., 443, 5; iii. 592, 2 from below. In *Brēm* are the ruins of a palace or castle said to date from the time of the *Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd*; cf. *Lughat al-ʿArab*, i. 126, 9 sq. *ʿAbbādān* is now next to *Baṣra-Ashshār* and *Muhammara* the largest and most important town in the whole of the *Shatt al-ʿArab*. On the other places on the island of *ʿAbbādān* cf. *Lughat al-ʿArab*, i. 128, 3 sq. The island, which before the war belonged to the *Shaikh* of *Muhammara* who was under Persian suzerainty, was leased about 1911 by England for 99 years. On mediaeval *ʿAbbādān* cf. *Lughat al-ʿArab*, i. 121-129; on modern *ʿAbbādān* and the works of the *Persian Oil Company*, *ibid.*, i. 176-184; W. Schweer, *Die türk.-persisch. Erdölvoorkommen*, Hamburg 1919, p. 52, 112-115.

At *ʿAbbādān* close to the sea-coast there stood in the middle ages the lighthouses known as *al-Khashabāt* [q. v.].

As has already been pointed out, *ʿAbbādān* is now over 20 miles from the sea. The most southerly place in the *ʿIrāk* for about a century has been the important lighthouse and telegraph station at *Fāo* [q. v.], built on the shore of the *Persian Gulf*; on it and the district, cf. *Cuinet*, *op. cit.*, iii. 268-270; *ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī*, *op. cit.*, p. 118; *Hāshim al-Saʿdī*, *op. cit.*, p. 21, 155, 3 from below; cf. above and art. *SHATT AL-ʿARAB*. The *Turks* fortified this important strategic point (see *Persian Gulf* [Handbooks etc.], p. 54; *Meso-*

potamia [*Handbooks* etc.], p. 48, 63; al-Nabhānī, *loc. cit.*, ii. 142—146).

It may be here mentioned that the Zindj, the African negro-slaves, settled in the southern 'Irāk (cf. ZINDJ and i., p. 676), during their rebellion in the second half of the ninth century, built several strong places west of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, which they used as bases during their struggle with the armies of the Caliph. Their main bulwork was the town of al-Mukhtāra (Yāqūt, iv. 831, s) on the Nahr Abi 'l-Khaṣīb (see above), south of Baṣra. Other strongholds were called al-Manīfa and al-Manšūra. When al-Muwaffaḳ, the brother of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid, undertook command of the military operations against the Zindj, he pitched his camp opposite these places on the east bank of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab; this camp soon grew into a considerable town, called al-Muwaffaḳiyya with mosques, bazaars and even a mint. But when in 883 the capture of al-Mukhtāra broke the power of the rebels and the dangerous servile war was over, this new foundation of al-Muwaffaḳ seems to have been soon abandoned again. On al-Muwaffaḳiyya and the three strongholds of the Zindj above mentioned cf. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalif.*, ii. 456, 462, 464; Lang, *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. 610; A. Müller, *Der Islām im Morgen- und Abendl.*, i. 585 sq.; Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen* (1892), p. 174—183; (= *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 146 sqq.); de Goeje, *Mém. sur les Carmathes*, Leyden 1886, p. 103.

The population of Maisān in the early centuries of Islām still had a strong admixture of Persian blood; it was therefore regarded as not quite equal to the pure blooded Arabs who were proud of the purity of their stock. We thus see why the poet al-Akḥṭal thinks he can most effectively insult Arabs by calling them people from the Maisān district of Azkubādh (cf. the verse in Yāqūt, i. 233, 6) i. e., by denying them to be Arabs; cf. Goldziher, *Muhammed. Stud.*, i. (Halle 1889), p. 118 and cf. *idem*, p. 119, note 1, the quotation from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, (xvii. 65, 23). This naturally produced a reaction among the Maisān Arabs. The celebrated poet and historian Sahl b. Hārūn [q. v.] of Dast-i Maisān, a fanatical believer in the doctrine of the equality of all Muslims (*Shu'ūbiyya*, q. v.) on the other hand, extols the blue blood of the people of Maisān (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i. 161).

The Muslim inhabitants of Maisān were in the middle ages as at the present day for the most part Shī'is. The number of Jews does not seem to have been considerable before the invasion of the Arabs. At the present day there is only a considerable community of them in Baṣra. The alleged tomb of Ezra in 'Uzair (cf. above), a much-visited place of pilgrimage also honoured by Christians and Muslims, is in Jewish hands.

Christianity is said, according to legend, to have reached Maisān in the first century A. D. A quite legendary person named Mārī, said to be a disciple of Jesus, is regarded as the apostle of the Gospel in Central and Southern 'Irāk; cf. Raabe, *Geschichte des Dominus Mārī*, Leipzig 1893 (Dissert.), p. 57—58 and Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 286 sq. This much is certain that as early as 410 A. D. there was a separate Nestorian ecclesiastical province with 4 dioceses; cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, xliii. 394; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 41 and Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 48—52.

The remarkable sect of the Mandaeans (the Sābi'a of the Qur'ān, q. v.), now called Subbē, had from their early times their headquarters in southern 'Irāk, in Maisān, especially in the swamp country. On their geographical distribution in the nineteenth century cf. Chwolson, *Die Sabier und der Sabismus* (St. Petersburg 1850, i. 124—125) and Euting, in *Das Ausland* (1876), p. 224—225. According to enquiries which I made in 1927 of Mandaeans, the number of Mandaeans in the larger towns of the 'Irāk may be approximately estimated as follows: in 'Amāra and Ḥawiza 1,000 each; in Kaḥ'at Šālīḥ and Muḥammara 500 each, in Baṣra 300 and in Kurna 100. The language of the Mandaeans, who represent a remnant of the original native Aramaic population of Babylonia, is probably identical in the main with the Aramaic idiom which was once predominant in southern 'Irāk, the dialect of the old kingdom of Mesene-Charakene, the Meshān dialect as it is called in the Targum; cf. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle 1875), xxvi and Pogonon, *Inscript. mandaites des coupes de Khawabir* (Paris 1898—1899), p. 13—14, 224.

On the Indian people of the Djaṭ (Arab. Zutṭ) and the Zindj from East Africa, who were settled on the soil of Maisān at the end of the first (seventh) or in the third (ninth) century, see above i., p. 676 and the articles ZINDJ and ZUTṬ.

As to the industries of the people of Maisān in the middle ages we need only mention the mats made here, which are praised as the best of their kind; cf. S. Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwört. im Arabisch.* (Leyden 1886), p. 92. The reed-beds of the marshes supplied excellent material for them in enormous quantities. Even at the present day the manufacture of reed-mats continues to give employment to many hands; for the people of the flat lands in southern 'Irāk like to use long tun-shaped huts called *ṣerifa's*, the walls of which are made of reed-matting.

The history of Maisān since the introduction of Islām practically coincides with that of the 'Irāk, especially that of the northern part (the province of Baṣra and the Baṭīḥa); the reader may therefore be referred to the articles 'IRĀK, BAṢRA and AL-BATĪḤA. Here we will only point out that the administrative district of the Tigris belonging to Maisān was conquered with Dast-i Maisān in the year 14 (635); on this conquest cf. Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 340—346 and Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii. 252, 301—304 (§ 6 and 81—86); vi. 108 (Index s. v. Maysān).

Al-Madhār, the capital of Maisān, was the scene of important military happenings at the time of the Arab invasion and frequently later also. In the year 12 (633) al-Khalīd and al-Muthannā fought a great battle with the Persians at this town, the first in their invasion of the 'Irāk. This battle is sometimes called after an adjacent canal, called al-Thini (Yāqūt, i. 937, 17). The defeated Persians are said to have lost 30,000 men in this encounter; cf. Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 242, 9; Tabari, *op. cit.*, v. 2026—2029; al-Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, iv. 209; Müller, *Der Islām*, i. 228; Caetani, *op. cit.*, ii. 959—962 (§ 196—200). In the fighting with the Khārīdījis for whom the district of Djuḳhā in Dast-i Maisān frequently served as a hidingplace, there was a desperate battle in 47 (664) in and around the town of al-Madhār. These rebels were forced to retreat by the Kūfans under the leadership of Ma'kil b. Kaīs; cf. Wellhausen, *Abh.*

G. W. Gött., N. S., v., No. 2 (1901), p. 22—23. In the campaigns against the 'Alids, Muṣ'ab b. Zubair at al-Madhār in 67 (686) inflicted a serious reverse on the army sent by Mukhtār under the command of Ahmad al-Nakhlī, which had very grave results for the Shī'a cause championed by Mukhtār; cf. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, iv. 468; Weil, *op. cit.*, p. 83 and above i., p. 676. Several centuries later, there was again fighting at al-Madhār, on this occasion with varying results. This was during the struggle between Abū Kālidjār and Djalāl al-Dawla in 421 (1030) in connection with the disputed succession among the Būyids; see above i., p. 94b.

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(M. STRECK)

MAISARA, a Berber chief of the Maghrib, who rebelled against Arab authority in 122 (739/40). He belonged to the tribe of the Maḡhāra and the historians give him the surname of al-Ḥaḳīr "the low-born" because he was of humble origin and before his rebellion had been a water-seller in the market of al-Kairawān.

After the recall of Mūsā b. Nuṣair at the end of the first century A. H., rebellion began to smoulder in North Africa. 'Umar b. Abd Allāh al-Murādī, governor of Tangier, and a grandson of 'Uḳba b. Nāfi', Ḥabīb b. Abī 'Ubaida, governor of Sūs, were inflicting grievous wrongs on the Berbers by treating them, as regards taxation, as a conquered people not converted to Islām, and by taking the fairest of their women to send as slaves to Damascus. The general Ḥabīb having been sent from Sūs with his troops to the conquest of Sicily, his departure was the signal for insurrection. A movement on a large scale broke out; at its head the Berbers put Maisara al-Maḡhārī. With the related tribes of the Miknāsa and Baraghawāta [q. v.] Maisara advanced on Tangier and seized it. The Arabs tried in vain to withstand him; the governor of Spain, 'Uḳba b. al-Ḥadīdjādī, even crossed the Strait to help Tangier but his efforts were in vain. It was not long before Maisara was dismissed and killed by his own followers but his successor Khālīd b. Hamīd al-Zanāṭī was more fortunate: at the beginning of 123 (740) he inflicted on the Arabs on the banks of the Wādī Shalīf (Chélif) the disastrous defeat known as the "battle of the nobles" (*gharwat al-aṣḥāf*). It required a great expeditionary force to be organised in the east in order to overcome finally this general rebellion, which was not done without considerable losses.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kūṭīya, *Tārīkh Ifṭitāḥ al-Andalus*, Madrid 1926, p. 14—15 of the text, 10—11 of the transl.; Ibn Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-muḡhrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 39—40, transl. Fagnan, i. 50—53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v. 142 = *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, p. 63—65; al-Nuwairī, *Histoire d'Afrique*, ed. Gaspar Remiro, p. 34—35; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. and transl. by de Slane, text, i. 137 and 151, transl., i. 216—217, 237—238; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1875, i. 286—289; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, i. 241—243.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MAISIR, casting lots by arrows, a method by which a head of cattle was divided. This was the custom of the Arabs before Islām. The word seems almost to mean lucky chance, easy success, from *yasira*, to be easy, *yassara*, to succeed; cf. *maisara*, comfort, riches. A group of ten Arabs used to buy a young camel, which was cut into ten portions and the *yāsir* presiding distributed the portions among his companions by means of arrows on which he had written their names and which he drew at random out of a bag. In another system 28 portions were made of the animal; there was one part for the first arrow, 2 for the second and 3 for the third and so on up to 7; the three last got nothing. These arrows were deposited with the guardians of the temple in Mecca.

The game was considered a pagan practice and the Qur'ān (ii. 216 and v. 92) forbade it along with wine and idols as a major sin.

The word *maisir* has acquired a wider sense among the commentators and in certain traditions.

Zamakhsari gives it the same sense as *kimūr* [q. v.]. According to a tradition of the Prophet, *maisir* is applied also to dice: "these accursed dice are the *maisir* of Persia (*maisir al-'aḡjam*)"; according to a tradition attributed to 'Alī it is also to be extended to backgammon and chess (presumably in so far as dice were used in these games) and according to Ibn Sīrīn to every practice in which there is an element of chance.

Cf. the Dictionaries, the *Kāmūs*, Djawhari, Zamakhsari, *Kashshāf*, ed. Nassau Lees, i. 380; al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 300 sqq.; Huber, *Über das Maisir genannte Spiel*; Freytag, *Einleitung*, p. 170 sqq. (B. CARRA DE VAUX)

MAISŪN, daughter of the Kalbī chief Baḥdal b. Unaif [q. v.], mother of the Caliph Yazīd I. We do not know if after her marriage with Mu'āwīya she retained the Christian religion which had been that of her family and of her tribe. A few verses are attributed to her in which she sighs for the desert and shows very slight attachment for her husband. But the attribution to Maisūn of this fragment of poetry, which is in any case old, has been rightly disputed. She took a great interest in the education of her son Yazīd and accompanied him to the desert of Kalb where the prince passed a part of his youth; this temporary separation from her husband gave rise to the legend of her repudiation by Mu'āwīya. She must have died before Yazīd became Caliph.

Bibliography: This is given in Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyad Mo'awia I* (M. F. O. B., iii.), p. 286—287, 305, 312—314. (H. LAMMENS)

MAISŪR (MYSORE) (Skt. mahisha-Canūru "buffalo town"), the premier Hindu State in India, is a principality in Southern India under the British protection, having an area of 29,433 square miles, between 11° 36' and 15° 2' N. and 74° 38' and 78° 36' E. Its Hindu rulers preserved their independence until the middle of the xviiith century when Ḥaidar 'Alī [q. v.] took possession of the country. It remained in his and his successor, Tipū Sultān's [q. v.], possession until the capture of Seringapatam by the British in 1214 (1799). Maisūr was then restored by Lord Wellesley to the old Hindu dynasty. The majority of the Musalmans are Sunnis, very few being Shī'īs. Of Muḥammadan buildings the most noteworthy are the Gumbaz or Mausoleum of Ḥaidar 'Alī and Tipū at Gandjam, and the Daryā Dawlat, a summer palace at Seringapatam. The population at the census of 1911 was 5,806,193, of whom 314,494 are Musalmans, mostly Sunnis. The capital of the principality bears the same name, Maisūr. The languages spoken are Canarese, Hindustānī, Tamil and Telegu.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Mysore and Coorg., Calcutta 1908; *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xxi., Bangalore 1912.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MAITA (A.), feminine of *mait*, dead (used of senseless things); as a substantive it means an animal that has died in any way other than by slaughter. In later terminology the word means firstly an animal that has not been slain in the ritually prescribed fashion, the flesh of which therefore cannot be eaten, and secondly all parts of animals whose flesh cannot be eaten, whether because not properly slaughtered or as a result of a general prohibition against eating them.

In addition to Sūra xxxvi. 33 where *maita* appears as an adjective, the word occurs in the following passages in the Kur'ān in the first of these meanings: xvi. 116: "He has forbidden you *maita* blood, pork and that over which another than Allāh has been invoked; if however anyone is forced (to eat these) without wishing to transgress or sin, Allāh is merciful and indulgent" (of the third Meccan period, since vi. 119 may refer to this context and the appearance of the same exception for cases of coercion in vi. 146 [cf. below] is then only easily explained in view of the whole trend of the passage, if there were an earlier passage, namely xvi. 116, in which it was given full justification; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, i. 146 sq.; Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii. 26 transfers the whole Sūra to the later Meccan period); vi. 140, 146: "They have said: 'What is in the womb of this cattle belongs to the males, and is forbidden to our females'; but if it is *maita* (still born), all have a share in it... Say: I find in what is revealed to me nothing forbidden, which must not be eaten, except it be *maita* or congealed blood or pork — for this is filth — or a slaughter at which another than Allāh is invoked, but if anyone is forced (to eat it) without wishing to commit a transgression or sin, thy heart is merciful and indulgent" (of the third Meccan period; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, i. 161; Grimme, ii. 26); ii. 168: "He has forbidden you *maita*, blood, pork and that at which another than Allāh is invoked but if anyone is forced (to eat it) without wishing to commit a sin or transgression, it is not reckoned as a sin against him; Allāh is merciful and indulgent" (of the year 2 of the Hidjra, before the battle of Badr; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, i. 178; Grimme, ii. 27): v. 4, 5: "Forbidden to you is *maita*, blood, pork, that at which another than Allāh is invoked, and that which has been strangled, killed by a blow or a fall, or by the horns (of another beast), that which has been eaten by wild beasts — with the exception of what is made pure — and that which hath been sacrificed to idols... But if anyone in (his) hunger is forced to eat of them without wishing to commit a sin, Allāh is merciful and indulgent" (in all probability revealed after the valedictory pilgrimage of the year 10; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, i. 227 sq.; Grimme, ii. 28 dates the Sūra to the year 7).

It is quite evident from Sūra, vi. 140 that the *maita* was of some significance for the Meccans in the many laws about food with which Arab paganism was acquainted (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 168 sqq.). Although it is no longer possible to define exactly the part it played (even the statements recorded by Ṭabarī from the earliest interpreters of this passage, which moreover only refers to a detail, reveal the complete disappearance of any reliable tradition), it may be assumed without misgiving that the Qur'ānic prohibition contained a corresponding pre-Islāmic prohibition, although it perhaps modified it. Both go back to the religious reluctance to consume the blood of animals, and indeed in all the Qur'ān passages quoted, blood is mentioned alongside of *maita*. It is unnecessary to assume that Muḥammad was influenced by Judaism on this point and the suggestion may be rejected especially as the prohibition in its stereotyped form occurs again in Sūra ii. 168 just at the time of vigorous reaction against Judaism and Sūra vi. 147 (*Madnase*, a

late insertion) which contrasts the prohibition of *maita* etc. with the Jewish laws relating to food. What Muḥammad understood by *maita*, he tells us himself in the latest passage dealing with it, v. 4: in the second half of the verse the principal kinds of *maita* are given (with the exception of the animal that dies of disease), which had already been mentioned in general terms; the commentators were thus able to interpret the single cases given as examples wrongly as different from the *maita* proper. The purification (in the Qurʾān only mentioned in this passage) must mean ritual slaughter, by which, even if done at the last moment, the animal does not become *maita* but can be eaten.

These prescriptions of the Qurʾān are further developed in the Traditions. According to the latter it is forbidden to trade in *maita* or more accurately its edible parts; some traditions (mainly on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) even forbid any use being made of all that comes from *maita*; others again expressly permit the use of hides of *maita*. An exception from the prohibition of *maita* is made in the cases of fish and locusts; these are in general considered as the two kinds of *maita* that are permitted, i.e. no ritual slaughter is demanded in their case (because they have no "blood", cf. above). While some traditions, extending this permission by the earliest *ḥiyās*, say that all creatures of the sea, not only fishes, can be eaten without ritual slaughter, including even sea-fowl (in this case it is said that "the sea has performed the ritual slaughter"), others limit the permission to those animals and fishes which the sea casts up on the land or the tide leaves behind in contrast to those which swim about on the water. But there is also quoted a saying of Abū Bakr expressly declaring what swims on the surface to be permitted. In this connection we have the story of a monster cast up by the sea (sometimes described as a fish) which fed a Muslim army under the leadership of Abū ʿUbayda when they were in dire straits; but in this tradition and in the interpretation that has been given it (that they only ate of it out of hunger i.e. took advantage of the Qurʾānic permission for cases of need) is clearly reflected the uncertainty that prevailed about such questions as were on the border line. In the Traditions, we find it first laid down that portions cut out of living animals are also considered *maita*. The way is at least paved for the declaration that all forbidden animal-dishes are *maita*. The regulations found in the Qurʾān appear again here, e.g. the permission to eat *maita* in case of need and slay properly dying animals at the moment to prevent them becoming *maita*.

Some traditions handed down through Ḥammād from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī bring us to a somewhat late period (in the *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*): one says that of the creatures of the sea only fishes can be eaten; another, which is found in two versions, limits the permission to what is thrown up by the sea or left behind by the tide; ritual slaughter is not demanded in this case. The question whether the embryo of a slaughtered dam requires a special purification i.e. ritual slaughter, is raised in one tradition and decided in the affirmative.

The most important regulations of Muslim law about *maita*, which express the last stage of development are as follows: It is unanimously

agreed that *maita* in the legal sense is impure and "forbidden" (*ḥarām*) i.e. cannot be eaten and also that fish are exceptions to this; the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs also except the majority of creatures of the sea, and according to the more correct Shāfiʿī view, this applies to all marine creatures (the Ḥanbalīs here hold the opinion of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, except that the two ideas of "thrown up" and "swimming on the surface" are later overlaid and destroyed by the to some extent synonymous "slain by another cause", "died of itself"). The edible parts of *maita* are also *maita*, as are the bones, hair etc. among the Shāfiʿīs, but not the Ḥanafīs, and among the Mālikīs only the bones; the hide when tanned, is considered pure and may be used. Emergency slaughter (*dhakāt* or *tadhkiya*; ritual slaughter in general is *ḍaḥḥ* or *naḥr*) is according to the Ḥanafīs and the better known view of the Shāfiʿīs (also according to al-Zuhri) permitted, even if the animal will certainly die, provided it still shows signs of life at the moment of slaughter. According to the view predominant among the Mālikīs, such slaughter is not valid and the animal becomes *maita* (in contrast to Mālik's own view). The question of the embryo (cf. above) is answered in the affirmative by the Ḥanafīs, following Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī and Abū Ḥanīfa (al-Shaibānī himself held the Mālikī view, to be mentioned immediately) but in the negative by the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs (in this case it is said that "the ritual slaughter of the dam is also the ritual slaughter of the embryo") except that the Mālikīs made it a condition that the embryo should be fully developed (Mālik himself also demanded its slaughter "to draw the blood from it" in the case where the embryo had been dropped). That anyone who is forced to eat *maita* may do so, is the unanimous opinion; only on the questions whether one is bound to eat *maita* to save his life, whether he should satisfy his hunger completely, or only eat the minimum to keep life alive etc., there is a difference of opinion. The Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs further demand that one should not have been brought to these straits through illegal action (a different interpretation of the Qurʾānic regulations).

A clear definition of *maita* and its distinction from other kinds of forbidden animal foods was never reached. Sometimes it is separated on the authority of the Qurʾānic passage itself from its own 4 subdivisions given in Sūra v. Sometimes its validity is extended over extensive allied fields. As is evident from the Fīḥ books, this terminological uncertainty has not infrequently caused still further confusion in the discussion of differences of opinion.

Bibliography: Lane, *Ar.-Engl. Lexicon*, s.v.; the books of Ḥadīth and Fīḥ; Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v.; Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*³, p. 169 sq. (J. SCHACHT)

MAIYĀFĀRIKĪN, a town in the north-east of Diyār Bakr [q.v.]. The other Muhammadan forms of the name are Māfārḳīn, Mafārḳīn, Fārḳīn (whence the name of origin al-Fārīḳī) etc. The town is called in Greek Martyropolis, in Syriac Mīpherḳē, in Armenian Nphrker (later Muharkīn, Muphargin). According to Yāḳūt, iv. 702, the old name of the town was Madūr-šālā (read *ḫālā* < **matur-khalakh* in Armenian, "town of the martyrs"). On the identification of Tigranocerta with Maiyāfārīḳīn see below.

Geography. The town lies to the south of the little range of the Hāzrō which rises like the first tier of the amphitheatre of the mountains, the higher parts of which consist of the summits (Darkōsh, Antok) rising to the south of Mūsh and separating the course of the eastern Euphrates (Murād-ḥai) from those of the Tigris and its left bank tributaries.

Maiyāfārikin lies 25 miles north of the Tigris and 12 west of the Baṭmān-ṣu. It is watered by a little river (now called the Fārkin-su) which flows into the Baṭmān-ṣu 12 miles to the south-east, an important left bank tributary of the Tigris which drains the wild and mountainous country south of Mūsh (the cantons of Kulp and Šāšūn). The old names of the Baṭmān-ṣu are Nicephorius (Roman period), Nymphios (Byzantine period), Syriac Kallath, Arabic Sātidamā (a word of Aramaic origin transcribed Shithithma in Armenian and explained as "drinker of blood"; Armen. Geogr. of the seventh century, Marquart, *Erānistahr*, p. 161), Armenian Khalirt and perhaps Mamūshel (Faustus of Byzantium). Some of these identifications, as we shall see, are still uncertain.

Maiyāfārikin is the meeting-place of a number of roads from the north following the different streams which go to form the Baṭmān-ṣu: 1. Čabakhdjūr (on the Murād-ḥai) — Dhu 'l-Karnain — Lidje — Boshāt — Maiyāfārikin; 2. Mūsh — Kulp — Pāsūr — Maiyāfārikin; 3. Mūsh — Khoit — Tingirt (= Šāšūn) — Maiyāfārikin. Routes 3 and 4 passing Šāšūn are still little known. The distance between Diyārbakr and Maiyāfārikin is about 45 miles. The old road Diyārbakr — Bitlis, which used to run through Maiyāfārikin, now runs farther south and crosses the Baṭmān-ṣu south of Almadin (Diyārbakr — Sinān — Zok — Weisikarani — Bitlis).

Maiyāfārikin has thus lost the advantage of being a stage on the road between Armenia and upper Mesopotamia. Since 1260 it has no longer been a political centre around which gravitated the interests of the country around. It retains only its importance as a market for the produce of the mountainous and pastoral country drained by the Baṭmān-ṣu.

Ancient History. The mountains to the north of Maiyāfārikin have long sheltered the remnants of ancient aboriginal peoples. About 600 A.D., Georgius Cyprius (ed. Gelzer, p. 48), mentions the Khothaitai and Sanasountai there who gave their names to the districts of Khoit and Šāšūn. Marquart (1916) supposes there are elements of the aboriginal language in names like *M-ipher-kēt and *Ma-mush-el(i) which are, he says, formed with Caucasian ("süd-kaukasisch") prefixes. According to tradition (Yāqūt, iv. 703), the founder of Martyropolis, Marīṭhā b. Layūṭā, was the son of a woman of the mountains, and Marquart sees in Layūṭā a mutilated form of the name of the people Uṛī(n) < Uṛarṭu (*Handes Amsorya*, 1915, p. 96; 1916, p. 126). The Marwānid Abū Naṣr was married to the daughter of Sankharib, lord of the Sanāsuna, cf. Amedroz, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1903.

Lehmann-Haupt thinks he can recognise at Maiyāfārikin traces of an ancient Assyrian settlement, "eine von Haus aus assyrische Anlage" (*Armenien*, I, 396, 398).

Tigranocerta = Maiyāfārikin (?). As early as 1838 von Moltke had suggested that Maiyāfārikin was the ancient Tigranocerta i.e. the new capital founded by Tigranes II about 80 B.C., which was

taken by Lucullus after the victory won on the banks of the Nicephorius (Oct. 6, 69 B.C.) and again in the reign of Nero by the legate Corbulo (c. 63 A.D.); it is regularly mentioned down to the middle of the fourth century A.D. Other scholars had sought Tigranocerta at Si'irt (d'Anville), Arzan (H. Kiepert, 1873), near Keft-Djōz (Kiepert 1875), at Tell-Armen west of Nišibin (E. Sachau; cf. DUNAISIR) etc. Late Armenian tradition gives the name Tigranocerta to Diyārbakr. Moltke's idea was taken up vigorously by Lehmann-Haupt and W. Belck, after their expedition to Armenia in 1898—99.

On the north wall of Maiyāfārikin is a mutilated Greek inscription. It was deciphered and published by Lehmann-Haupt, who attributes it to the Armenian King Pap (369—374), which is quite in keeping with the known facts of the reign of this monarch. In spite of his criticism of the details of Lehmann-Haupt's hypothesis, Marquart (1916) has rather corroborated him by bringing forward new considerations.

In view of the many contradictions found in the classical sources regarding Tigranocerta the question comes to be, if Maiyāfārikin is not Tigranocerta, what other unknown town existed here in the time of Pap, unless the stones on which the inscription is engraved and which are now hopelessly disarranged ("in heillosen Verwirrung") were brought from another place when Martyropolis was being built?

The main objection to the identification of Tigranocerta with Maiyāfārikin is that, according to Eutropius, vi. 9, 1 and Faustus, v. 24, Tigranocerta was in Arzanene (Aidznikh); on the other hand the river Mamūshel seems to have formed in the fourth century the western frontier of this latter province. From this fact (Hübschmann, *Die aliarmer. Ortsnamen, Indogerm. Forsch.*, 1904, p. 473—475), it seems that Tigranocerta ought to be placed east of the Baṭmān-ṣu if this river is identical with the Mamūshel. This last name was connected by Marquart with the name al-Musūliyāt, which Mukaddasi, p. 144, gives to one of the tributaries of the Tigris (on the left bank) and apparently corresponding to the Baṭmān-ṣu. [A district of Musūliya (?) still exists farther east on the upper course of the Bidlis-ḥai, in the area of the ancient possessions of the Baṭriḳ Mūshalik; cf. Kisrawī, in Yāqūt, ii. 551—552].

To reconcile the statements of Faustus, iv. 24 and 27, with the position of Maiyāfārikin (12 miles W. of the Baṭmān-ṣu), Marquart proposes to identify the Mamūshel = Nicephorius with the Fārkin-su while the Musūliyāt would be applied to the whole system of the Baṭmān-ṣu (Nymphios, Sātidamā etc.). The insignificance of the Fārkin-su, which rises in the hills about 3 miles north of Maiyāfārikin (Ibn al-Azraq calls its source Ra's al-'Ain; the *Dihān-numā*, p. 437: 'Ain al-Hawd) and does not suit the description of the hermitage of Mambrē, which, according to Faustus, must have been on the right bank, makes Marquart's hypothesis less attractive. If finally we consider the position of Maiyāfārikin from the point of view of the interests of Tigranes, one is forced to admit that against an enemy coming from the west (Lucullus!) Tigranocerta = Maiyāfārikin was devoid of natural defences, while in the event of an enemy coming from the east it ran the risk of being easily cut off from Armenia on the main road from Bitlis (the ancient ΚΑΙΣΟΡΕΙΑ ΒΑΛΛΑΔΙΩΝ, cf. Tomaschek,

Sasun, Sitzungsber. A. W. Wien, Vienna 1895, p. 8). On the other hand Maiyāfārikīn from its position later played an important part in the defensive system of the Byzantine empire.

In these circumstances and before a more detailed study has been made on the spot, it is a mistake to think that all the difficulties in the identification of Tigranocerta have been cleared up.

Maiyāfārikīn = Martyropolis. The identity of these two towns is quite certain. The Christian sources (Syriac, Armenian and Greek) referring to the foundation of Martyropolis are numerous. A Syriac "history" (*tashkīthā*) kept in the Jacobite church of Maiyāfārikīn was translated for the historian of the town, Ibn al-Azraq, and is given in a synopsis in Yāqūt, iv. 703—707 and Kāz-wīnī, ii. 379—380 (transl. with notes in Marquart, *Handes Amsoyya*, 1916, p. 125—135).

The town is said to have been founded on the site of a "large village" (*ḥarya 'asima*) by the bishop Marūthā (Mār Marūthā) who had obtained the authority of Yezdegird I of Persia to do so. This ecclesiastic flourished between c. 383 and 420 (on the sources for his biography cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 91—92, 125). The town of Martyropolis to which Marūthā brought the remains of the Christian martyrs of Persia is mentioned for the first time in 410. The etymology of the Syriac name Mipherkēt is uncertain (cf. above). In Armenian the town is mentioned for the first time in the Geography of the viith century as Nphkert (once Nphret).

By the peace of 297 with Diocletian, the province of Sophanene, within which Martyropolis lay, had become part of the Roman empire. Even after the disastrous peace made by Jovian (363) Sophanene remained to the Emperor. Under Theodosius II (401—450), the new town, situated quite near the frontier, acquired considerable importance and became the capital of Sophanene (= Great Tsophkh). The town was still insufficiently fortified and in 502 the Sāsānian Kawādh b. Pērōz seized it and carried the inhabitants off to Khūzistān where he founded for them the town of Abaz-Kōbādh (Yāqūt, iv. 707) (Weh-Āmidh-Kawādh = Arrāqjān; cf. Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, p. 41, 307). Anastasius began the fortification of Martyropolis but Justinian, after his accession (527), was the first to reorganise completely the eastern frontier between Dārā and Trebizond. Martyropolis, the headquarters of a commander under the strategos of Theodosiopolis (Erzerūm), became one of the most important military centres. Procopius, *De aedificiis*, iii., gives a complete description of the walls of the town, the height and thickness of which were doubled and a full account of the system of defences (outer walls, advanced forts etc.); cf. Adontz, *op. cit.*, p. 10—12, 140—142. In 589 the town fell into the hands of the Sāsānians but in 591 came back to the Byzantines in return for the support given by the Emperor Maurice to Khusrāw II. Heraclius held it till the year 18 = 639 (Yāqūt, *l.c.*). [The date is not given in Muralt, *Chronogr. byz.*, i.].

The vicissitudes of Martyropolis probably explain the fact that in the Armenian Geography of the seventh century (ed. Patkanow, transl., p. 45; Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, p. 18 and 161) the Persian province of Atdznikh (Arzanene) is separated from Tsophkh (Sophanene) by the line of the Khatirt (= Batmān-şu) while in the description of parts

of Armenia Nphret (= Nphkert) figures as one of the 10 cantons of Arzanene.

Christian legend as preserved by Ibn Azraq and Yāqūt gives very full details of the building of the town in the time of Mār Marūthā: the arches (*ṭikān*) of the walls in which the remains of the martyrs were placed, the eight gates of the town, the names of which are carefully recorded, the convent of SS. Peter and Paul, the buildings erected by the three ministers of the Byzantine emperor, each of whom built a tower and a church. There is still to be seen in Maiyāfārikīn the ruins of a magnificent basilica and of the Church of the Virgin (al-Adhrā). Miss Gertrude L. Bell, who has studied these monuments, dates the basilica "not much later than the beginning of the fifth century", and suggests that the Church of the Virgin was one of the two built by Khusrāw II in recognition of the assistance lent by Maurice; cf. Abu 'l-Faraj, *Mukhtasar*, ed. Pocock, p. 98.

Under Islām. In 19 (640) in the reign of the caliph 'Umar, Maiyāfārikīn was taken by 'Iyād b. Ghannm without a blow being struck (Balādhuri, p. 175—6) and henceforth shared the lot of Diyarbakr.

The intermediate character of the position occupied by Maiyāfārikīn puzzled Arab geographers. Ibn Rusta, p. 106, puts the town in Djazira while the others (Ibn Hawkal, p. 246) regard it as belonging to Armenia. According to these authors, Maiyāfārikīn was a little fortified town having an unhealthy climate on account of the stagnant water but not without its amenities (Iṣṭakhri, p. 76k; Ibn Hawkal, p. 131, 151, 153; Muḥaddasi, p. 54). The region (*diyā' wa-kula'*) of Maiyāfārikīn and Arzan in the time of Ibn Hawkal was however entirely depopulated.

The Ḥamdānids and the Būyids. Maiyāfārikīn formed part of the territory of the Ḥamdānids [q. v.] (317—394). They built a castle (*ḥaṣr*) there near the gate Bāb al-Farāh wa 'l-Ghannm (Yāqūt); its ruins are apparently mentioned by Ewliyā (1655), iv. 71—4 under the name *Saif al-Dawla Sarāyī*. The Bāb al-Maidān gate also dates from Saif al-Dawla (333—356). This prince was buried at Maiyāfārikīn; cf. *Qihān-numā*, p. 437. In 352, Nadja, a client of the Ḥamdānids, rebelled in Maiyāfārikīn. In 362 (July 4, 973) Hibat Allāh b. Nāṣir al-Dawla defeated the Byzantines in the vicinity of the town.

In 367 (978) the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla dispossessed the Ḥamdānids who had supported his cousin Bakhtiyār and in 368 Abu 'l-Wafā, a general of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, took Maiyāfārikīn (Ibn Miskawaih, ed. Amedroz, ii. 199, 266, 312, 384).

The Marwānid dynasty. After the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (374), Maiyāfārikīn and the rest of Diyarbakr fell into the power of the Kurd Bādh [cf. KURDS and MARWĀNIDS] who had the Dailami garrison of Maiyāfārikīn massacred and was able to defend what he held against the Būyid Šamsām al-Dawla and the sons of Nāṣir al-Dawla, who had meanwhile returned to Mawṣil. After the death of Bādh, his nephew, Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Marwān, established himself in Maiyāfārikīn and for a century this town remained the capital of the Marwānid dynasty (380—479 and again in 486). In 384 the governor Mammā, appointed by Abū 'Alī, succeeded in checking the turbulence of the inhabitants who had been incited by Ḥamdānid intrigues. There is an inscription of Mumahhid

al-Dawla dated 391 (1000) on the wall of the town. In 392 an 'Alid pretender again stirred up trouble in Maiyāfārikīn. In 401 after the assassination of Mumahhid al-Dawla, his murderer Sharwa, son of Mammā, with the help of his Georgian guards seized Maiyāfārikīn but Sa'īd Abū Naṣr came from Arzan and began his long and brilliant reign (401—453).

A fine castle decorated with gilding was built in 403 on the little hill on which stood the convent and the Church of the Virgin. This Christian sanctuary (the connection of which with the al-'Adhrā church is not quite clear, cf. above) was transferred to the Melkite church. Later were built a hospital, a mosque with a clock (*bankām* < Pers. *pingān*) and baths. Water was led to all the town from the spring of Ra's al-'Ain. A palace was built on the banks of the Sātidamā (Baṭmān-ṣu) and the water was raised to it from the river by a noria. A bridge spanned the river Ḥaww (Ḥazrō?). A *wakf* bequeathed by Shaikh Abū Naṣr al-Manāzī endowed the mosque(?) of Maiyāfārikīn with a library. A fort was built to protect the town against the Sanāsina (people of al-Ṣāṣūn).

This list from Ibn al-Azraq is supplemented by the statements of Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, who visited the town under Abū Naṣr on the 6th Djumādā I 438. The Persian traveller speaks of its walls, built of huge blocks of white stone (Ibn Miskawaih, ii. 384: "strong walls of black stone"; Lehmann-Haupt: "gelblichweisser Kalkstein"), the western gate all of iron, the Friday mosque, the water-channels passing before each house (one uncovered with drinking water and the other covered serving as a sewer). Outside the town were the caravanserais, the hot baths, and a second Friday mosque. To the north of the town was the suburb of Muḥdathā, also with a Friday mosque and baths. At a distance of 4 farsakhs from the town (on the bank of the Sātidamā?) was a new little town called Naṣriya built by the emir then reigning.

After the death of Abū Naṣr, who was buried in the town, the Saldjūks began to interfere in the affairs of Maiyāfārikīn. In 458 Sallār Khorāsāni sent by Tughril arrived before the town with 5,000 horsemen. In 463 it was visited by the celebrated Nizām al-Mulk. In 478 by orders of Malik Shāh the former vizier of the Marwānids, Ibn Djahīr, besieged the capital of his masters, which surrendered in Djumādā I 478. The treasures of the Marwānids valued at 1,000,000 dinārs were carried off by Ibn Djahīr. In 482, 'Amīd al-Dawla, son of Ibn Djahīr, was appointed governor of Maiyāfārikīn. After the death of Malik-shāh (485), the Marwānid Nāṣir al-Dawla succeeded in re-entering Maiyāfārikīn but the Saldjūk Tutush of Syria took the town in Rab' I 486; cf. Ibn Azraq in Amedroz, *J. R. A. S.*, 1903. In 532 (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 43) the last representatives of the Marwānid family disappeared from the neighbourhood of Maiyāfārikīn.

The Ortuqid and Aiyūbids. In 575 (1121) the Saldjūk Sultān Maḥmūd added to the possessions of Il-Ghāzī, founder of the line of Ortuquids of Mārdīn, the fief of Maiyāfārikīn, to which Il-Ghāzī appointed his son Sulaimān (516—518); cf. Abu'l Faraj, ed. Pocock, p. 249 and Kātib Fardī, *Mārdīn Mülūk-i Ortuqiya (Arifiya?) Tārīkhī* (written in 944=1537), ed. 'Alī Emīrī Efendi (Constantinople 1331, p. 20). Six successive Ortuquids ruled Maiyāfārikīn till 580 (1184). In 587 (1191) the last

Ortuqid Yuluḡ Arslān again seized the town and held it for a time.

In 581 the Aiyūbids had become masters of Maiyāfārikīn and held it till 658 (1260). Šalāḥ al-Dīn built a mosque there for which the columns of the Byzantine basilica were used (Gertrude L. Bell, *op. cit.*, Pl. xi.). Maiyāfārikīn had a mint under the Atābegs: the coins which they struck (dated 591, 599, 600, 612, 618) bear curious human figures which are portraits or symbolical personages (Ghalib Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes* etc., Constantinople 1894, p. 149—67; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. iv., p. 255; see vol. iii., p. 24 for a Marwānid coin of this mint). On the walls of the town are inscriptions of the following Aiyūbids: Awhād Nadjm al-Dīn Aiyūb (of 600 A.D.?), Malik Ashraf Mūsā (607—617), Malik Muzaḡfar Ghāzī (623), Malik Kāmil Muḡammad (654). A complete list of rulers at Maiyāfārikīn from 515 to 658 prepared by van Berchem is given in the appendix to Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, p. 134.

The Mongols. In 639 (1241) the Aiyūbid Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī had received the summons from the Mongol Khakān to submit and raze the walls of the town but gave an evasive answer. In 650 (1252) the Mongols pillaged the country round Maiyāfārikīn. During Hülāgū's expedition to Syria in 658 (1260) the army of the prince Yashmut besieged Maiyāfārikīn which was defended with great bravery by Malik al-Kāmil. The blockade produced a terrible famine in the town which was forced to surrender. Only 70 of the defenders survived. Kāmil was put to death in cruel fashion and his head carried on the point of a lance through the streets of Damascus (Rashīd al-Dīn ed. Quatremère, p. 330—331, 350—375; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 354). Before his death, in 662 (1264), Hülāgū gave the district of Diyārbakr to his general Tūdān [cf. SULDUZ]. Three years later, Abaḡa allotted Maiyāfārikīn to his father's widow, Kutuy-Khātūn. Maiyāfārikīn later lost its independence and henceforth shared the lot of Diyārbakr [q. v.].

In 796 during Tīmūr's stay at Mārdīn, a number of Maliks including those of Arzīn (*sic*) and Baṭmān came to pay him homage but the *Ẓafar-nāma* (i. 665) does not mention the lord of Maiyāfārikīn. After the conquest of Diyārbakr, Tīmūr on his way to Mūsh took the road via Maiyāfārikīn (*ibid.*, i. 685) and Sēwāsar (the name of a summit in al-Ṣāṣūn east of al-Antok). This march is the only example of a considerable force following the direct road Maiyāfārikīn-Mūsh.

The Šafawids and the Ottomans. Our information about the rule of the Turkoman dynasties (Kara-Koyunlu and Ak-Koyunlu) in the region of Diyārbakr is still very deficient. In pursuit of his campaign against the last Ak-Koyunlu Murād, Shāh Ismā'īl I Šafawī in 913 occupied all the region of Diyārbakr, the government of which was entrusted to Khān Muḡammad Ustadjlu (*Šharaf-nāma*, i. 408; *Ālam-ārā*, p. 23—25). The defeat at Čaldīrān produced risings against the Persians throughout Kurdistan. The Kurd chief Saiyid Aḡmad Beg Rūzākī seized Maiyāfārikīn and 'Atāk (Hattāk, cf. the *Κατοικον Άρταχας* of Georgius Cyprus). Maiyāfārikīn passed definitely under Ottoman rule after the battle (921) of Koč-Hişār (south of Mārdīn) in which the Persian general Kara-Khān was defeated (von Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, i. 731—741).

In 1529 Maiyāfārikīn was visited by the Portuguese Jesuit Tenreiro, who found there "many monuments with inscriptions and Greek characters. On the walls were images of the apostles and other saints painted in gold and in brilliant colours... The town was almost deserted".

The Sulaimānī Kurds. While the events above described affecting a wider area were going on, the power of the local Kurd chiefs was gradually growing. At the end of the xvth century we find the whole valley of the Batmān-şu reunited under the rule of the Sulaimānī chiefs, one branch of whom was established at Maiyāfārikīn and the other at Kulp (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 261—271; cf. above ii., p. 1144 sq.). In 1838 von Moltke found the town full of ruins, evidence of the recent conquest of this part of Kurdistan by the Turks. The Kurds however kept the de facto power down to the beginning of the xxth century (cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i. 394, 419). The name Silwān which in the local administrative language finally eclipsed the old Maiyāfārikīn, can only be a kind of development of the name Sulaimānī > Slēwānī (in Turkish Silwānī); cf. Pers. *mihmān* (from *mēhmān*) > Kurd. *mēwān*.

In 1891 (Cuinet) there were in the qaḍā of Silwān 363 villages with 25,217 inhabitants of whom 18,500 were Muslims and 6,717 Christians (Armenian and Jacobites). The town had 1,450 houses with 7,000 inhabitants (half Muslims and half Christians).

Bibliography: On the question of Tigranocerta, cf. especially H. Kiepert, *Über die Lage d. arm. Hauptstadt Tigranokerta*, *Monatsberichte Pr. Ak. W. Berlin*, 1873, p. 164—210; Mommsen and Kiepert, *Die Lage v. Tigranokerta*, *Hermes*, ix., 1875, p. 129—149; Sachau, *Über die Lage v. Tigranokerta*, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1881, p. 1; Henderson, *Controversies in Armenian topography*, i., *The site of Tigranocerta*, *Journ. of Philology*, xxviii., 1903, p. 19—121; Hübschmann, *Die alt-arm. Ortsnamen*, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, xvi., 1904, p. 473—475; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i., Berlin 1910, 380—429 (general description and history of Maiyāfārikīn to 1258), 500—523, 419—420 (Kurd castle of Boshāt with a Sāsānian bas-relief of Ardashir I?), 500—523 (Tigranocerta), 537—540 (bibliography and complete list of earlier publications by W. Belck and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt); ii., Berlin 1926, p. 396—421, *9—10 (polemic with Marquart); Marquart, *Miṣhergēt und Tigranokerta*, *Handes Amsorya* (organ of the Mekhitarists of Vienna), 1916, columns 68—135, cf. also Marquart, *Ērān-šahr*, p. 161, 306 (in Νικηφόρος the author was at first inclined to see a local name or an Iranian name *Nēvak-farr graecised) and Marquart, *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen*, *Handes Amsorya*, 1915, col. 116 (Sātidamā).

For the Byzantine period the works quoted by Marquart and Lehmann-Haupt; Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1907, p. 359—360; Adontz, *Arménie v. epokhu Iustiniana*, St. Petersburg 1908, index (complete geographical and political study of Armenia in the ivth century); Miss G. L. Bell, *Churches and monasteries of the Tur Abdin and neighbouring districts*, *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Architektur*, Beiheft 9, Heidelberg 1913, p. 86—92, plates xi. (mosque of Saladin), xii—xiv. (basilica), xv—xix. and xxviii. 1 (al-'Adhrā).

For the Muslim period: the general sources quoted in the text and Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 111—112. The special history of the town is *Tārīkh Maiyāfārikīn* written in Arabic in 572 by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fārikī, unique MS. Brit. Mus., Or. 5803 (fragment of an older version in Or. 6310). The history of Ibn al-Azraḳ is quoted and completed in vol. ii. of *al-A'ṭāḳ al-khaṭira fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wa 'l-Djazira* (Bodleiana Marsh 333, Catalogue i., N^o. 945) by 'Izz al-Dīn b. Shaddād al-Halabī. The publication of the histories of Ibn al-Azraḳ and Ibn Shaddād is proposed by the G. M. S. The data in Ibn al-Azraḳ (and in part of Ibn Shaddād) have been excellently summarised by Amedroz in the articles: *Three Arabic M.S.S. on the History of the city of Mayyafarīqin*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1902, p. 784—812; *Marwanid dynasty at Mayyafarīqin*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 123—154; *Notes on two articles on Mayyafarīqin* (remarks by Marquart), *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, 170—176. The epigraphical materials of the German expedition of 1898—1899 have been studied by M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien u. Diyarbekr*, in Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien z. älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.F., ix., N^o. 3, p. 125—142; Nāsir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 7—8; transl., p. 24—25; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmī' al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Quatremère, p. 330—331 (Āmid) and 360—375 with an excellent study by the editor on Maiyāfārikīn); Hādījī Khalifa, *Djihan-nūma*, p. 437; Ewliyā Çelebi, *Siyāhetnāme*, iv. 71—74 (interesting details); A Tenreiro, 1529, *Itinerario... da India*, Coimbra 1560 (second edition 1762): Bitlis-Hazō—"Monfarquim"; Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände... in d. Türkei*, ed. Kiepert, Berlin 1841, p. 287: The river ("ein reicher Fluss... [der] in schönen Windungen durch die Ebene dem Tigris zuzieht") of which Moltke speaks seems to correspond to the Batmān-şu, as Ritter, *Erkunde*, x. 79, 87—95 takes it to be; Taylor, *Travels in Kurdistan*, *J.R.G.S.*, 1865, p. 21—58 (this article is still very important); Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, ii. 470—472 (qaḍā of Silwān); Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, cf. above; Flury, *Islam. Schriftbänder*, Paris 1921, p. 44—48 (inscription of Saladin at Maiyāfārikīn) with two plates. (V. MINORSKY)

MAḶĀLLA. [See MUḶĀLLA.]

MAḶĀM (A.), place, place where *ṣalāt* is performed. As to *MaḶām Ibrāhīm*, see KA'BA I.

MAḶĀMA (A.), a variety of Arabic prose of a highly elaborate and artificial nature.

MaḶāma in the old language was the name for the assembly of the tribe, synonymous with *nadī* (e.g. Lebid, *Dirwān*, N^o. 46, 10; Salāma b. Djanḍal, *Dirwān*, i. 4 = *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Thorbecke, N^o. 20, 50, ed. Lyall, N^o. 122, 4; *Hamāsa*, p. 95, v. 1 etc.; so also Hamadhānī, *MaḶ.* 16, 5 [Stamb. = 44 u. Bair.]), hence the word was next applied to gatherings at which the Omayyad and early 'Abbasid caliphs received pious men in order to hear edifying discourses from them, as Hishām for example did with Khālīd b. Ṣafwān (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii. 1 35, 2 33, 17 sqq.); Ibn Kūtaiba gives an account of it in the chapter *MaḶāmāt* (the Sing. appears as *MaḶām* in the separate headings) *al-Zuhūd* 'inda 'l-Khulafā' wa 'l-Mulūk in the *K. al-Zuhd*, 6 of the *K. 'Uyūn al-Akhbār* (cod.

Köpr. 1344, fol. 212^v—215^v), upon which Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi in *ʿIqd al-Farīd* (Cairo 1305), i. 286 sqq. and al-Ṭortūshī, *Sirāḍī al-Mulūk* (Bulāḡ 1289), p. 32 sqq. have again drawn. The word then came to have the more general meaning of lecture, e.g. in Mas'ūdi, *Murūḍī al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), v. 421, 8 and perhaps also *Djāhīz*, *K. al-Bukhālāʾ*, p. 218, 13, where it appears along with poetry, proverbs and tales of battles as an essential element in Arab education. In the third century A. H., however, the word began to sink from this higher sphere; it became the name for a beggar's appeal, which had to be framed in carefully chosen language, the more the literary training of the *adīb*, once a privilege of court circles, became disseminated among the people; an example of these appeals is preserved by *Djāhīz* in *Baihaḡī*, *K. al-Maḡāsin wa 'l-Masāwī* (ed. Schwally), p. 623 sqq.. The appeals of beggars seem to have paved the way for the literary genre proper (cf. A. Mez, *Abu 'l-Kāsim*, p. xxiii/xxiv.). This owes its existence to Hamadhānī [q. v.]. He created a typical representative of this literary Bohemianism to which he himself belonged, which entered upon the inheritance of the *hidā* poets of the early days of Islām, like al-Ḥuṭai'a. The frequently very witty execution of the constantly changing part of his hero Abu 'l-Faḡh al-Iskandari and from the point of view of form the adoption for his tales of rhymed prose, which was already beginning to dominate the finer style of letter-writing, are the two special characteristics of Hamadhānī's work. To the hero himself he gives a foil in the person of a narrator, 'Isā b. Hishām, who sometimes appears instead in the role of a trickster, as in *makāma* 12. In the 7th also — one of the poorest by the way —, in which a certain 'Iṣma b. Badr al-Fazārī records a meeting with Farazdaq not very creditable to *Dhu 'l-Rumma*, the principal hero takes no part. Six of these stories are only intended to glorify his patron, *Khalaf* b. Aḡmad ruler of Sijḡistān, to whom as Margoliouth supposes (cf. HAMADHĀNĪ) the whole collection was dedicated. Sometimes he only uses the *makāma* form to give expression to his own views on literary questions as, for example, in the first on ancient and modern poets, in the fourteenth on the masters of prose, al-*Djāhīz* and Ibn al-Muḡaffa'; in the 25th *makāma*, another in which al-Iskandari does not appear, he puts his polemic against the Mu'tazilīs in the mouth of a madman. He does not always make al-Iskandari appear as a rogue but in the 42nd *makāma* he displays a knowledge of the world which is quite innocent of guile. N^o. 26 (Syrian, lacking in the Bairūt edition) and 31 (the Ruṣāfi, incomplete in the Bairūt edition) contains specimens of erotic jargon and cant-language; of purely lexicographical interest is *makāma* 30, edited and elucidated by Ahlwardt in *Chalef al-Aḡmar*, p. 250 sqq., which deals with a competition instituted by Saif al-Dawla for the best description of a horse. The last (N^o. 52 in the Bairūt edition) is of quite another character and has only the rhymed prose in common with the *makāma* proper; it is on this account classed with nine other anecdotes as *mulaḡ* in the Stambul edition and put in an appendix.

How far al-Ḥuṣrī's statement quoted above, s.v. HAMADHĀNĪ, that al-Hamadhānī got the idea from Ibn Duraid's *Arbaʿūn* is true cannot be ascertained

as this work has not survived. In any case he is entitled to the credit of having created a new literary form, which might have proved very fertile in Arabic literature which is not exactly rich in forms. It is perhaps impossible to appreciate his talent fully if we may believe the tradition that the 51 specimens that have survived to us and which were apparently all that were known to al-Ḥariri represent only about an eighth of his whole output. His contemporaries and immediate successors were however not able to follow him on the path he had indicated. One only of his contemporaries, the court poet of Saif al-Dawla Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Omar al-Sa'dī († 405 = 939), has left us a *makāma* (Ahlwardt, *Verz. der ar. Handschr. Berlin*, in N^o. 8536). Not till a century later do Ibn Nākiyā and al-Ḥariri again take up the form created by him. The former (Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Abd Allāh or 'Abd al-Bāḡī Muḡammad b. Ḥusain, b. 15th *Dhu 'l-Kāda* 410 [March 14, 1020] in Baghdād, d. 4 Muḡarram 485 [Febr. 15, 1092]), of whose other poetical and philological work nothing has come down to us, does not keep strictly to the model created by al-Hamadhānī in the nine *makāmas* preserved in a Stambul MS. (Fātiḡ 4097; *M.O.*, vii. 112) in as much as he does not have one hero all through and also introduces various persons as narrators, but the main point is the polished form, in which he tells his otherwise not remarkable stories (cf. Cl. Huart, *Les séances d'Ibn Naḡiyya*, *J. A.*, ser. 10, vol. xii., 1908, p. 435—454, and the edition by O. Rescher, in *Beiträge zur Maḡāmen-Literatur*, Heft 4, Stambul 1914, S. 123—153). It is not till Ḥariri [q. v.] that the *makāma* receives its classical form, but the latter at the same time considerably limited its subject matter in as much as he makes the anecdotes recorded by al-Ḥārith b. Hammām centre round a hero, Abū Zaid of Sārudj, and relates the adventures of this Bohemian, whose wit is never at a loss and who is able to meet all difficulties, in a style sparkling with wit and full of all the tricks of language. That he owed the stimulus to his work to an encounter with an actual vagabond may be legend; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḡāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, iv. 296, 10 and Ibn Taghribirdī, iii. 23, 7 sqq. say he was a Basrian al-Muṭaḡhar (Ibn Taghribirdī says al-Muṣaffar) b. Sallār (cf. C. Dumas, *Le héros des maḡānāt de Hariri*, *Abou Zeid de Serudj*, Algiers 1917). The story at least may be quite true that the *Maḡāma al-Ḥarāmiyya* said to be inspired by this meeting was the first from his pen. In any case Ḥariri's tricks of rhetoric (cf. the analysis in Crussard, *Études sur les séances de H.*, Paris 1923) so overshadowed his subject matter in the eyes of later generations that henceforth the form became the essential characteristic of the literary genre, and it could be used to clothe very varied subject matter. Al-Ghazzālī (d. 505 = 1111) and 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī (d. 562 = 1167) in their *Maḡānāt al-'Ulamā' baina yadai al-Khulafā' wa 'l-Umarā'* (Ahlwardt, *Verz. der Hss. Berlin*, N^o. 8537, 1) and *Maḡānāt al-'Ulamā' baina yadai al-Umarā'* (Ḥāḡidjī Khalifa, N^o. 12702) attempt to go back to the older form. But the Spaniard Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Muḡammad b. Yūsuf al-Aṣṡarkūnī (d. 538 = 1143 in Cordova) seems to have come nearer to Ḥariri in his *al-Maḡānāt al-Sarāḡiyya* (in Stambul, Lāleli, N^o. 1928, 1933). He also set himself the classical number of 50. Al-Zamakḡharī (d. 538 = 1143) on the other hand disclaims any

such affinity; his makāmas are simply moral admonitions and like their counterparts, the *Nawābiḡ al-Kalim* and the *Aṭwāḡ al-Dhahab*, are intended to be appreciated mainly as tours-de-force of rhetoric (cf. the editions, printed Cairo 1313, 1325, and the translation by Rescher, in *Beiträge zur Maqāmen-literatur*, Heft 6, Greifswald 1913). Whether the *Maḳāmāt al-Ṣūfiya* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587 = 1191), which deal with mystic terminology (s. *Cat. of MSS. Brit. Mus.*, No. 1349, 23), belong to this class at all is doubtful. On the other hand the *Maḳāmāt al-Djāwziya* fi 'l-Ma'āni al-wa'ḡiya (Leyden, No. 426, Cambridge, No. 1098, Escorial, Dérenbourg, No. 542), which the author Ibn al-Djāwzī (d. 597 = 1200) himself provided with a lexicographical commentary, are certainly modelled on those of Ḥarīrī. The *al-Maḳāmāt al-Masīhiya* of the Christian physician Abu 'l-'Abbās Yahyā b. Sa'īd b. Mārī (d. 589 = 1193; see Ibn al-Kifī, p. 361, 4) definitely profess to be a single imitation of the latter. They have a hero and a narrator but the subject matter is varied, usually of a learned and technical nature (cf. Flügel, *Vers. der Hss. Wien*, No. 384). To the end of the sixth century A. H. seems to belong Abu 'l-'Alā' Aḥmad b. Abi Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī al-Ḥanafī who dedicated 30 makāmas to the chief kaḏī Muḡyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḡammad b. Muḡammad b. al-Kāsim al-Shahrazūri (not the same as mentioned in Ibn Khallikān, Bulāḡ 1299, i. 597). The only indication of his date is the mention of the Khāḡān of Shirwān (51, 7); this title was first borne by Manōḡhr II, about 550 A. H. (cf. iv., p. 384). His aim is to imitate Hamadḡānī and Ḥarīrī but to use simpler language. Like them he introduces his hero and a narrator and is fond of elaborate descriptions, frequently dropping into the obscene; a number of the makāmas go together in pairs, the one being complementary to the other (cf. the edition in O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maqāmen-literatur*, Heft 4, p. 1—115). Of the viith century A. H. we only need mention an imitation of Ḥarīrī's makāmas, 50 in number, dedicated to the family of Djuwainī (cf. his *Tarīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. Mīrzā Muḡammad, *G. M. S.*, xvi/i., p. lii., note 2) by Shams al-Dīn Ma'add (Muḡammad) b. Naṣr Allāh b. al-Ṣaīkal in 672 (1273) (s. Ḥādjdī Khālifa, No. 12709) entitled *al-Maḳāmāt al-Zainabiya* (s. *Brit. Mus.*, No. 669, 1403; *Sambul*, Nūr-i 'Oṡḡmāniya, No. 4273). The Syrian Egyptian poet Muḡammad b. 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī al-Shābb al-Zarīf († 688 = 1289) applied the form in the field of love-poetry, sometimes with lascivious subjects (*Maḳāmāt al-'Ushshāḡ*, Paris, No. 3947; *Faṣāḡat al-Masbūḡ fi Malāḡat al-Ma'shūḡ* and *al-Maḳāma al-Hitiya wa 'l-Shirāziya*, Ahlwardt, *Vers. Hss. Berlin*, No. 8594, 4, 5). These imitations become more numerous in the viith century. In 730 (1329) Aḥmad b. Muḡammad b. al-Mu'azzam al-Rāzī composed *al-Maḳāmāt al-iṡḡnā 'aṣḡara* (pr. Tunis 1303, *Les douze séances du Cheikh A. b. M. al-Moāddhem*, publ. by M. Soliman al-Harairi, Paris 1282 [1855]). The form was occasionable used for religious subjects, e. g. by Abu 'l-Faḡh Muḡammad b. Saiyid al-Nās († 734 = 1334) in praise of the Prophet and his companions in *al-Maḳāmāt al-'aliya fi 'l-Karāmāt al-djāliya* (s. Rosen, *Notices sommaires des mss. ar. du Musée Asiatique*, St. Petersburg 1881, No. 146, 10), for mysticism by Shams al-Dīn Muḡammad b. Ibrāḡim al-Dimashḡī († 727 = 1327) in *al-Maḳāmāt al-falsafiya wa 'l-Tarjāmāt al-*

ṣūfiya, in number 50 (Cambridge 1102), and again for the paraenesis in 749 (1349) by Zain al-Dīn 'Omar b. al-Wardī in the makāma on the plague of which he died in the same year entitled *al-Naba' 'ani 'l-Waba'* (Ahlwardt, Berlin, No. 8550, 3, probably identical with the makāma which Suyūṡī put in his work on the plague). The makāma was adopted for the panegyric by the Meccan 'Alī b. Naṣīr al-Hiḡjāzī in his *al-Maḳāma al-ḡhawriya wa 'l-Tuḡfa al-Makkiya* in honour of the Mam-lūk Sulṡān Kāṣūḡ al-ḡhawri (906—922 = 1500—1516; s. Pertsch, *Vers. der Hss. Gotha*, No. 2773). The great encyclopaedist of the ninth century, al-Suyūṡī, naturally did not omit this form of composition, which he used with complete contempt for its traditional use to treat of subjects from the most varied branches of knowledge, religious as well as profane, e. g. the question of the fate of Muḡammad's parents in the other world, the merits of different perfumes, flowers and fruits; nor did he hesitate to use it for obscene subjects (cf. the article *SUYŪṢĪ* where the printed editions are given). His contemporary, the South Arabian Zaidī Ibrāḡim b. Muḡammad al-Hādawī b. al-Wazīr (d. 914 = 1508), used the makāma for theological instruction in *al-Maḳāma al-naḡariya wa 'l-Fakiḡa al-khabariya* (Leyden, No. 438; Brill-Houtsma, No. 67), as did Suyūṡī's rival Aḡmad b. Muḡammad al-Kaṣṡallānī (d. 923 = 1517) in the *Maḳāmāt al-'Arīfin* (Sambul, Köprülü, No. 784). Even in the centuries when literature was at a low level, the xiith and xiith, the makāma was still used for the most varied purposes. In 1078 (1667) Djāmāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḡh b. 'Alawān al-Kabbānī composed a makāma on the war then being waged by the lords of Baṣra ḡusain Paṣha and 'Alī Paṣha Afrāsiyāb on a Turkish army under Ibrāḡim Paṣha, which he elucidates in the commentary *Zād al-Musāfir* (*Brit. Mus.*, No. 1405—6, Baghdād 1924, used by R. Mignon in his *History of modern Bassorah*, p. 269—286; s. St. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, p. 328). His compatriot 'Abd Allāh b. al-ḡusain b. Mārī al-Baghdādī al-Suwaīdī (d. 1174 = 1760) and his son Abu 'l-Kḡair 'Abd al-Raḡmān (d. 1200 = 1786) used the form to string together a series of old and new proverbs in a witty context (*Maḳāmāt al-Amḡḡāl al-sā'ira*, Cairo 1324 and the son's *al-Maḳāma djāmi'at al-Amḡḡāl 'azīzat al-Amḡḡāl*, Berlin, No. 8582—83). An imitation of Ḥarīrī in 50 adventures, the scene of which is laid in India, of an Abu 'l-Zafar al-Hindī al-Saiyāḡ, which al-Nāṣīr b. Fattāḡ narrates was finished in 1128 (1715) by Abū Bakr b. Muḡsin Bā'būd al-'Alawī (lith. at the Maṡba' al-'Ulūm Press 1264 entitled *al-Maḳāmāt al-Hindiya*, s. M. Hidayat ḡusain, *Catalogue raisonné of the Buhār Library*, ii. 459).

Ḥarīrī himself had already allowed his art to degenerate to mere juggling with words, when he used in the *Rasā'il al-Siniya wa 'l-Shiniya*, not included among the makāmas, in the one only words with *sin* and in the other only those with *shin* (just as a contemporary of Simonides had written a Greek hymn without a sigma in it; cf. V. Wilamowitz, *Kultur d. Gegenwart*, i., iii. 49); also al-Ḥanaff's makāmas contain such jugglings with words; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Idkāwī (d. 1184 = 1770) wrote *al-Maḳāma al-Iskandariya wa 'l-Taṣḡifiya* in which the words are arranged in pairs only distinguishable by their diacritical points

(cf. Ahlwardt, *Vers. Hss. Berlin*, No. 8581, 2). An ostentatious display of learning marks *al-Makāma al-Dudjailiyya wa'l-Makāla al-'Umariyya* of 'Othmān b. 'Alī al-'Umari al-Mawṣilī (d. 1184 = 1770), the subject of which is a list and brief characterisation of the Muslim sects (ed. Rescher, in *Beiträge zur Maqāmenlit.*, iv. 191—285, where other later examples of this art are given).

The subject, popular in Arabic literature from early times, of the dispute for precedence, *munāẓara* (s. Steinschneider, *Rangstreitliteratur*, S. B. Ak. Wien, clv. 4, 1908; Brockelmann, in *Mélanges Dérenbourg*, p. 231; *Asia Major*, i. 32), is clothed in this form in the *Maḳāmat al-Muḥākama bain al-Mudām al-Zuhūr* (Ahlwardt, *Vers. Berlin*, No. 8580) of Yūsuf b. Ṣalīm al-Ḥifnī (d. 1178 = 1764), who in his *al-Maḳāma al-Ḥifniyya* (Brit. Mus., No. 1052, 1) also used the *maḳāma* for the panegyric. A Turk, the Cretan Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rasmī (d. 1179 = 1783), also essayed this genre; his *al-Maḳāma al-zulūliyya al-biḥārīyya* is given by al-Murādi, *Silk al-Durar*, i. 74 sqq.

Finally it may be mentioned that the endeavour to revive this form has been made by writers of the sixteenth century. The Bairūt Christian Nāṣif al-Yazīdī (d. 1871) gave a very successful imitation of Ḥariri in his *Madjma' al-Bahrain* in 60 *maḳāmas* on which he also wrote a commentary (printed Bairūt, 1856, 1872, 1880, 1924). Less successful were the *maḳāmas* composed in 1237 (1822) and published in 1270 (1853) by Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī (d. 1270 = 1853), lith. Baghdad 1273. In the collected works of the Egyptian 'Abd Allāh Pasha al-Fikrī (d. 1307 = 1890), *al-Āthār al-Fikriyya* (Bulak 1315), there are several *maḳāmas*, one of which, *al-Maḳāma al-Fikriyya fi 'l-Mamlaka al-bāṭiniyya*, has appeared separately (Cairo 1289).

This form of composition so popular in Arabic was also imitated in the literatures of other languages. Among the Persians the *maḳāmas* of Kāḍī Ḥamid al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. 'Omar b. Maḥmūd al-Balkhī (d. 559 = 1164), which he wrote in 551 (1156) (Hādjdjī Khalifa, No. 12716), are particularly esteemed; 'Arūḍī in the *Čahār Maḳāla* (ed. Mirzā Muḥammad, p. 13, 11; transl. Browne, p. 25) compares them to those of Hamadhānī and Ḥariri. They consist of a number of *munāẓarāt*, e.g. between youth and age, between a Sunnī and a Shī'ī, between a physician and an astronomer, also descriptions of spring and autumn, love and frenzy, and lastly discussions of legal and mystical problems, but here again the matter is quite secondary to the form. The arrangement and titles of the 23 or 24 *maḳāmas* in the British Museum MS. (Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, No. 747) differ considerably from the Teheran and Cawnpore lithographed editions (see Browne, *A Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii. 347). Ḥamid al-Dīn's example does not seem to have been much followed; but the journalist Adibū 'l-Mamālīk (d. Feb. 15, 1917), according to a MS. in Browne's possession (see *Lit. Hist.*, iv. 349), composed a collection of *maḳāmas*.

In Spain the Jew Rabbi Jehūda ben Shelōmō Ḥarizi, who flourished at the beginning of the xiiith century translated the *Maḳāmāt* of Ḥariri into Hebrew and he composed 50 similar modelled on them which he called *Sefer Tahkemōnī*; in them he imitated Ḥariri's style, very skillfully working in quotations from the Bible (s. *Iudae Harizii Macamac*, ed. P. de Lagarde, Göttingen 1881, repr. Hanover 1924).

Finally the metropolitan of Nisibi 'Abdīshō' (Ebedyeshū) who died in 1318, composed in 1290—91 on Ḥariri's model 50 Syriac poems, religious and edifying in their subject matter in two parts, called after Enoch and Elias, the artificial language of which he himself elucidated in a commentary in 1316 (the first half: *Pardaisa dha Edhen seu Paradisus Eden Carmina auctore Mar Ebediso Sobensi*, ed. Gabriel Cardahi, Bairūt 1889).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MAKĀN B. KĀKĪ, ABŪ MAṢ'ŪR, like his father was a captain in the army of the 'Alid rulers of Ṭabaristān. Saiyid Abū 'l-Kāsim Dja'far b. Saiyid Nāṣir, son-in-law of Makān, who came to the throne after the flight of Saiyid Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Kāsim, known as the Dā'i ("the summoner unto the truth"), appointed Makān to the governorship of Djurdjān. Saiyid Abū 'l-Kāsim died in 312 (924) and was succeeded by Saiyid Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Abū 'l-Ḥusain Aḥmad. Makān deposed him, sent him as a prisoner to 'Alī b. Ḥusain b. Kākī, his nephew, for safe custody, and placed his own grandson Saiyid Ismā'īl b. Abū 'l-Kāsim on the throne. Shortly after this, Saiyid Abū 'Alī Muḥammad effected his escape and was joined by Asfār b. Shīrawaihi [q.v.] who had rebelled against Makān and made himself master of Djurdjān. Makān took the field against them but was beaten and forced to take refuge in the hills in the neighbourhood of Sāri.

Saiyid Abū 'Alī Muḥammad died in 315 (927), and was succeeded by his brother, Saiyid Abū Dja'far Ḥusain. Makān now issued from his mountain retreat, overthrew Asfār, who was the commander of the army of Saiyid Abū Dja'far, forced him to fly to Khurāsān, and declared the Dā'i ruler of Ṭabaristān. In 316 (928) Muḥammad b. Ṣa'lūk, the Sāmānid governor of Raiy, invited the Dā'i and Makān to Raiy, delivered the province to them and retired to Khurāsān. During the absence of the Dā'i and Makān, Asfār returned from Khurāsān, conquered Djurdjān, defeated and killed the Dā'i, and became the ruler of Ṭabaristān. He then marched to Raiy, defeated Makān and put him to flight. But soon after this Asfār came to terms with Makān and delivered Āmul to him. Makān now gradually extended his sway to Djurdjān and even conquered Nishāpūr in 318 (930). About this time Mardāwīdj revolted against Asfār, and forced him to take refuge in Ṭabas in Kūhistān, but Makān fell upon him from Nishāpūr and sent him flying back to Raiy.

In 319 (931) Makān evacuated Khurāsān at the request of Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad and returned to Ṭabaristān, but he was soon turned out of it by Mardāwīdj who had become master of Raiy after the death of Asfār. Makān tried to recapture Ṭabaristān with the help of Abū 'l-Faḍl of Dīlān and later of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥ-tādī, the commander of the army of Khurāsān, but Mardāwīdj proved too strong for him and he was forced to fly for refuge to Khurāsān. Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad now bestowed on him the government of the province of Kirmān. He proceeded thither, defeated the former governor and took possession of the province. But when he heard the news of the murder of Mardāwīdj in 323, he returned from Kirmān, procured the grant of the province of Djurdjān from Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad,

and asked Washmgir, the brother and successor of Marḏawidj, to surrender the province to him which he did. Henceforth very friendly relations were established between them on the strength of which Makān threw off the yoke of Bukhārā. When Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad learnt this, he despatched Aḥmad, the commander of the army of Khurāsān, against Makān who was defeated after a desperate struggle of 7 months and forced to flee to Washmgir at Raiy. Aḥmad followed him thither, and defeated the combined forces of Makān and Washmgir at Ishākābād (near Raiy) on 21st Rabi' 1, 329 (December 25, 940 A.D.). Makān was shot in the head by an arrow and fell dead. His head was cut off and sent to Bukhārā.

Bibliography: *Tad̄jirih al-Uman*, ed. Margoliouth, i. 275—297; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 140—292; Ibn Isfandiyyār, *G.M.S.*, ii., p. 208—219; Saiyid Ḥāshim al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. B. Dorn, p. 171—176; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Tīhrān ed., ii. 145 sq. (M. NAZIM) MAKARĪ. [See MAHARĪ.]

MAQDISHU, a town in East-Africa on the shore of the Indian Ocean, capital of Italian Somaliland. Population: 21,000. Setting aside the question of some ruins perhaps South-Arabic, Maqdishū arose in the xth century A.D. as an Arabian colony. The immigrations of the Arabs reached Maqdishū in different times successively, and from different regions of the Arabian peninsula; the most remarkable one came from al-Aḥsā on the Persian Gulf, probably during the struggles of the Caliphate with the Qarmatians.

Perhaps at the same time also Persian groups emigrated to Maqdishū; and even to-day some inscriptions which have been found in the town demonstrate that Persians from Shirāz and Naisābūr were dwelling there during the Middle Ages. These foreign merchants were, however, obliged to unite themselves politically against the nomadic (Sōmālī) tribes that surrounded Maqdishū on every side, and eventually against other invaders from the sea. Therefore a federation was concluded in the same xth century A.D. and composed of thirty-nine clans: 12 from the Mukrī tribe; 12 from the Djid'atī tribe; six from the 'Aḳābī, six from the Ismā'īlī and three from the 'Afīfī tribe. The trade was even more developed under such conditions of internal peace; then in the town the Mukrī clans acquired a religious supremacy and, having adopted the *nisba* 'al-Ḳaḥṭānī', formed a kind of dynasty of 'ulamā' and obtained from the other tribes the privilege that the ḳāḍī of the federation should be elected only from among themselves.

But, in the second half of the xiiith century, Abū Bakr b. Fakhr al-Dīn established in Maqdishū a hereditary Sultānate with the aid of the Mukrī clans whom the new Sultān recognised again the privilege of giving the ḳāḍī to the town. During the reign of Shaikh Abū Bakr b. 'Umar, in the year 1331 A.D., Maqdishū was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who described very carefully its conditions in his *Rihla*. Shaikh Abū Bakr b. 'Umar was probably a Sultān from the family of Abū Bakr b. Fakhr al-Dīn; and under this dynasty Maqdishū reached in the xivth and xvth century A.D. the highest degree of prosperity. Its name is quoted even in the *Maṣḥafa Miṭād*, a book by the king of Abyssinia Zare'a Yā'qob, with reference to the battle fought by the same king against the Mussulmen at Gomut, December 25th, 1445 A.D.

In the xvth century A.D. the dynasty of the Muzaḥfar succeeded to the dynasty of Fakhr al-Dīn. However, in the region of the Wēbi Shabēllā, viz. the true commercial hinterland of Maqdishū, the Adjurān (Sōmālī), who had constituted there another Sultānate friendly and allied with Maqdishū, were defeated by the nomadic Hawiyya (Sōmālī) who conquered that territory. Thus Maqdishū was cut away by the Bedouins from the interior of the land and began to decline from its prosperity. The colonial enterprises of the Portuguese and the British in the Indian Ocean hastened even more this decadence. Vasco da Gama, when he was coming back from India in 1499 A.D., assailed unsuccessfully Maqdishū with his squadron; and even Da Cunha in 1507 A.D. did not succeed in occupying the town. In 1532 A.D. Maqdishū was visited by Dom Estevam da Gama, son of Vasco, who came there to buy a ship. In December 5, 1700 A.D. a British squadron of men-of-war stopped threateningly before Maqdishū but they did not land any force and after some days went away probably to India. During the wars between the Portuguese and the Imām of 'Omān, Maqdishū and other towns on the Sōmālī coast were occupied by the soldiers of Imām Sēf b. Sultān (died 1116 = 1704); but after a little while the Imām ordered his troops to come back to 'Omān.

In the meantime the Sultānate of Maqdishū was practically finished; and the town divided in two quarters (Hamar-Wēn and Shāngānī) was wasted by civil wars. The Sōmālī had so penetrated, little by little, into the ancient Arabian town that the clans of Maqdishū changed their Arabic names with new Sōmālī appellatives: the 'Aḳābī' clan became the 'rēr Shēkh'; the 'Djid'atī' were called 'Shan-shiya'; the 'Afīfī' took the name of 'Gudmanā'; and even the Mukrī (Ḳaḥṭānī) changed their name for the Sōmālī 'rēr Faḳīh'. But in the xviiith century A.D., the Bedouins (Sōmālī) Darandollā, excited by exaggerated traditions of the wealth of Maqdishū, assailed and conquered the town. The chief of the Darandollā, who had the title of imām, established himself in the Shāngānī quarter; and the privilege of the Ḳaḥṭānī about the election of the ḳāḍī was again recognised by the new masters of the town. In the first half of the xixth century A.D., Sultān Barghash b. Sa'īd of Zandjibār occupied Maqdishū and ruled the town by means of a wālī. In 1889 the Sultān of Zandjibār leased the town to Italy, who afterwards in 1906 bought all the settlements of Zandjibār on the Sōmālī coast.

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(ENRICO CERULLI)

MAKHDŪM AL-MULK, whose real name is Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh, was the son of Shaikh Shams al-Dīn of Sulṭānpūr. His forefathers immigrated from Multān and settled at Sulṭānpūr near Lāhore. He was the pupil of Mawlānā 'Abd al-Kādir Sarhindī and became one of the most distinguished scholars and saints of India. He was a bigoted *Sunni* and looked upon Abu 'l-Faḍl (d. 1011 = 1602) from the beginning as a dangerous man. Contemporary monarchs had a great regard and respect for him. Emperor Humāyūn (937—963 = 1530—1556) conferred on him the title of *Shaikh al-Islām*. When the empire of India came into the possession of Shēr Shāh (946—952 = 1539—1545) he also honoured him with the title of *Sadr al-Islām*. He was also a man of great importance during the time of Emperor Akbar (963—1014 = 1556—1605). Bairam Khān Khānān (d. 968 = 1560) exalted his position very much by giving him the sub-division of Thānkawāla which yielded an income of one *lac* of rupees, while Akbar gave him the title of *Makhdūm al-Mulk* by which designation he has become known to posterity. When Akbar introduced his religious innovations and converted people to his "Divine Faith", Makhdūm al-Mulk opposed the Emperor who became very angry with him and ordered him to go on a pilgrimage to Mekka. He therefore started in 987 (1579).

He died or was poisoned in 990 (1582) in Aḥmadābād after his return from Mekka.

He is the author of the following books:

1) *ʿImat al-Anbiyāʾ*, a work on the chastity of prophets (cf. Badaʿūni, iii. 70); 2) *Minḥādī al-Dīn*, the life of the prophet (cf. *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, iii. 252); 3) *Hāshiya Sharḥ Mullah*, a supercommentary to Dījāmī's commentary on Ibn al-Hādīb's *Kāfiya* (cf. *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, iii. 252); 4) *Sharḥ Shamāʾil al-Tirmidhī*, a commentary on Tirmidhī's *Shamāʾil al-Nabi* (cf. Badaʿūni, iii. 70).

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MAKHDŪM-I DJAHĀNIYĀN. [See **DJĀLĀL BUKHĀRĪ**.]

MAKHLAD (BANŪ), a family of famous Cordovan jurists who, from father to son, during ten generations, distinguished themselves in the study of Fiqh. The eponymous ancestor of the family was Makhlad b. Yazīd, who was kādī of the province of Reiyoh (the *kūra* in the south-west of Spain, the capital of which was Malaga), in the reign of the Emir 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, in the first half of the third century A. H. His son, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Baḳī b. Maḳhlad, was a great jurist and traditionist. He was born in Ramaḍān 201 (April 817) and after being in Spain the pupil of Mālik b. Anas and of Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Laithī, he made a long journey to the East where he perfected himself in the sciences

of Law and Tradition. On his return to Cordova his indisputable mastery earned him the hatred and envy of the chief Spanish jurists, especially of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Martanil (cf. Ibn al-Faraḍī, N^o. 245; al-Dabbī, N^o. 572) who tried to get him sentenced to death by accusing him of impiety and heresy. Baḳī b. Maḳhlad only owed his safety to the intervention of the secretary to the court of Hāshim b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and was able to end his life under the protection of the Umayyad government, respected by the people of Cordova, where he died in 276 (889). Baḳī b. Maḳhlad who, it is believed, was one of the first to introduce the Zāhiri movement into al-Andalus [see the article **ZĀHIRIS**], wrote two celebrated books: a *Tafsīr al-Kurʾān* and a *Musnad* of Muḥammadan traditions, the loss of which is greatly to be regretted if we may believe the laudatory judgment passed on them by Ibn Ḥazm in his *Risāla* repeated by al-Maḳkārī (*Analectes*, ii. 115). On Baḳī b. Maḳhlad, cf. Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārikh 'Ulamāʾ al-Andalus* (B. A. H., vii—viii.), N^o. 281; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* (B. A. H., i—ii.), N^o. 277; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-muṭtamiṣ* (B. A. H., iii.), N^o. 584; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Ikd*, ii. 366; al-Khushani, *Kitāb al-Kuḍāt bi-Kurṭuba*, ed. and transl. J. Ribera, Madrid 1914, index; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 112—113, transl. Fagnan, ii. 179—181; al-Maḳkārī, *Nafḥ al-Tib*, *Analectes*, i. 812; ii. 115 and 120 and index; Dozy, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xx. 598; Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten*, Leipzig 1884, p. 115; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 164.

The direct descendants of Baḳī b. Maḳhlad devoted their scientific activity mainly to commenting on the masterpieces of their celebrated ancestor. A list of these scholars, with bibliographical references, is supplied in a little monograph devoted to the family of the Banū Maḳhlad by Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud, *Familias de jurisconsultos: Los Benimajlad de Córdoba, Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera*, Zaragoza 1904, p. 251—258. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MAKHZEN (A.), from *khasana*, "to shut up, to preserve, to hoard". The word is believed to have been first used in North Africa as an official term in the second century A. H. applied to an iron chest in which Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, emir of Ifrikiya, kept the sums of money raised by taxation and intended for the 'Abbāsid caliph of Baghdād. At first this term, which in Morocco is now synonymous with the government, was applied more particularly to the financial department, the Treasury.

It may be said that the term *makhzen* meaning the Moroccan government and everything more or less connected with it at first meant simply the place where the sums raised by taxation were kept, intended to be paid into the treasury of the Muslim community, the *bit al-māl*. Later, when the sums thus raised were kept for use in the countries in which they were collected and were no longer paid into the treasury of the Muslim community, and they became as it were, the private treasuries of the communities in which they were collected, the word *makhzen* was used to mean the separate local treasuries and a certain amount of confusion arose between the *makhzen* and the *bit al-māl*.

We do find in Spain the expression '*abid al-makhzen*' but it still means slave, of the treasury

rather than slave of the government, and it seems that it was only later in Morocco that in proportion as the state became separated from the whole Muslim community after being successively under the Omayyads of Damascus, the 'Abbāsids of Baghdad, the Omayyads of Spain and the Fātimids of Egypt that the word *makhzen* came to be used for the government itself.

To sum up, the word *makhzen*, after being used for the place where the sums intended for the *bit al-māl* of the Muslim community were kept was used for the local treasury of the Muslim community of Morocco, when it became separate under the great Berber dynasties: later with the Sharīfī dynasties the word was applied not only to the treasury but to the whole organisation more or less administrative which lives on the treasury, that it is to say the whole government of Morocco. In tracing through history the changes of meaning of the word *makhzen*, one comes to the conclusion that not only is the institution to which it is applied not religious in character but on the contrary it represents the combined usurpations of powers, originally religious, by laymen, at the expense of which it has grown up through several centuries. The result of these successive usurpations is that the *makhzen* which originally was only a chest in the treasury came to mean first the treasury itself, and the government and to represent to the Moroccan the sole principle of authority.

We know that the fundamental principle of Muslim society is that of the community: the head of this community is simply an administrator who has to exercise his functions, said the caliph 'Omar, like an honest teacher solely concerned with the interests of his pupils. Of this ideal the only part remaining in practice is that the members of the community are effectively in tutelage. In rapidly surveying the history of the *Makhzen*, we can see how this arbitrary government became gradually established while using the prescriptions of Islām, and how it succeeded in forming in face of the native Berber element which surrounded it a kind of Arab façade, behind which the Berbers in spite of the slowness of their gradual Islāmisation, have preserved their institutions, superstitions and their independence. In this connection it cannot be too strongly emphasised that, in spite of their perhaps disputable orthodoxy, the Berbers are Muslims and consider that they belong to the Muslim community. No doubt they do not practise it very frequently but they have the pride of Islām and its intolerance; they have taken Muslim ostracism into the service of their native savagery and it would be a dangerous error to think that they could be open to anti-Muslim sentiments and particularly to imagine that their religious lukewarmness ought to make them favourable to us.

No organisation was made at the first conquest by 'Oqba b. Nāfi' in 63 (682 A.D.). All the representatives of Arab culture had to do was to levy heavy tributes in money and slaves to satisfy their own greed and to enable them to send valuable gifts to the caliph of Damascus.

It was the same in 90 (708) with Mūsā b. Nuṣair but the conquest of Spain brought over to Islām a large number of Berber tribes by promising them a share in plundering the wealth of the Visigoths. On the other hand the exactions of the Arabs and the desire to escape the demands

of the caliphs facilitated the spread of Khāridjī doctrines, the many schools of which made any unity of power impossible and on the contrary increased decentralisation.

The Idrisid dynasty, which its Sharīfī origin gives a claim to be the first Muslim dynasty of Morocco and which completed the conversion of the country to Islām only exercised its power over a small part of Morocco. Alongside of it the Barghawāta [g.v.] heretics and numerous Khāridjī emirs continued to exist. The Zenāta Miknāsa, Maghrāwa and Banū Ifren at a later period were no more able to effect a centralisation of power. It was not till the fifth century A.H. (xith A.D.) under the Ṣanhādjī dynasty of the Almoravids that in the reign of Ya'qūb b. Tāshfīn we can see the beginnings of a *makhzen* which only becomes clearly recognisable under the Almohad dynasty.

It was under the latter that religious unity was first attained in Morocco. The heresy of the Barghawāta and all other schisms were destroyed and a single Muslim community, that of the Almohads, replaced the numerous more or less heterodox sects which had been sharing the country and its revenues. It may be said that the organisation of the *makhzen* which we found in Morocco is fundamentally based on this unification and the measures which resulted from it. The Almohads regarded theirs as the only true Muslim community. All who did not belong to it were infidels whom it was lawful to fight, to kill, to reduce their women and children to slavery and to seize their goods and lands for the benefit of the Almohads, the only orthodox community. The Almohads were thus able to apply to all the territory of their empire the ideal Muslim principle for dealing with land, i.e. that all the lands conquered by them from non-Almohads and even from Almohads whose faith was regarded as suspect were classed as lands taken from infidels and became *ḥubūs* of the Muslim i.e. Almohad community. These *ḥubūs* districts are those whose occupants have to pay the tax called *ḥharādī*. In order to levy this the Sultān 'Abd al-Mu'min had all his African empire surveyed from Gabes to the Wādī Nūn.

A few years later Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr brought to Morocco the Djuṣham and Banū Hilāl Arabs and settled them on lands belonging to the Muslim community, which had been uninhabited since the destruction of the Barghawāta, the wars of the Almohads with the last Almoravids and large despatches of troops to Spain.

These Arab tribes who formed the *djaish* (pronounced *gish* in Morocco) of the Almohads did not pay the *ḥharādī* for the lands of the Muslim community which they occupied. They were *Makhzen* tribes who rendered military service in place of *ḥharādī*. We shall find later the remains of this organisation with the *gish* tribes and the tribes of *nā'iba*. The efforts of the Marinids to reconstitute a *gish* with their own tribes did not succeed and they had to return to the *makhzen* of Arab tribes brought to Morocco by Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr and even added to it contingents of the Ma'kil Arabs of Sus.

Under the Banū Waṭṭās this movement became more marked and Spanish influences became more and more felt in the more complicated organisation of the central *Makhzen* and by the creation of new offices at the court and in the palace.

The conquests by the Christians by causing the development of the *sawiyas* and the fall of the Banū Waṭṭās brought about the rise of the Sa'dians [q.v.] of Wādī Dar'a. The latter with their primitive manners as Saharan tribes and under the religious influence of the *shaiḫs* of the brotherhoods began to try to bring back the exercise of power to the patriarchal simplicity with which it was wielded in the early days of Islām. The necessities of the government, the intrigues of the tribes and the wars of members of the ruling family against one another soon made necessary the constitution of a proper *makhzen* with its military tribes, ministers, its crown officials of high and low degree, its governors to whom were soon added the innumerable groups of palace officials which will be mentioned below.

The frequent intercourse between the Sa'dians and the Turks, who had come to settle in Algeria at the beginning of the xvth century brought to the court of Morocco a certain amount of eastern ceremonial, a certain amount of luxury and even a certain degree of pomp in the life of the sovereign and in that of his entourage and of all the individuals employed in the *Makhzen*.

It is from this time that really dates the existence of this entity, which is really foreign to the country itself, which lived by exploiting rather than governing it and is known as the *Makhzen*.

The increasing official relations of Morocco with European powers, the exchange of ambassadors, the commercial agreements, the ransoming of Christian slaves, largely contributed to give this *Makhzen* more and more the appearance of a regular government. The jealousies of the powers, their desire to maintain the *status quo* in Morocco and the need to have a regular government to deal with them further strengthened the *Makhzen* both at home and abroad and enabled the Sultān Mawḥay al-Ḥasan to conduct for nearly twenty years this policy of equilibrium between the powers on one side, and the tribes on the other, who kept till his death the empire of Morocco in existence, built up of very diverse elements, of which the *Makhzen* formed the façade.

The very humble, almost humiliating, attitude imposed on the European ambassadors at official receptions increased the prestige of the Sultān and the *Makhzen* in the eyes of the tribes. The envoy of the Christian power, surrounded by the presents which he brought, appeared on foot in a court of the palace and seemed to have come to pay tribute to the emir of the Muslims, who was on horseback. All the theatrical side was developed to strike the imagination of the *Makhzen* with much care and succeeded in creating an illusion of the real efficiency of this organisation in the eyes of both tribes and powers.

Under the Berber dynasties, the Almohads, the Marinids and the Banū Waṭṭās, the military tribes, the *djaish*, were almost all Arab; under the Sa'dians they were entirely Arab; to the Djusham and Banū Hilāl Arabs were added the Ma'kil Arabs of Sūs. On the other hand the Sa'dians had removed from the registers of the *djaish* a certain number of the Arab tribes who then paid in money the *kharaḍj* for the *hubūs* lands of the Muslim community which they occupied. These tribes, in contrast to the *djaish*, were called tribes of the *nā'iba*, that is to say, according to the etymology proposed for the word, they were

under the tutelage of the *makhzen* (from *nā'ib* "tutor" or "substitute" for a father) or perhaps that they paid the tribes of the *djaish* a sum for replacing them (from *nāba*, to substitute).

From this time on, Morocco assumed the appearance which it had when France established her protectorate there. The frontier, settled with the Turks in the east, had hardly been altered by the occupation of Algeria by France and the territory of Morocco was, as it still is to-day, divided into two parts: 1. *bilād al-makhzen* or conquered territory; 2. *bilād al-sibā'* or land of schism; the latter was almost exclusively occupied by the Berbers.

The *bilād al-makhzen*, which represents official Morocco, was formed of territories belonging to the *hubūs* of the Muslim community and liable to the *kharaḍj*.

This land was occupied by Arab tribes, some *gish*, others *nā'iba*. Morocco consisted of an Arab government (*makhzen*) which administered the regions liable to *kharaḍj*, and occupied by Arab tribes, the status of which varied according as they were *gish* or *nā'iba*.

The Berber tribes of the *bilād al-sibā'* not only refused to allow the authority of the *makhzen* to penetrate among them, but even had a tendency to go back to the plains from which they had gradually been pushed into the mountains. One of the main endeavours of the present dynasty, the 'Alawī *Shorfa'* of Tāfilālt, which succeeded the Sa'dians in the seventeenth century has been to oppose this movement of expansion of the Berber tribes. This is why Mawḥay Ismā'īl, the most illustrious Sultān of this dynasty, built 70 *ḥaṣba's* on the frontier of the *bilād al-makhzen* to keep down the Berbers. Hence we have this policy of equilibrium and intrigues which has just been mentioned and which up till quite recent years was the work of the *Makhzen*.

As we have already said, it was not a question of organising the country nor even of governing it, but simply of holding their own by keeping rebellion within bounds with the help of the tribes of the *gish* by extracting from the ports and from the tribes of the *nā'iba* all that could be extorted by every means. From time to time expeditions led by the Sultān himself against the unsubdued tribes asserted his power and increased his prestige.

The *Makhzen*, gradually formed in course of centuries by the possibilities and exigencies of domestic policy as well as by the demands of foreign policy seems to have attained its most complete development in the reign of Mawḥay al-Ḥasan, the last great independent Sultān of Morocco (1873—1894). The government of Mawḥay al-Ḥasan consisted in the first place of the Sultān himself, at once hereditary and also, if not exactly elected, at least nominated by the 'ulamā' and notables of each town and tribes from among the sons, brothers, nephews and even the cousins of the late ruler. This proclamation is called *ba'ia*. It is in general he who takes control of the Treasury and of the troops when the moment comes to assume the right of succession. It sometimes happens that the late sovereign has nominated his successors, but this does not constitute an obligation on the electors to obey it. There is then no rule of succession to the throne.

Formerly there was only one vizier, the grand vizier: the grand vizierate, a kind of Home

Ministry, was divided into three sections, each managed by a secretary (*kātib*):

1. From the Strait of Gibraltar to the Wād Bū Regreg.
2. From Bū Regreg to the Sahara.
3. Tāfilāt.

In the reign of Sidi Muḥammad (1859—1873), the more frequent and intimate relations with Europe and more particularly the working of the protectorate made it necessary to found a special office for foreign relations, and a *wazīr al-baḥr*, literally Minister of the Sea, was appointed. This does not mean minister for the Navy, but for all that came by sea, i. e. Europeans. This minister had a representative in Tangier, the *nā'ib al-sultān*, who was the intermediary between European representatives and the Central Makhzen. His task was to deal with European complaints and claims from perpetual settlements and to play off against one another the protégés of the European powers, who were certainly increasing in numbers and frequently formed an obstacle to the traditional arbitrary rule of the Makhzen. The régime of the consular protectorate, settled and regulated in 1880 by the Convention of Madrid, had also resulted in discouraging the Makhzen from extending its authority over new territory.

The exercise of this authority was in fact automatically followed by the exercise of the right of protection and from the point of view of resistance to European penetration, the Makhzen had everything to gain by keeping in an apparent political independence the greater part of the territory which thus escaped the influence which threatened in time to turn Morocco into a regular international protectorate.

By a conciliatory native policy and cautious dealing with the local chiefs, the *shaiḫs* of the *sāwīyas* and the *Sharifi* families, the Makhzen was able to exert even in the remotest districts a real influence and never ceased to carry on perpetual intrigues in order to divide the tribes against one another.

It maintained its religious prestige by the hope of preparation for the holy war which was one day to drive out the infidels and sought to penetrate by spreading the Arabic language and the teaching of the Qur'ān and gradually substituting the principles of Muḥammadan law of the *shra'* for Berber customs. In a word, it continued the conquest of the country by trying to complete its islāmisation and making Islām permeate its customs.

In the reign of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, the Makhzen consisted of the grand vizier, the *wazīr al-baḥr*, minister of foreign affairs, the *'allāf* — afterwards called minister of war —, the *amīn al-umanā'*, — afterwards minister of finance —, the *kātib al-shikāyāt*, secretary for complaints, who became minister of justice by combining his duties with that of the *ḥādi 'l-kuḍāt*, *Kādi* of *Kādis*. These high officials had the offices (*banīka*, pl. *banā'ik*) in the *mashwar* at the Palace.

The offices were under the galleries which were built round a large courtyard. At the top of the *mashwar* was the office of the grand vizier, beside which was that of the *ḥā'id al-mashwar*, a kind of captain of the guard, who also made presentations to the sultān. The *ḥā'id al-mashwar* was in command of the police of the *mashwar* and he had under his command the troops of the *gish*, *mashwariya*, *masakhriya* (*hanāfi* — sg.: *hanṭa*) etc., as well as all

the bodies of servants outside the palace; the *mawla al-ruwā*, grand-master of the stables, the *frā'igiya*, who had charge of the sultān's encampments.

In addition to these *banīkas* of the *mashwar*, mention must be made of an individual, who as was shown in recent times could play a more considerable part in the government than his actual office would lead one to expect. This is the *ḥādīb* [q. v.], literally the "curtain", i. e. an official placed between the Sultān and his subjects like a curtain. His *banīka* was situated between the *mashwar* and the palace proper and he had charge of the interior arrangements of the Sultān's household. Under his orders were the various groups of domestic servants (*hanāfi al-dākhliyin*), *mwālin al-udū'*, who looked after the washing arrangements, *mwālin al-frash* who attended to the beds, etc., etc.; he also commanded the eunuchs and even was responsible for the discipline of the women of the Sultān, through the *'arifas* or mistresses of the palace. The *ḥādīb* is often called grand chamberlain, although he does not exactly correspond to this office.

Around these officers gravitated a world of secretaries of different ranks, of officers of the *gish*, then the *ḥā'id al-raḥā*, who was in theory in command of 500 horsemen, the *ḥā'id al-mai'a*, who commanded 100 down to a simple *muḥaddam*. All this horde of officials, badly paid when paid at all, lived on the country as it could, trafficking shamelessly in the influence which it had or was thought to have and in the prestige it gained from belonging to the court, whether closely or remotely. The influence of these court officials spread throughout the regions controlled by the organisation of Makhzen officialdom, which contributed to the centralisation of authority and its profits.

In this organisation it may be noticed that the authority of the Makhzen properly so-called, i. e. of a lay power, continually increased at the expense of the religious power by a series of changes. No doubt the basis continued to be religious, but the application of power became less and less so and the civil jurisdiction of the *ḥā'ids* and of the Makhzen more and more took the place of the administration of the *shra'* by the *kādis*, which finally became restricted to questions of personal law and landed property.

The authority of the sultān was represented in the towns and in the tribes by the *ḥā'ids*, appointed by the grand vizier and by the *muḥtasib's*, whose office owed its origin to the religious law of the *shra'*. The *muḥtasib* supervised and controlled the guilds, fixed the price of articles of food and inspected weights and measures and coins.

The tax of the *nā'iba*, which represented the old *kharaḍj*, was levied on the non-*gish* tribes by the *ḥā'ids* of these tribes. It was one of the principal causes of abuses; the amount of this tax was never fixed and the sums which came from it were in reality divided among the *ḥā'ids*, the secretaries of the Makhzen and the vizier without the sultān or the public treasury getting any benefit from them.

The grand vizier also appointed the *nādir* officers, who from the reign of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Rahmān had been attached to the local *nādīrs* of the *hubūs* of the mosques and sanctuaries. The *kādis* were appointed by the *ḥādi 'l-kuḍāt*; at the present day they are appointed by the minister of justice.

They propose the 'udūl but do not actually appoint them. The financial staff, *umanā'*, who control the customs, the possessions of the Makhzen (*al-amlāk*), the *mustafādūt* (market-dues and tolls etc. called *maks*), the controller of the *bil al-māl* (popularly *abu 'l-mawāriṭh*) i.e. the official who intervened to collect the share of the Muslim community from estates of deceased persons and who also acted as curator of intestate estates (*wakīl al-ghuyyāb*). All these officers were appointed by the *amin al-umanā'* who was later known as the minister of finance.

This organisation was completely centralised i.e. its only object was to bring all the resources of the country into the coffers of the State and of its agents, but there was no provision for utilising these resources in the public interest. No budget was drawn up, no public works, no railways, no navy, no commerce, no port, nothing at all was provided for. Military expenses were confined to the maintenance of a regiment commanded by an English officer, of a French mission of military instruction, of a factory of arms at Fās directed by Italian officers and of the building at Rabāt of a fort by a German engineer. These were really rather diplomatic concessions to the powers interested than a regular military organisation. In the spirit of the Makhzen the defence of the territory was to be the task of the Berber tribes, carefully maintained out of all contact with Europeans behind the elaborate display maintained by the court.

In the event of war, the Makhzen, faithful to its system of equal favour, purchased arms and munitions from the different powers and kept them in the *makīna* of Fās to be able when necessity arose to distribute them to the tribes when proclaiming a holy war.

The expenses of the education service were limited to the very modest allowances granted to the 'ulamā' of al-Qarawiyyin at Fās. These allowances were levied from the *hubūs* and augmented by gifts made by the Sultān on the occasion of feasts (*gila*).

Nothing was done for public health and one could not give the name of hospitals to the few *māristān* to be found in certain towns, where a few miserable creatures lived in filth, receiving from the *hubūs* and the charity of the public barely enough to prevent them dying of hunger and of course without receiving any medical assistance.

On the repeated representations of the Powers the Makhzen had ultimately delegated its powers to the members of the diplomatic corps in Tangier, which had been able to form a public health committee in order to be able to refuse admission to infected vessels if necessary. In spite of its defects, the Makhzen constituted a real force; it formed a solid *bloc* in the centre of surrounding anarchy which it was interested in maintaining, to be able to exploit it more easily on the one hand and on the other to prevent the preservation in the country of any united order which might become a danger to it.

In brief we may say that the Makhzen in Morocco was an instrument of arbitrary government, which worked quite well in the social disorder of the country and thanks to this disorder, we may add, it worked for its own profit and was in a way like a foreign element in a conquered country. It was and still is a regular caste with its own traditions, way of living, of dressing, of furnishing,

of feeding, with its own language, *al-lughat al-makhzaniya*, which is a correct Arabic intermediate between the literary and the spoken Arabic, composed of official formulae, regular clichés, courteous, concise and binding to nothing.

This Makhzen which was sufficient in the old order of things which it had itself contributed to create and maintain, was forced, if it was not to disappear at once, to undergo fundamental modifications from the moment this state of things had rendered necessary the establishment of a protectorate.

Various changes have always been made in the old regime, which has been a matter of regret to many as reducing sources of profit. The vizierate of foreign affairs and that of war have been handed over to the Resident-General, that of finance to the Director-General of finance who administers the revenue of the empire alike to those of a regularly organised state.

The director-generalships of agriculture and education, which are regular ministries are held by French officials as are the management of the postal service, telegraph and telephone and the board of health.

Two new vizierates had been created, that of the regal domains (*al-amlāk*) and that of the *hubūs*. The vizierate *al-amlāk* has just been suppressed and the domains are administered by a branch of the finance department. The vizierate of the *hubūs* is under that of the Sharifan affairs. This organisation represents the principle of protectorate in the Moroccan government itself and in order to realise "the organisation of a reformed Sharifan Makhzen" in keeping with the treaty.

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Bibliography: 1. On the evolution of the meaning of the word *makhzen*: cf. the words *kāzin* (treasurer); *kāzāna* (place where treasury is kept); *kāzina* and *kāzina* (the treasure itself), in the standard lexicons, especially *Tāj al-Arūs*; *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, Bairūt 1867, s.v. *kāzin* and *kāzandār*; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, Arabic text p. 71 and glossary and esp. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leyden 1881. Add to the bibliography there given the following articles in the *Revue Africaine*: 1856—1857, p. 393: F. Pharaon, *Notes sur les tribus de la Subdivision de Médéa*; 1873, p. 196 and sqq.: N. Robin, *Note sur l'organisation militaire et administrative des Turcs dans la Grande Kabylie*; 1895, p. 5 sqq. and p. 109 sqq.: E. Mangin, *Notes sur l'histoire de Laghouat*, for the Algerian use of the word *makhzen*.

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MAKHZŪM (BANŪ) along with the Omayyads, the aristocratic clan of Mecca. This assertion is contrary to the theory popularised by the *Sira* in virtue of which the ancestor of the aristocratic families was Kuṣaiy [q. v.]. About the middle of the vith century A. D. we find that among the clans of Kuraish [q. v.] that held in most consideration was the Banū Makhzūm, which traced its descent through Yaḳaẓa b. Murra to the legendary Fihir (Kuraish) without going through Kuṣaiy. At this period the Makhzūm controlled everything at Mecca except the sanctuary. They alone were able to counterbalance the growing influence of the Omayyads. It is at this time that their name becomes occasionally synonymous with Kuraishī (Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 94, 12).

The Makhzūm seem to have owed their primacy to Mughira b. 'Abd Allāh, a contemporary of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and grandson of the eponymous ancestor of the clan. The adjective Mughirī thus comes to be used for Makhzūmī. His son, Hishām b. al-Mughira, is even said to have had the title "lord (rabb) of Mecca" (Ibn Duraid, *Ishṭikāk*, p. 93, 1 *sq.*). The Kuraish are said to have dated one of their eras from the death of this individual, if the reference is not to Walid b. al-Mughira. Tradition hesitates between these two Makhzūmis. The influence of the Makhzūm was preponderant in the mala', or council of notables which decided affairs at Mecca. It is frequently a Makhzūmī who speaks in name of the mala', as for example in the discussion with Muḥammad, at the beginning of the preaching of Islām. They are believed to have opened up to Meccan commerce the principal routes to foreign markets. For their intelligence, heir activity — they were said to be "ardent as

fire" (*Aghāni*, Būlak, xv. 8 *infra*) — their patrician pride and particularly their wealth they were envied by the other Meccan clans. In a word they threw into the shade the descendants of Kuṣayy like the Banū Hāshim, for whose benefit the traditional theory seems to have been put into circulation. They lost a large number of members at the battle of Badr; after this disaster from which they never recovered, they had to yield the first place to the Omayyads.

What injured their reputation in Muslim tradition was their opposition to the rise of Islām. Tradition has chosen from them in the person of Abū Ḍjahl [q. v.] the type of the intractable opponent of Islām. In Mecca the Makhzūmī Walid b. al-Mughīra was numbered among the "mockers" of the Prophet. Several verses of the Meccan *sūras* are said to be directed against him (Ibn Duraid, *Ishṭikāḥ*, p. 60–61). Before becoming the "sword of Allāh" Khālīd b. al-Walīd [q. v.] fought with the majority of his people against Muḥammad at Badr, Ohod, *Khandak* etc. This persistent opposition explains why they and the Omayyads are called *al-Afḍiārān min Kuraish*: "the two wicked clans of Kuraish" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Kurʿān*, xiii. 130).

After the *Fatḥ* (conquest of Mecca) they adopted the new religion without enthusiasm; many went and settled in Madīna, which now became the capital of Islām, so as to get in touch with the governing circles. The Prophet was able to use the military talents of Khālīd but had to shut his eyes to his disobedience. Neither he nor the other Makhzūmīs showed themselves more manageable by the Caliphs, as they refused to come to terms with the Omayyads and to respond to the advance of Abū Sufyān (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 203, 273–5). When the father of Abū Bakr heard that his son had been elected Caliph, the old man's first question is said to have been: "Did the 'Abd Manāf and Makhzūm give their assent?" (Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, iii. 222). The author of the *Tuhfa dhawi 'l-ʿArab* (ed. Mann, p. 170, 16) expresses surprise at his discovering in the pre-Hidjra genealogies of the Makhzūmīs, names like 'ābid and 'āidh, showing pre-occupation with religion.

Abū Bakr only had peace with Khālīd by sending him to wage war in remote lands and giving him carte blanche. With the second caliph there was open conflict. 'Omar, although he is said to have been the son of a Makhzūmī mother, had to suppress the turbulent general, more used to conquer than to obey. The Makhzūmīs came into conflict with 'Othmān over 'Ammār b. Yāsir [q. v.], a client of their family (Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahāq*, ed. Paris, iv. 121, 266, 279, 360). They declared against 'Alī in a body. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālīd b. al-Walīd [q. v.] who at first supported Mu'āwīya in the end by his independence aroused the misgivings of the Omayyad caliph. The Makhzūmīs accused Mu'āwīya of having had their relative poisoned and assuming the right to wreak vengeance, they gave a new proof of their independent spirit. From this time they were on bad terms with the Omayyad caliphs, as they had been with earlier rulers, being naturally inclined to resist authority and to offer a useless opposition. When 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.] rebelled against Yazīd I, they adhered almost without exception to his cause. In return the Meccan anti-caliph appointed one of them his representative in Basra.

The Marwānids after their triumph agreed to

bear no grudge against the Makhzūmīs. They even chose members of the clan for the office of governor of Madīna, hitherto reserved for an Omayyad. After, as before, the Hidjra, the Makhzūmīs continued to be reckoned among the richest capitalists in Mecca. They had about 5,000 mithkāl of gold laid out in the caravan which was the cause of the battle of Badr. It was to them that Muḥammad applied on the eve of Hunain for a loan of 40,000 dirhams. Their systematic opposition to authority put them completely out of the running for any of the great administrative offices in which the members of the Kuraish clans enriched themselves. Their aristocratic pride did not prevent them however from seeking profit in commerce and even in industry. We know this from the story of 'Omar b. 'Alī Rabīʿa [q. v.], the most famous of the Kuraish poets. 'Omar kept 70 of his slaves employed in the weaving-mills established in Mecca (*Aghāni*, i. 37, 5). Another Makhzūmī, a contemporary of 'Omar, was known as "the monk (*rahib*) of Kuraish" on account of his merit and his assiduity in prayer (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, v. 153, 19). Much better known than this ascetic and continually quoted on questions of *Fiqh* and *Hadīth* is the Makhzūmī Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib [q. v.], one of the most famous *ṭābiʿis* of the first century A. H.

With the coming of the 'Abbāsids, influence passed over to the Iranians. Gradually the Makhzūm, like other Kuraish clans, fell into obscurity. At the present day there are still families bearing the name Makhzūmī. It remains to be seen to what extent they are justified in claiming descent from the Makhzūmī, if it is not in the female line as in the case of Sirādj al-Dīn al-Makhzūmī al-Himṣī (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 98). Kaḷkashandī (*Shubḥ al-A'shā*, Cairo, i. 213) justly remarks that the tribe of the Banū Khālīd which led a nomadic life around Himṣ has only the name in common with the great Makhzūmī captain. The male line from Khālīd b. al-Walīd is said to have become extinct very early (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, v. 249, *infra*), a statement disputed by the Sirādj al-Dīn mentioned above.

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(H. LAMMENS)

AL-MAKĪN B. AL-ʿAMID, ḌIRḌJIS ('ABD ALLĀH) B. ABI 'L-YĀSIR B. ABI 'L-MAKĀRIM, the Christian author of a world-chronicle in Arabic. His life has been several times treated by western authors in encyclopaedias and other works of reference; but nothing can be learned of their sources from their articles. Even Brockelmann (i. 348) has to be content with giving the traditional biography and relies upon his European predecessors. To avoid repetition

here, we only give the dates of his birth and death, 602 (1205) and 672 (1273). The latter date is given by Ḥajjī Khalfā, ii. 104, N^o. 2103. His grandfather, according to J. H. Hottinger, *Promptuarium*, p. 75 sqq., died in 606 and his father in 636.

Al-Makin's world-chronicle consists of two parts, the first of which deals with the pre-Islāmic world from the Creation onwards and the second with Muslim history down to 658 (1260). The work is so planned that the whole history of the world is given in the form of successively numbered biographies of its most important men. Near the beginning the discussion of several cosmological questions and the several climes is inserted. Down to 586 B.C. it is based on Biblical history; the numeration of the biographies begins with Adam as N^o. 1. For the period after the destruction of Solomon's temple there come on the usual scheme the dynasties of Eastern Asia, which in turn are succeeded by Alexander, the Romans and the Byzantines. In this and in the second part, as the author himself tells us, he is following the model of al-Ṭabarī's chronicle.

The work which is entitled *al-Maḍīnū' al-mubārak* exists in numerous manuscripts. The first part is regularly quoted with a Latin translation by Hottinger, *Smegma Orientale* (1658) in the chapter *De usu linguarum orientalium in theologia historica* on various facts of history. The chapter on Alexander the Great has been edited in Ethiopic and translated into English by E. A. W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (1896). The second part was edited and translated by Th. Erpenius under the title *Historica Saracenica... a Georgio Elmacino*, 1625; English and French translations appeared soon after. Many emendations were given by Köhler in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, vii—ix., xi., xiv., xvii. A critical edition of the whole work is an urgent desideratum. How important it is for Oriental church history has been shown by A. v. Gutschmid, *Verzeichnis der Patriarchen von Alexandrien* = *Kl. Schr.*, ii., 1890, p. 395—525. This is sufficient to show how necessary would be a comprehensive investigation of al-Makin's place in historical tradition, which could only be undertaken on the basis of a certain text. Besides it is evident that al-Makin used old sources independently which are not known to his immediate predecessors like Eutychius [q.v.] and his contemporary, much quoted by him, Ibn al-Rāhib (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 349 where of course it should be 669 = 1270) with whom he agrees in the numbering of the biographies which are also used by al-Ṭabarī. In the chapter on Alexander the Great, the Ethiopic translation of which edited by Budge agrees very closely with the Arabic original, are found long word for word extracts from the very old Hermetic work in Arabic entitled *al-Iṣṭamākhīs* (cf. Steinschneider, *Zur pseudopigr. Lit.*, 1862, p. 37; *Die arab. Übers. a. d. Griech.*, Centralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen, chap. xii., 1893, p. 88), which had been previously copied in the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* of Ps.-Maḍjirī (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 243, cf. Ritter, *Picatrix, ein arab. Handbuch hellenist. Magie, Vorträge d. Bibl. Warburg*, i. 94 sqq.; ed. by Ritter and transl. by Ritter and Plessner in preparation for *Studien d. Bibl. Warburg*). In Budge's work is also given the Ethiopic translation of Ibn al-Rāhib's account of Alexander which in contrast to the Arabic text in Cheikho's edition

(*C. S. C. O. Arab.*, III/i., 1903) is here not simply a brief list of events but is a very full account. Only general statements are given from the above mentioned Hermetic work and do not compel the belief that it was used independently so that in spite of all agreements between him and Ibn al-Rāhib, al-Makin must really have worked independently of him. That the reverse might be the case and Ibn al-Rāhib be dependent on al-Makin is impossible because al-Makin expressly quotes Ibn al-Rāhib (cf. Budge, ii. 380, note 7). Since Cheikho only published the Ibn al-Rāhib text of Abrahamus Ecchellensis, which is perhaps an abbreviation of the basic text while the Ethiopic translation perhaps reproduces the original form, the question of the relations between the two ecclesiastical writers cannot yet be definitely settled; but even the Alexander chapter shows that it is of the utmost importance to settle the problem.

On the continuation of the Chronicle by Muḥaddal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, see Brockelmann, *op. cit.*

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned cf. Jourdain in *Biogr. univ.*, new ed., xii. 215 s. v. Ecchellensis, 413 s. v. El Macin; E. Rödiger in *Ersch und Gruber*, xxxiii. 426 and the others mentioned by Brockelmann and the sources cited by him. On the text cf. Seybold, *Zu El Makin's Weltchronik*, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxiv. 140—153; reproduction from the Breslau MS. mentioned there in: Severus Ibn al-Muḥaffa', *Alexandrinische Patriarchengeschichte*, ed. Seybold, Hamburg 1912, t. 5; for Byzantine history cf. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. bys. Lit.*, p. 368, 401; on the Alexander chapter of Ps.-Aristoteles, *Secretum secretorum*, ed. R. Steele (*Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, v., 1920), index s. v. Al Makin, thereon Plessner, *O.L.Z.*, 1925, p. 912 sqq.; *Isl.*, xvi. 93, note 5 and the introduction to the edition in preparation of the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*; Wilhelm Hertz, *Aristoteles in den Alexander-Dichtungen des Mittelalters*, *Ges. Abh.*, 1905, esp. p. 34 sqq.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-MAKKARĪ, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ AL-TILIMSĀNĪ AL-MĀLIKĪ SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, a Maghribī man of letters and biographer, born at Tilimsān (Tlemcen, q.v.) c. 1000 (1591—92) d. at Cairo in 1041 (Jan. 1632). He belonged to a family of scholars, natives of Maḥḥara (about 12 miles S. E. of Msila, in the present province of Constantine in Algeria). One of his paternal ancestors, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Makkārī, had been chief *kaḍī* of Fās and one of the teachers of the famous Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb of Granada. He himself received a wide education from his early youth; his principal teacher was his paternal uncle Abū 'Uṭmān Sa'īd (d. at Tlemcen in 1030 [1620—21]; on him cf. Ben Cheneb, *Idjāza*, §103). He then left his native town and went to Marrākush and Fās where he became *Imām* and *Muḥfi* of the great mosque of al-Karawiyin from 1022 (1613) to 1027 (1617). He then set out for the East in order to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Places; after doing so he came to Cairo in 1028 (1618) where he stayed for some months and married. In the next year he made a journey to Jerusalem then returned to Cairo. In 1037 (1627) he again made the pilgrimage which he was to repeat several times later. At Mecca as well as at Medina on these occasions

he taught *ḥadīth* in a way that attracted much attention. He again made stays at Jerusalem and Damascus where he was received at the Madrasa Djakmaḥīya by the learned Aḥmad b. Shāhin. In this city also his lectures on Muslim Tradition were largely attended. He then returned to Cairo and while he was preparing to return to Damascus to settle there permanently, he fell ill and died.

In spite of his long stay in the East, it was in Morocco that al-Maḥḥarī collected the essential materials for his work as the historian and biographer of Muslim Spain, especially at Marrākush in the library of the Sa'dian Sultāns (now in part in the Escorial; this is how al-Maḥḥarī consulted among other works the unique copy of the *Musnad* of Ibn Marzūk: cf. *Hesperis*, v. 8 sq.). Indeed his masterpiece, written in the East at the suggestion of Ibn Shāhin from materials collected by him in the Maghrib, is a long monograph on Muslim Spain and on the famous encyclopaedist of Granada, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghayn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb wa-Dhikr Wasirina Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, an immense compilation of historical and literary information, poems, letters and quotations very often taken from works now lost. It is this that gives the *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* an inestimable value and puts it in the first rank for our sources of Muslim Spain from the conquest to the last days of the "Reconquista". Even for the later period it is the only Arabic source that we still possess.

The *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* consists of two quite distinct parts, a monograph on the history and literature of Muslim Spain and the monograph on Ibn al-Khaṭīb. The first part is divided as follows: 1. physical geography of al-Andalus. 2. Conquest of al-Andalus by the Arabs, period of the governors. 3. History of the Omayyad Caliphs and of the petty dynasts (*Mulūk al-ṭawā'if*). 4. Description of Cordova, its history and its monuments. 5. Spanish Arabs who have made the journey to the East. 6. Orientals who have made the journey to Spain. 7. Sketches of literary history, the intellectual and moral qualities of the Spanish Arabs. 8. The "reconquista" of Spain and the expulsion of the Muslims. The second part contains 1. Origin and biography of the ancestors of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, 2. biography of Ibn al-Khaṭīb. 3. biographies of his teachers. 4. letters in rhymed prose of the chancelleries of Granada and of Fās, sent or received by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*mukḥāṭabāt*). 5. a selection of his works in prose and verse. 6. analytical list of his works.

The *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* was printed in full at Būlak in 1279 and at Cairo in 1302 and 1304 (4 vols). The first part was published at Leyden from 1855 to 1861 under the title of *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, by R. Dozy, G. Dugat, L. Krehl and W. Wright. In 1840, D. Pascual de Gayangos had published in English, at London, under the title *The History of the Muhammadan Dynasties in Spain*, a version adapted from the part of the first half which deals with the history of Muslim Spain. A critical translation of this monumental work in its entirety remains to be done.

Al-Maḥḥarī also wrote other important works, among which special mention must be made of a lengthy monograph on the famous kādi 'Iyād [q.v.] *Ashār al-Riyād fī Akhbār al-Kādi 'Iyād* publ. at Tunis in 1322 in 2 vols. A list with reference

to known MSS. will be found in Brockelmann and Ben Cheneb.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Maiyāra, *al-Durr al-Thamin*, Cairo 1306, p. 41; al-Yūsī, *al-Muḥaddarāt*, Fās 1317, p. 59; al-Khaṭīb, *Raiḥānat al-Aḥbāb*, Cairo 1294, p. 293; Ibn Ma'sūm, *Sulāfat al-'Aṣr*, Cairo 1324, p. 589; al-Muḥibbi, *Khuḥūṣāt al-Aḥḥar*, Cairo 1284, i., p. 302; al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, Fās, n.d., p. 71; al-Kādiri, *Nashr al-Maḥḥarī*, Fās 1315, i. 157; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, Göttingen 1882, p. 265; Dugat, *Notice sur al-Maḥḥarī*, at the top of the edition of the *Analectes*; R. Basset, *Notice sommaire des manuscrits orientaux de deux bibliothèques de Lisbonne*, Lisbon 1894, p. 24; do., *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salouat el-Anfas*, p. 22; N° 53; F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliografico*, p. 417; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii., 296; Ben Cheneb, *Idjasa*, § 102; Huart, *Litt. ar.*, p. 374; Carra de Vaux, *les Penseurs de l'Islam*, i., p. 158; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, p. 93 and note 3.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-MAKKĪ, ABU ṬALIB MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-HĀRITHĪ, d. in Baghdād in 386 (996), an Arab muḥaddith and mystic, head of the theological madhhab of the Sālimiya [q.v.] of Baṣra. His principal work is the *Kuṭ al-Kulūb* (Cairo 1310, 2 vols.) whole pages of which have been copied by al-Ghazzālī into his *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 200; Saiyid Murtaḍā, *Ithāf*, ed. Cairo, ii. 67, 69 sq.; Shā'rāwī, *Laṭā'if*, ed. Cairo, ii. 28; Ibn 'Abbād Rundī, *Rasā'il kubrā*, lith. Fās 1320, p. 149, 200—201. (L. MASSIGNON)

MAKRĀN, the coastal region of Balūcistān, extending from about 59° to 65° 35' E. and inland from the coast to the Siyāhān Range, a little beyond 27° north. This tract was known to the Greeks as Gedrosia, and was inhabited by the Ichthyophagi, or fish-eaters, the Persian translation (*Māhi-Khurān*) of whose name supplies a fanciful derivation for its present name, which is traced, with more probability, to a Dravidian source.

In Persian legend Kaikhusrāw of Irān captured the country from Afrāsiyāb of Tūrān, and both Cyrus and Semiramis marched through it. In 325 B. C. it was traversed by Alexander in his retreat from India, and fell, later, under the dominion of the Sāsānians, but was occasionally absorbed into the Hindu kingdom of Sind. It was annexed by the Arabs in the course of the rapid expansion of the empire of Islām in the early days of the caliphate, and it was through Makrān that Muḥammad b. Qāsim invaded Sind in 711 A.D., and established the first Muslim settlement to the east of the Indus. Marco Polo mentions it in 1290 as the most westerly part of India, under an independent chief, probably a Muslim, who found it unnecessary to make any pretence of submission either to Persia or to India. Indigenous tribes ruled the country until they were ousted by the Gīčkis from India, but the Persian monarchs reckoned Makrān as part of Balūcistān, which was included in the great province of Kirmān. In the middle of the eighteenth century the Aḥmadzai Khāns of Kalāt established their suzerainty over the country, and in 1879 Colonel Goldsmid demarcated the frontier between Persian Makrān and eastern Makrān, which remains subject to

the *Khān* of Kalāt, though British intervention has frequently been necessary to compose the disputes between him and the dominant tribes of the province, Gīkīs, Nūshirawānis, Bizandjians and Mirwāris. Cultivators of the soil are Balūčīs, and tribes of inferior social status and the fishermen form a class apart.

The climate of the country varies with the altitude. Near the coast it is uniformly hot, but not unpleasant; in Keč or Kedj, from which eastern Makrān is known as Kedj Makrān, the winter is dry and cool, the summer intensely hot; and higher still Pandjgūr is bitterly cold in winter and moderately hot in summer.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B. G. A.*; Abū Ishāk al-Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G. A.*; Ibn Ḥawkal, *B. G. A.*; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Bulḏān*, ed. de Goeje, index; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i.

(T. W. HAIG)

AL-MAKRĪZĪ ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ B. 'ABD AL-KĀDIR 'AL-ḤUSAINI TAQĪ AL-DĪN, Arabic historian, b. 766 (1364) at Cairo, grandson of the Ḥanafī Ibn al-Ṣā'igh who educated him according to his school; but on attaining his majority he went over to the Shāfi'is, attacked the Ḥanafīs and even showed Zāhiri tendencies. He began his career as deputy kādī in Cairo and rose to be head of the al-Ḥākimiya mosque and teacher of tradition at the al-Mu'ayyādiya madrasa. In 811 (1408) he was transferred as administrator of the waqf at the Kālānisiya and at the Nūrī hospital and also as teacher at the al-Ashrafiya and al-Iḳbālīya madrasas to Damascus. About ten years later he returned to Cairo as a private individual to devote himself entirely to literary work. He spent five years in Mecca after his pilgrimage in 834 (1430). He died in Cairo after a long illness on Thursday the 27th Ramaḍān 845 (Feb. 9, 1442).

His literary activity began with his local history of Egypt dealing mainly with topography. He then extended his interest to neighbouring lands as far as Abyssinia and dealt also with questions of social history such as weights and measures and coinage. His principal work, the *Khitaṭ*, seems however to be based to a large extent on that of a predecessor, al-Awḥādī, which he simply appropriated without acknowledgement according to al-Sakhāwī's well-founded charge. After a very long full historical and geographical introduction he begins his description of the country with Alexandria and goes with particular thoroughness into the topography of Fustāt and Cairo. On the sources of the work see Rhuvon Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 103 sqq. It is entitled *al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa 'l-Āthār*, Būlak 1270, 2 vols. fol., Cairo 1308, 1324—1326, 4 vols., ed. G. Wiet (*M. I. F. A. O.*, i—v., 1911—1927) transl.: Makrīzī, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, trad. de l'arabe et accompagnée de notes hist. et géogr. by E. Blochet, Paris 1908; *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte* by M., transl. by U. Bouriant and P. Casanova (*M. I. F. A. O.*), i—vi., 1893—1920; cf. Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Makrīzī, *Narratio de expeditionibus adversus Dimyatham*, ed. H. A. Hamaker, Amsterdam 1824; Makrīzī's *Geschichte der Copten* of F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1845; P. Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et la topographie du Caire d'après M.*, Paris 1890; P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la citadelle du Caire d'après M.*, ib. 1894—1897. Synopses of the *Khitaṭ* were made

by Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī under the title *al-Rawḍa al-bahīya* (s. Pertsch, *Kat. Ar. Hss. Gotha*, N^o 1683) and Abu 'l-Surūr Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Siddīqī in the year 1054 (1644) under the title *Kaṭf al-Azhār min al-Khiṭaṭ wa 'l-Āthār* (Leyden, N^o 974; Paris, N^o 1765—1766; St. Petersburg, As. Mus., N^o 237; Aḥmad Taimūr Pāshā in *La revue de l'ac. ar.*, iii. 334; cf. Vollers, *Note sur un ms. ar. abrégé de M. in Bull. de la soc. khédiv. géogr.*, 3. series, N^o 2, p. 131—139). As a supplement to his main work he then wrote a history of the Fātimids (*Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akhbār al-A'imma wa 'l-Khulafā'*, first publ. from the unique Gotha autograph by H. Bunz, Tübingen 1908) and of the Aiyūbids and Mamlūks 577—840 (1181—1436) (*al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, MSS. s. G. A. L. ii. 39; *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, transl. by Quatremère, 2 vols., Paris 1837—1844), which was continued by al-Sakhāwī (Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 902 = 1497) under the title *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī Dhail al-Sulūk* (*Continuation de l'histoire des Mamlouks de M. par El-Sakhaoui, texte ar. d'après le ms. unique conservé à la bibl. khéd. rev. et corr. by A. Zeki Bey, Rev. d'Ég.*, ii., iii., Būlak 1896—1897, ed. E. Gaillardot, Cairo 1897) and by Ibn Taghribirdī (s. E. I., i. 103). As a further supplement to the *Khitaṭ*, Makrīzī planned two large biographical works but they remained unfinished on account of the enormous scale on which they were planned. He intended to write the lives of all the rulers and famous men who had lived in Egypt in 80 volumes entitled *al-Mukaffā* but was only able to complete 16 of them of which 3 are preserved in autograph in Leyden (*Cat. codd. ar.*, N^o 1032, perhaps also 1103) and one in Paris (N^o 2144), see Dozy, *Notice sur quelques mss. arabes*, Leyden 1847, p. 8—16, a portion in van Vloten, *Z. D. M. G.*, lii. 224. His collection of biographies of contemporaries entitled *Durar al-Ukūd al-farida fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-mufida* intended to be arranged in alphabetical order also remained a torso (a portion of the autograph of vol. i., *Alif* and a part of 'Ain, Gotha, N^o 1771). He also dealt with a number of historical questions in separate essays, some of which are preserved in two collected volumes, Paris, N^o 4657 and Leyden, N^o 2408 (the latter in part written by the author himself, and in part revised by him, see Dozy, *Notices*, p. 17). The most important of these deal with the history of the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids (*al-Nizā' wa 'l-Takhāṣum fī-mā baina Banī Umayya wa-Banī Ḥaṣhim*, ed. G. Vos, Leyden 1888, and *Dhikr mā warada fī Banī Umayya wa-Banī 'l-'Abbās*, Vienna N^o 1887; *al-Durar al-muḍḍa fī Ta'rikh al-Dawla al-islāmiya*, Cambridge, Preston, p. 2), the Arab tribes who migrated into Egypt (*al-Bayān wa 'l-I'rāb 'ammā bi-Ard Miṣr min al-A'rāb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1847), the geography of Ḥaḍramawt based on enquiries made of pilgrims from there whom he met in Mecca (*al-Ṭurfa al-ghariba min Akhbār Wādī Ḥaḍramawt al-'aḍjiba*, ed. P. Noskowsky, Bonn 1866), the Muslim princes in Abyssinia (*al-Ilmām bi-Akhbār man bi-Ard al-Habasha min Mulūk al-Islām*, Cairo 1895, ed. Fr. Th. Rink, Leyden 1790, cf. I. Guidi, *Sul testo del Ilmām d'al-M. in Centenario della nascita di Mich. Amari*, Palermo 1910, ii. 387—394), on the Ziyānids in Tlemcen (*Tarājim Mulūk al-Gharb*, Leyden, op. cit., according to Dozy's hypothesis, originally a portion of the *Durar al-Ukūd*), Islamic coins and

measures (*Nubdhāt al-ʿUkūd fī Umūr al-Nukūd*, Cairo 1298, ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostock 1797; *Traité des monnaies musulmanes*, transl. by S. de Sacy in *Mag. encl.* by Millin, II/iv., 1797, p. 472; III/i., p. 38 sqq., revised reprint, Paris 1797, an edition revised by the author *Shudhūr al-ʿUkūd fī Dhikr al-Nukūd*, printed under the title *al-Nukūd al-ḳadīma wa 'l-islāmīya*, Sтамbul 1298 in a collected volume; *Risālat al-Makāyil wa 'l-Mawāzin al-sharʿīya*, ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostock 1800). He also wrote a general geography under the title *Djānī al-Ashār min al-Rawḍ al-miṣṭār* (Berlin, N^o. 6049, Cairo, v. 40) what work he drew upon for this is still uncertain; in Paris, N^o. 5919, al-Idrīsī's *Nushat al-Mushṭak fī 'khtirāk al-Āfāk* is said to be the basis; Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, p. 361 identifies it with the *al-Rawḍ al-miṣṭār fī Khabar al-Aktār* mentioned by Hādījī Khalifa, iii., N^o. 6598 of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, which is said still to exist in the Karawiyin mosque of Fez. In some of these shorter essays he touches on theology, a subject he does not elsewhere deal with, dogmatics in the essay composed in 813 (1410) entitled *al-Bayān al-mufīd fī 'l-Farḳ bain al-Tawḥīd wa 'l-Talḥīd* the autograph of which is in Leyden, Amin, N^o. 188 (cf. also Cairo, vii. 565), *Tadwīd al-Tawḥīd* (in Paris) and tradition in lectures on the family and domestic arrangements of the Prophet, which he delivered in Mecca (*Imtā' al-Asmā' fī-mā li 'l-Nabī min al-Ḥafada wa 'l-Matā'*, in 6 vols., Gotha 1830, Sтамbul, Köprülü, N^o. 1004). To supplement this work, towards the end of his life, he planned a work which beginning, with the Creation, was to be also a general geography to give the genealogies of the Arab tribes and the history of the Persians down to the Sāsānians under the title *al-Khabar 'anī 'l-Bashar*, at which he was still working in 844 (1441) (parts in the autograph Sтамbul Aya Sophia, N^o. 3362 and Fātiḥ, N^o. 4338—4341, others in the copy Aya Sophia, N^o. 3363—3366, Strassburg, s. Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. 306, cf. T. Tauer in *Islamica*, i. 357—364). Even later than this work which he quotes in it was the essay *Da'w' al-Sarī fī Ma'rifaat Ahlībār Tamīm al-Dārī* (in the Leyden collected volume and also in Leyden, N^o. 1080, Brit. Mus., p. 669).

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 321; de Sacy, *Chrest. arabe*², i. 112; Hamaker, *Spec. cat.*, p. 207; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 482; Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 196—202; *G. A. L.*, ii. 38. (C. BROCKELMANN)

MAKṢRŪH. [See SHAR'Ā.]

MAKS, toll, customs duty, is a loanword in Arabic and goes back to the Aramaic *maksā*, cf. Hebrew *mekes* and Assy. *miksū*; from it is formed a verb *m-k-s* I, II, III and *makkās*, the collector of customs. According to the Arabic tradition preserved in Ibn Sida even in the Djāhiliyya there were market-dues called *maks* so that the word must have entered Arabic very early. It is found in Arabic papyri towards the end of the first century A. H.

Becker has dealt with the history of the *maks*, especially in Egypt, and we follow him here. The old law books use *maks* in the sense of 'ushr, the tenth levied by the merchants, more properly the equivalent of an excise duty than of a custom. They still show some opposition to the *maks*, then give it due legal force, but the word con-

tinued to have unpleasant associations, cf. the ḥadīth: *inna ṣāḥiba 'l-maksi fī 'l-nār*: "the tax-collector will go to hell": Goldziher has suggested that the Jewish view of the publican may have had some influence here.

The institution of the customs duty was adopted by Islām about the beginning of the Omayyad period or shortly before it. While theological theory demanded a single customs area in Islām, the old frontiers remained in existence by land and water, and Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia were separate customs areas. The amount of the duty in the canon law was settled not so much by the value of the goods as by the person, i. e. the religion of the individual paying it; but in practice, attention was paid to the article and there were preferential duties and no attention was paid to the position of the owner in regard to Islām. The laws of taxation were very complicated and graduated; the duties rose in course of time from the tenth ('ushr) to the fifth (*khums*).

The Egyptian *maks* was levied on the frontier at al-Arish and in the ports (*sawāḥil*) 'Aidḥāb, al-Ḳuṣair, al-Tūr and al-Suwais but there was also an octroi to be paid in al-Fustāt at a place called *Maks*. This name is said to have replaced an old Umm Dunain and then became identified with the *Maks* = custom-house of Cairo. All grain had to pass through here before it could be sold and two dirhams per *artaba* and a few minor charges had to be paid on it. Further details of the administration of the *maks* in the earliest period are not known but there are references towards the end of the first century A. H. to a *ṣāḥib maks Miṣr* in papyri and in literature also.

The conception of the *maks* was extended in the Fātimid period when all kinds of small dues and taxes became known as *mukūs*, especially — emphasising the already mentioned unpleasant associations of the word — the unpopular ones which the people regarded as unjust. Such occasional taxes had been levied from time to time in the early centuries of Islām. The first to make them systematic was the dreaded financial secretary and noted opponent of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir. The latter introduced not only an increase in the ground-tax and the three great monopolies of osiers, fisheries and soda (in connection with which it is interesting to note a reversion was made to old Roman taxes), but also a large number of smaller taxes which were called *ma'āwin* and *marāḥik* and included among the *hilālī*, the taxes to be paid according to lunar years. Such artifices (known as *mukūs* from the Fātimid period and later as *maḥālim*, *ḥimāyāt*, *rimāyāt* or *musta'djarāt*) were destined to develop in time into the main form of oppressing the people and to become one of the principal causes of the economic decline of Egypt, until under the Mamlūks a limit was reached where hardly anything was left untaxed and *mukūs* were even granted as fiefs and "misfortune became general" (*wa-ʿamat al-balwā*). These small taxes however (but not the monopolies) were repeatedly abolished by reforming rulers, indeed *ibṭāl al-mukūs* (other terms are *radd*, *musāmaḥat*, *isḳāt*, *waq'*, *raf'* *al-mukūs*) even formed part of the style and title of such rulers. Thus it is recorded of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn that he abolished some duties, and later of Saladin, Baibars, Ḳalā'ūn and his sons Ḳhalīl and Nāṣir Muḥammad, of Ashraf Sha'bān, Barḳūḳ and Djāḳ-

mak. Makrizi gives a long list of *mukūs* abolished by Saladin and Kaḷashandī gives copies of the texts of *musamahāt*, which are decrees of the Mamlūk Sultāns abolishing taxes or granting exemption from dues which were sent to the governors and read from the minbars and sometimes contain very full details, while shorter decrees were probably carved on stone and are given among the fragments published by van Berchem. It would of course be wrong to deduce from such abolitions of taxes that the government was a particularly good one, while on the other hand the continually recurring extortion of the same taxes shows that the abuses had been restored in the interval. Makrizi, i. 111 concludes with the well known jibe at the Copts: "even now there are *mukūs*, which are in the control of the vizier, but bring nothing to the state but only to the Copts, who do exactly as they like with them to their great advantage".

Among the great variety of dues which were of course not all levied at the same place and at the same time were the following: *hilālī*-taxes on houses, baths, ovens, walls and gardens; harbour-dues in Gizeh, in Cairo at "the corn-quay" (*sāhil al-ghalla*) and at the arsenal (*ṣinā'a*), also levied separately on each passenger; market-dues for goods and caravans (*baqā'ī wa-ḥawāfī*) especially for horses, camels, mules, cattle, sheep, poultry and slaves; meat, fish, salt, sugar, pepper, oil, vinegar, turnips, wool, silk, linen and cotton; wood, earthenware, coal, halfa grass, straw and henna; wine and oil-presses, tanned goods; brokerage (*samsara*) charges on the sale of sheep, dates and linen. Taxes on markets, drinking-houses and brothels which were euphemistically called *rusūm al-wilāya*. Warders deprive prisoners of everything they have; indeed this right is sold to the highest bidder; officers consume the fiefs of their soldiers; peasants pay their lords forced labour and give them presents (*ḥarāṣīl*, *ḥadāyā*) and many officials (*shādd*, *muḥtasib*, *muḥāshirūn* and *wulāt*) also accept them; when a campaign is begun the merchants pay a special war-tax and a third of inheritances falls to the state; when news of victories is received and when the Nile rises, levies are made; the *dhimmīs*, in addition to paying the poll-tax, have to contribute to the maintenance of the army; pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre pay a tax in Jerusalem; separate special taxes are levied to maintain the embankments, the Nilometer etc.

Outside of Egypt we occasionally hear of the *maks* as toll or market-due, e.g. in Djidda, in North Africa (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 606). Ibn al-Ḥādīdī, iii. 67 mentions a *musamahāt maḥālīm*, but does not use the word *mukūs* in this sense.

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MAḲṢŪRA. [See MASDJD.]

MAKTAB (A.), literally a "school in which writing is taught" in practice means a Ḳur'ānic school, the Muslims believing that the first thing that should be taught an infant is the Ḳur'ān.

The word *maktāb*, plur. *makātīb* belongs to the classical language. It is hardly ever found in the spoken dialects in this form. These prefer the word *kuttāb*, especially in Cairo and Tunis. *Kuttāb* is found in the middle ages used by Ibn al-Ḥādīdī al-'Abdarī, a Moroccan author (see *Bibliography*), but it is not now used any longer in Algeria or Morocco.

The Ḳur'ānic school has also other names: *msid* in Algiers, Tlemcen, and in certain districts of the Algerian Tell, at Fez, Rabat and Salé; *djāma'* at Tangier, Larache, Constantine, in Orania and some districts of Morocco and the Algerian Tell; *shri'a* among the nomads of Algeria; *m'imra* among the Moroccans of the Djabāla; *thima'mert* among the Kabyls of the Djurdjura; *maḥḍār* at Safi; Spain had *maḥadra*, now found in Senegal.

The position of the Ḳur'ānic school varies in different countries. Among the African nomads it is a tent placed in the centre of the douar which is also used as a mosque. In most towns it is a room on the ground floor, very often dark, damp and badly ventilated. In Cairo, the Ḳur'ānic school is placed on the first story of some public building, usually a fountain. In Fez, a number of *msid* are also on a higher level than the street. The schools of Fez and those of Cairo show architectural features which deserve special study. The façades, doors, windows, usually large, are adorned with carved woodwork.

Inside, the Ḳur'ānic school is as a rule bare of all ornament, mats of *alfa* grass or of rushes are stretched on the floor; the walls are also hung with mats of the same kind from the ground up to a height of 4 to 6 feet. A wooden or stone bench serves as a chair for the teacher. In one corner is a vessel of water (*mḥi*) in which the slates of the pupils are washed.

The Ḳur'ānic schools are distributed through the different quarters of the town. There are none in the immediate vicinity of the mosques, the Prophet having recommended that children and lunatics should be kept away from mosques (cf. *Madkhal*). On the other hand, it is not unusual to find Ḳur'ānic schools in sanctuaries built to the memory of some saint or in the *zāwīyas*, the places of assembly of the religious brotherhoods. According to the *Madkhal*, it is recommended to place schools in the most frequented streets and not to place them in isolated places or by-streets. Although the author of this book gives pedagogic reasons for this recommendation, it is quite clear at the present day that it is due to the desire to let as many passers-by as possible hear the divine word. In the village, the Ḳur'ānic school is held in one of the rooms of the building which is used as a mosque. The sites of Ḳur'ānic schools are *ḥabūs* or *wakf* properties. Rich individuals sometimes install Ḳur'ānic schools at the entrance to their houses fronting the street for the use of their children and of those of their servants and neighbours and friends.

The head of the Ḳur'ānic school is called *fkih* or *fki* (classical *faḳīh*) in the towns of Morocco, *ṭāleb* in the country districts of North Africa, sometimes *shikh*, *muddeb* at Tunis and in the Tunisian

Sāhel; at Tlemcen, we find the the word *derrār* which again crops up in the Algerian towns.

The master in the Qur'anic school has as his only intellectual equipment as a rule a perfect knowledge of the text of the Qur'ān. He cannot understand or expound it; he hardly knows any grammar or any of the branches of religious knowledge. The most learned masters are those who have devoted themselves to learning a certain number of the seven ways of reciting the Qur'anic text according to the principles laid down by the seven *ṣaḥīḥ al-riwāya*.

In some towns there are Qur'anic schools for girls but this is exceptional. The mistress is known as *fāḥiḥa* or *fīra* (Morocco).

The pupils are called *tilmiḍh* in the towns, *gendūs* in the country districts and *mīḥādrī* in the towns of Morocco. Their ages run from six to eighteen. Where there are schools for girls, little boys are sent there also up to the age of six.

In Qur'anic schools nothing is studied but the Qur'ān and without any explanation. The task of the pupils is to learn the sacred text by heart. Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muqaddima* says that in his time the schools of Spain and Tunisia taught children reading and writing and the Arabic language before putting them to study the Qur'ān, which they then learned without much difficulty while in the rest of the Maghrib they were only taught to recite the Qur'ān and from the beginning of their studies. It is this latter that is still the usual fashion in North Africa of our day.

The Qur'ān is not studied to know and understand it. It is learned by heart for the reward promised in the next world to those who know it and to benefit by the virtue or *baraka* of the divine word. This latter point of view is very much in keeping with the mentality of Muḥammadan peoples with a strong belief in magic.

When the boy begins his studies he is taught to smear a wooden slate with a fine white clay called *ṣanṣal* steeped in water. When the slate is made dry, either by being exposed to the sun or held to a fire, the master traces on it the letters of the alphabet with the point of a *ḥalam* (or reed sharpened for writing) without any ink. He cuts into the clay by forming the letters on the slate and the pupil is then asked to go over them with the *ḥalam* dipped in ink (which is made from burned wool). At the same time the child learns by heart the names of the letters and their descriptions without the master however thinking it worth while to point out to him on the slate that a certain character corresponds to a certain name of a letter. It is therefore not surprising that with such a method a pupil has to devote two or three years to learning to read and to write.

When the child can write to dictation, the master dictates verses from the Qur'ān. The child writes them one by one. As soon as he has finished writing one he says *n'am yā sidi* on reaching the last word he has to write. The master then dictates the next verse and so on till the slate is completely covered with writing. Then the pupil goes to the bottom of the class and begins to learn by heart what has been dictated to him aloud. When he knows the text by heart, he recites it to the master. If the latter is satisfied he orders the child to clean his slate. For this purpose the boy washes it in the *mīḥi*, the vessel of water in the corner of the school; then he

covers his slate with clay again and begins all over again.

If we reflect that the master has 30 or 40 pupils in front of him each of whom is at a different place in the Qur'ān and that his method of instruction is individual, we can see that to learn the whole of the Qur'ān, even the most intelligent pupil requires several years if he is not discouraged before reaching the last sūra.

The study of the Qur'ān begins with the first chapter, the *fātiḥa*. After this sūra the last and then the second last, then the ante-penultimate is learned and so on back to the second sūra, that of the Cow. The Qur'ān is thus learned in reversed order. *This method is explained by the fact that the sūras have been classed, except for the *fātiḥa*, in order of length, the shortest being at the end. Since at the time of prayer, the believer repeats a sūra, usually one of the last, there is some point in the study of the Qur'ān beginning with the sūras at the end of the book. When the pupil has learned the sacred text in the reverse order, he repeats it in the proper order.

For study and recitation the Qur'ān is divided into sixty parts called *ḥizb*; each *ḥizb* is divided in its turn into four *rba'* or quarters, each quarter into two *ṭhum* or eighths, and each eighth into two *kharrūba* or sixteenths.

The time-table of the Qur'anic school is as follows: the master and pupils arrive at dawn, at least in theory. They study without a stop till lunch-time. Some go home to eat and return as soon as possible; others are given their lunch in school and eat either in the class, which is not encouraged, or outside near at hand. If the master goes out, his place is taken by an older pupil. They continue reciting the Qur'ān till sunset when everyone goes home to dinner; they frequently return to the school till the hour of the *ṣalāt al-'iṣṣā'*. No recreation is provided for. The only relaxation is the recitation by the pupils in a body of panegyrics of the Prophet. In the Maghrib there is no school from Wednesday at midday till Friday after the noon *ṣalāt*. Tradition has it that the Caliph 'Umar (who founded the first Qur'anic schools) prescribed the Thursday rest. It is said in explanation that the triumphal return of the Muslim troops after the conquest of Palestine took place on a Thursday; the pupils having had a holiday to take part in the festivities, the Caliph 'Umar decided that henceforth Thursday should be a holiday in the schools. In the Hijāz the holiday is Tuesday (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes Arabes de Tanger*, p. 184, note 2).

The schools are also closed on the occasion of the religious feasts and the fast of Ramaḍān for one week or two, each country having its own special habit in this respect (cf. especially Michaux-Bellaire in *Archives Marocaines*, xvii. 77 sqq.).

When a child knows by heart a fixed portion of the Qur'ān, the first sūra, the first quarter of the book, the half, the whole, his parents give a feast in which all the pupils share, the master and frequently all the other masters of the quarter, needy men who take advantage of every occasion when good cheer is going. These feasts are called *khātma* or *sulka* or *takhrīḡa*, sometimes *ḥādqa*, according to the country; some of these titles are used on the occasion of its partial recitation of the Qur'ān and others of a complete recitation. For the feast the master decorates the boy's slate

with different colours. It is to be noted that the mixture used for this purpose always includes eggs. Some verses are written on the slate. A procession is formed to go to the house of the child, who is the hero of the occasion; a part of the Qur'ān is recited and a copious repast eaten. A collection made after the feast and also at the houses of the relatives and friends of the family procures the teacher a supplement to his salary which he much appreciates.

Discipline is maintained in the Qur'ānic school by corporal punishment. The master keeps in his hand a long stick with which he strikes more or less cruelly inattentive children on the head. To punish serious faults he inflicts a certain number of blows on the soles of the delinquent's feet. The boy is laid on his back, with his legs in the air and laid together; one of the older pupils holds his feet up to the master who beats them rhythmically with a rod of the wild quince tree. If the pupil is too strong for his comrades to be easily able to keep him in the desired position, his feet are fastened to a wooden bench (*falaka*) which two of his comrades hold up. These corporal punishments have been frequently condemned (cf. especially *Madkhal*) but they continue to be applied with the unanimous consent of the parents. Indeed the parents very often commission the master to punish children for faults committed out of school.

The master's duty is to give the children a good education; that is to say an education that is entirely religious. He generally does his duty very badly, at least from the European point of view.

The results obtained in the traditional Qur'ānic teaching are generally bad. After long and monotonous years spent in school, the child only knows a few sections of the Qur'ān and like his master is unable to write a letter correctly or read a book. Wherever general education has made some progress we find the Qur'ānic schools losing their importance in spite of the piety of the people. The child is often taken there to learn a few *sūras* after which he is taken away and put at the primary school. Very often the child goes to the Qur'ānic school outside of the hours of the primary school and only for a year or two. On the other hand in cases where the people are at all backward but ardent in their faith, the Qur'ānic schools are numerous and largely attended.

The children at the Qur'ānic schools play a certain part in social ceremonies on account of the doubly magic character which their youth and knowledge of the divine word gives them. On Thursdays they go in a body under the conduct of the master to recite the Qur'ān over the graves of persons recently buried; when a woman's accouchement is difficult and threatens to be dangerous, the children from the neighbouring school go round the town chanting litanies behind a piece of cloth held by four of them; in the centre of the cloth is an egg; the passers-by throw coppers into the cloth and utter good wishes for the sick woman. The school-children, slate in hand are also sent to seek mercy from a conqueror for a conquered town or tribe; to appeal for rain in time of drought, the Qur'ānic schools are also called upon to take part in processions.

The organisation of Qur'ānic teaching is rudimentary. In the towns, it is the *kādi* who in theory supervises the schools; in reality he only

interferes in cases where complaints are made against the teacher. In the tribes it is the *kādi* who takes the place of the *kādi* in this connection.

The teacher is very often a stranger to the country, more often from the country than the town, which is to some extent explained by the magic character common to the state of being a foreigner and to Qur'ānic study.

In the towns he receives a very small sum monthly from the parents of his pupils; on the Wednesday, the children pay him a few coins on leaving school; on the occasion of school-feasts and holidays he receives a few more gifts. He also makes amulets which he sells. In the country the *ṣāleb* is paid in kind. The relatives of his pupils feed him in turn, giving him, eggs, butter, cereals and lambs; sometimes the village or donor shares the labour of working a plot of ground and gathering its yield for him. Payment in kind of the services of the teacher is the subject of a regular contract between the representative of the village or of the douar and the *ṣāleb*. The latter is then called *ṣāleb mushārīf*. The teacher is also the *imām* of the village; he washes the dead and prepares them for burial; he is also occasionally tailor and public letterwriter. In brief although he enjoys the respect of those around him he lives very poorly.

The choice of a teacher is often decided by the reputation which he enjoys. The consent of the parents in the towns, of the *djāma'a* in the country gives him the right to exercise his functions. Tunisia however has endeavoured since the French occupation to regulate more carefully Qur'ānic instruction and to demand a certain standard of knowledge and morality in the teacher. Qur'ānic instruction by its very nature seems to have remained unchanged from the early days of Islām.

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MAKŪ, a *khānate* in the Persian province of Ādharbāidjān.

Mākū occupies the N.W. extremity of Persia and forms an enclave between Turkey (the old sandjak of Bāyazid) and Transcaucasia. In the west the frontier with Turkey follows the heights which continue the line of Zagros in the direction of Ararat. The frontier then crosses a plain stretching to the south of this mountain (valley of the Şarī-şu) and runs over the saddle between Great and Little Ararat. Down to 1920 Great Ararat formed the frontier between Russia and Turkey while Little Ararat was divided between Russia and Persia. Since 1920 Great Ararat has been completely surrounded by Turkish territory, while Little Ararat is divided between Turkey and Persia. The Turco-Persian frontier at the present day comes down to the Araxes. The Lower Kara-şu and the Araxes (to its confluence with its right bank tributary Kōtur-çai) form the frontier between Mākū and the autonomous territory of Nakḥčuwān which forms part of the Armenian Soviet republic. The third side of the triangle i.e. the inner boundary between the *khānate* and the Persian province of Khoi is somewhat vague. When the prestige of its *khāns* was at its greatest, their lands stretched to the districts of Čai-pāra, Čaldīrān (Kara-Aini) and Āland. The little *khānate* of Awadīk (30 villages belonging to the Airumlu *Khāns*) on the Bāyazid-Čaldīrān-Khoi road forms a little enclave close to the Turco-Persian frontier.

The *khānate* consists of a series of heights and fertile valleys. In the centre between the valley of the Zāngimār and that of the Akh-çai rises the isolated mass of Soḡkar. At the foot of the Little Ararat along the frontier chain and on the slopes of Soḡkar there are excellent pastures.

The lands of Mākū are very well watered. The streams that flow into the Araxes on the right bank are as follows: 1. in the northwest the lower Kara-şu which runs almost parallel to the Araxes and receives on the right bank the waters from Dambat (a high plateau to the S.E. of Little Ararat where in 1905 Minorsky discovered the ruins of the ancient town which local Armenian tradition identifies with Arshakawan, cf. Moses of Chorene, iii. 27 and *ibid.*, i. 30); 2. the mountain-torrents Yllandārāsi and Şarī-çai; 3. the river Zāngimār (Zāngibār, Mākū-çai) which consists of three main branches, one coming from the *khānate* of Awadīk; the other, the Tīghnft, from the S.E. corner of the plain of Čaldīrān from the vicinity of the village of Tīghnft (Armenian *tmut* = muddy); the third from the central canton of Babādjik. The combined waters run through the defile in which lies the town of Mākū and water the rich district of Zangibasar ("watered by the Zāngimār"). Here the Zāngimār receives on its right bank the waters from the central massif of Soḡkar (this tributary seems to have been once known as the Kaban), and on the left bank the Şarī-şu (different from the above mentioned Şarī-şu) which rises on Turkish territory in the north of Bāyazid and flows a considerable distance parallel to the central course of the Zāngimār. 4. The Akh-çai, the sources of which are on the eastern face of the chain which separates Turkey from Persia and on the southern

face of the transverse chain (Ālagān) which separates Akh-çai from Tīghnft. The waters of the Akh-çai and its tributary irrigate the canton of Sögmān-āwā, flow into the fertile plain of Čaipāra and flow into the Kōtur-çai which waters the plain of Khoi. Below this confluence the Akh-çai receives on its right bank the waters of the district of Āland which rise near the Turco-Persian frontier to the south of the sources of the Akh-çai and the north of those of the Kōtur-çai.

The town. The site of the town of Mākū is very striking. It lies in the short gorge through which the Zāngimār here runs. The cliffs rise perpendicularly on the right bank. The cliffs on the left bank rise to a height of 600 feet above the river. The little town lies in an amphitheatre on the slope. Above the town at the foot of the rocks, are the ruins of ancient fortifications and a spring. Then the mountain wall rises almost perpendicularly and at a height of 180 to 200 feet leans forward. There is therefore an incredible mass of rock suspended over the town. (According to Monteith's estimate the dimensions of the cavern thus formed are: height 600 feet, depth of the cavern 800 feet(?), breadth 1200, thickness at the top of the arch 200 feet). It is only for a brief period daily that the sun penetrates into this gigantic cave. Just above is a cave which used to be entered by a perilous scaffolding. At a later date when the cave was used as a prison, the prisoners were hoisted up by a rope. (The only European who has been inside it is A. Iwanowski).

The population. The population of Mākū consists of Turks and Kurds. The former, who are in the majority, occupy villages along the rivers of the *khānate*. They are the remains of the Turkoman tribes of Bayat, Pornāk etc. The canton at the foot of the Soḡkar is called Karaḡoyunlu. The people (about 900 houses grouped into 26 villages) belong to the Ahl-i Haḡḡ faith (*R.M.M.*, xl., p. 66) which is indirect but interesting evidence of the character of the heresy of which the Turkoman dynasty of the Karaḡoyunlu was accused (Münedjdjim-başı, iii., p. 153). The old enmity between the Turkoman tribes survives in the general name applied by the Karaḡoyunlu to their Shi'a "Twelve" neighbours: they call them Akḡoyunlu (Gordlevsky, p. 9).

The Kurds of the *khānate* are semi-nomads. The Djalālī (cf. on their supposed ancestors, *Ālam-ārā*, p. 539 under the years 1017—1018) occupy the slopes of Ararat and in summer betake themselves to the pasturages along the Turco-Persian frontier. Many sections of them lead a troglodyte life in the caves of the Dambat region.

The Milān live between the Araxes and the massif of Soḡkar where they pass the summer. At Kara-Aini (in Kurdish *Ḳatēni*) there are Haidarānlu.

Before the war there were only 1,200 Armenians left in Mākū. It is remarkable that the confidential servants in the houses of the *khāns* are of this nationality. The celebrated and imposing monastery of St. Thaddeus (Thadevos-Arakel = Kara-Kilis among the Muslims) rebuilt in 1247 (St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, ii. 463) is in the central canton of Babādjik. It is regarded with a certain respect even by Muslims who kiss the Gospels on entering it. A long inscription recording the *firmān* of protection given it by Şāh 'Abbās adorns the doorway. At one time the villages at Mākū and

at Khoi belonged to the monastery and paid their rents to it. Another Armenian monastery (Surp-Stephanos; Dāniyāl-Peighambar among the Muslims) lies below the mouth of the Kōtur-çai on the borders of Mākū. The little village of Djabbārlu is inhabited by Yazidīs.

Ancient history. The oldest monuments of Mākū go back to the period of the Khald (Vannic) kingdom. The chamber carved in the rock near Sangar (on the Mākū-Bāzīgān-Bāyazīd road) is one of a number of similar constructions in Bāyazīd and in the country west of Urmia (Minorsky, *Kela-shin, Zap.*, xxiv., p. 171). A Khaldic inscription known as that of "Mākū" seems to come from Bastām on the Akh-çai (district of Cai-pāra). It is of king Rusa II, son of Argishti (c. 680—645 B. C.; cf. Sayce, *A new Vannic Inscription, J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 107—113; N. Y. Marr, *Nadpis Rusi II iz Mākū, Zap.*, xxv., 1921, p. 1—54). The inscription is important as showing that the power of the kings of Wān extended to the region of Khoi.

Mākū later formed part of Armenia. It corresponds to the canton of Artaz of the province of Vaspurakan (Armenian seventh century *Geography*). According to Moses of Chorene, the district was at first known as Shawarshan but was given the name of Artaz in memory of the old home of the Alān whom Artashēs transplanted hither (cf. Ardoz in Ossetia). The name Shawarshakan may be explained from the rule of the Artsruni kings among whom the name Shawarsh (Xšayāršan = *šápēwš* = Mod. Pers. Siyāwush) was frequent (cf. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 4, 177). The suggestion of this scholar that Artaz is connected with the older "Ažapa etc.", Strabo, xi. 14, 3, is untenable because Azara is above Artaxata which again is above the land of Artaz = Mākū. The Amatuni kings who later established themselves north of the Araxes must also have ruled in Artaz for the diocese of Mākū is called Amatunec-tan (Adontz).

The names Mākū and Hac'iun (= Hasun) north of Mākū are mentioned in the *History* of Thomas Artsruni written in the tenth century, in the passage (ii. § 3) describing the frontier of the lands ceded by the Sāsānian Khusrāw to the emperor Maurice in 591 (Brosset, *Coll. d'Hist. Arm.*, St. Petersburg 1874, i., p. 78). On the many Armenian monuments in the land of Mākū cf. the work of Minorsky on the antiquities of the khānate; cf. also Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, 1904, p. 344 and Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Justiniana*, St. Petersburg 1908, index.

According to a legend recorded by Moses of Chorene (i. 30; ii. 49), Tigranes, having defeated the Mede (in Arm. *Mar*) Aždahak settled his descendants all around Masis (Ararat). Neither the Arab historians (Tabarī, Ibn al-Athīr) nor geographers know this corner of Armenia although the name looks very old. It would be tempting to explain Mākū as Māh + Kūh = Mountain of the Medes (Pers. *māh* and Arm. *mār* go back to the old Iranian Māda). The form Mākūya (*Mākōya) which is found in Ḥamdullāh Muṣṭawfi however presupposes a different final element.

History under Islām. Ḥamdullāh Muṣṭawfi (*Nuṣṣat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 89) is the first writer (740 = 1340) to mention Mākū among the cantons of the *tuman* of Nakhčuwān: It is a castle in the cleft of a rock and at the foot lies a village which stands in the shade till midday. In this place lives the Christian chief priest (*qashish*) whom

they call Mar-Ḥāsiyā (this reading is preferable to *Marjaniṭhā* of Le Strange; cf. Aram. *Mar-Khasiā* "the Lord Bishop").

The Spanish Ambassador Clavijo who visited Mākū on June 1, 1404 still found it inhabited by Armenian Catholics ruled by their prince Noradin, who enjoyed practical independence. Timūr did not succeed in taking Mākū but by a treaty Noradin agreed to supply him with 20 horsemen when required. The eldest son of Noradin was taken to the court of 'Omar Mīrzā and converted to Islām when he was given the name of Sorgatmix (Suyurghatmīsh); as to another son, Noradin intended to send him to Europe to be consecrated a bishop. Clavijo mentions a monastery of Dominicans at Mākū, "en el dicho lugar" (Frayles de Sancto Domingo, *Vida y hazñas*, ed. Srezniewski, St. Petersburg 1881, p. 158—162 and 376; transl. Le Strange, London 1928, p. 144—145). Clavijo gives an accurate description of the town (a castle in the valley; on the slope, the town surrounded by walls; higher, a second wall, which was reached by steps cut in the rock).

On the death of Timūr, Qara-Yūsuf the Qara-Ḳoyunlu reappeared on the scene and Mākū was one of the first places he conquered in 809 (1406) (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 376). Henceforth the country must have become rapidly Turkicised. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 295, 308), in 982 (1574) the Ottoman government ordered the Kurd 'Iwād Beg of the Maḥmūdī tribe (cf. above ii., p. 1145^b) to take Mākū (one of the cantons of Nakhčuwān) from the Persians and to restore the fortress. 'Iwād was given Mākū as *odjaklık*. After his death in 1002, Sulṭān Muḥammad II gave the fortress to Muṣṭafā Beg, son of 'Iwād.

When in the summer of 1014 (1605) Shāh 'Abbās was in the vicinity of Khoi the Maḥmūdī Kurds of the district of Mākū and Pasak (a village on the Äländ-çai to the west of Khoi) did not come to pay homage to the Shāh. 'Abbās I transferred the clan of Maṣṣūr-beg to the 'Irāk (Persian) and took the field in person against Muṣṭafā, beg of Mākū. The historian Iskandar-munshī mentions two forts at Mākū, one at the foot of the mountain (*pāy-i kūh*) and the other on its side (*miyān-kūh*). The former was soon taken by the Shāh's troops but the capture of the other was "not so easy". Orders were given to plunder the Maḥmūdī tribe which was done. The women and children were carried off and the Maḥmūdī men executed. The booty was so great that cows were sold at 2 dirhams = 200 (Persian) dinārs a head. The royal camp remained for 10 days at Mākū but the upper fortress "in spite of the constrictedness of the place and the lack of water" held out and the Shāh left for Nakhčuwān without having obtained its surrender (*'Ālam-ārā*, p. 479).

The Turks and Persians attached great importance to the position of Mākū. Murād IV in the campaign of 1045 himself realised the importance of Kōtur and Mākū and in the instructions given in 1048 to Qara Muṣṭafā Pasha ordered him to demand that the Persians should destroy the two fortresses. Indeed by the treaty of 1049 (1639) the Persians decided to raze Kōtur Mākūr, (read Mākū) and Maghazberd (*Tārīkh-i Na'imā*, i. 686). However Murād IV died and in the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm the Persians reoccupied Kōtur and Mākū (Ewliyā Çelebi, iv., p. 279).

The next stage is recorded in the Persian inscription engraved on the rock above the fortress (Minorsky, *Drevnosti*, p. 23). It tells us that Shāh 'Abbās II ordered the destruction of the fortress because it sheltered the unsubdued (*mufsidān*). The fortress is compared to a Kal'a-yi Kābān; the executor of the Shāh's order was a certain Akbar and the date is 1052 = 1641—1642 (Chronogram *gh-n-6*). The history of 'Abbās II (*Kiṣāṣ al-Khākānī*, Bibl. Nat. Paris, Suppl. Pers., N^o 227) throws no light on the incident but as (fol. 74^b) an Ottoman embassy to the court of the young Shāh in 1052 is mentioned, it is probable that it was not without influence on the destruction of the fortress, on the preservation of which Persia had formerly laid stress.

Contrary to the tenor of the inscription, Ewliyā Çelebi II, 337—339 claims that it was the Ottomans who, after the peace of 1049, destroyed Mākū and at the same time recalled the Mahmūdī Beg who was their representative there. In 1057 (1647) the Kurd Beg of Shūshik (a stronghold on the borders of Persia) rebelled against the Turks. The Persians, while protesting against his raids, seized the occasion to introduce to Mākū 2,000 riflemen from Mazandarān. The Ottomans sent an army of 72,000 men against Shūshik. Muṣṭafā Beg of Shūshik was defeated and sought refuge in Mākū. Ewliyā accompanied the Pasha and the detachment that went to Mākū to demand the extradition of the rebel. Satisfaction was given them and the wālī of Erzerum Mehmed Pasha treated the Persian envoys in a very friendly fashion. He told them however that if the Persians did not withdraw their troops from Mākū and destroy the fortress, he would attack Eriwān and Nakhchūwān. The result is not known but Persia's possession of Mākū recognised in 1639 does not seem to have again been seriously disputed by Turkey.

The family which ruled Mākū from 1747 to 1923 belonged to the Bayat tribe, the clan settled around the Sokkar (on the Bayat cf. Köprülü-zāde Mehmed Fū'ād, *Oghuz Etnolojisiine dāyır Tārikhī Notalar, Türkiyāt Medjmi'esi*, Stambul 1925, p. 16—23). According to oral tradition Ahmad Sultān Bayat was in Khorāsān in the service of Nādir Shāh. After the latter's assassination, he seized one of his wives and a part of his treasure and returned to Mākū. Very little is known about him or his son Husain Khān (Monteith's host?) who died in 1835. It is possible that under the Zand dynasty and at the beginning of the Kādjārs the real authority in the region N. W. of Ādharbāidjān belonged to the family of Dumbulī Khāns [cf. KURDS], whose headquarters was at Khoi (cf. TABRİZ, the special history of the Dumbulī is not accessible in Europe). The disappearance of the Dumbulī must have opened the way to the Bayat. 'Alī Khān (1775—1865), son of Husain Khān, is often mentioned by travellers (Fraser, Abich, Flandin, Čirikow, Likhutin) as an influential chief jealous of his prerogatives. We know that the Bāb was entrusted to the guardianship of 'Alī Khān from June to December 1847 and that the latter treated him very kindly. The Bāb in his esoteric language calls Mākū *djabal-i bāsiṭ* in contrast to *djabal-i shadid* (= Čahrik, cf. SALMĀS) where his imprisonment was more rigorous (cf. Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 1891, ii., p. 16, 271—277; Jāni-Kāshānī, *Nuṣṣat al-qāf*, G. M. S., xv., 1910, p. 131—132). During the war of 1853—1856 'Alī Khān derived

great material advantage from the neutrality of his territory which lay between Russia and Turkey. His son Timūr Pasha Khān (1820—1895?) profited by a similar situation during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877—1878. In 1881, his appearance at the head of the Mākū horsemen in the district of Salmās accelerated the collapse of the invasion of Kurds under Shaikh 'Ubaidallāh [q. v.]. Timūr Pasha Khān was hailed as the saviour of Ādharbāidjān and the people even called him *Mākū Pādshāhī*.

His son and successor Murtaḍā Qulī Khān Ikbal al-Saltāna (1863—1923) at first continued the policy of isolation and aggrandisement of the khānate but his activity aroused suspicion on all sides. At the beginning of the war of 1914 Russian distrust earned him a forced stay in Tiflis. In time Mākū became part of the theatre of war. The Russian troops built a light railway from Shāh-takhtī (on the Araxes) to Bāyazīd and the station of Mākū became a busy centre. In 1917 the Sardār returned home and held his position till the coming of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, when, accused of intrigues, he was arrested on 25th Mihr 1302 (Oct. 17, 1923) and transported to the prison of Tabriz where he died suddenly. A Persian officer was appointed governor of Mākū (Nawbakht, *Shāhinsūhā-i Pahlawī*, Tihān 1342, p. 112).

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MÄL (A.), means in the old language possession, property, referring among the Beduins particularly to camels, but also to estates and money, in any case to concrete things. The word is formed from *mā* and *li* and means properly anything that belongs to any one. As a noun it is of course treated as a med. *w* stem from which a

verb is then formed. In the meaning "money" the word is used in the expression *māl šāmīt* "dumb property" in contrast to *māl nāṭīk* "speaking property", applied to slaves and cattle. There is a full definition of the conception in the introduction to the *Ishāra ilā Maḥāsīn al-Tijāra* of Abu 'l-Faḍl Dja'far b. 'Alī al-Dimashki (Cairo 1318, p. 2 sq.) studied and for the most part translated by H. Ritter, *Isl.*, vii. (1916), 1—91. There and in the *Maḥāṣīn al-'Ulūm* (see *Bibl.*), p. 59, the different classes of property are enumerated. As *māl* includes property in its different aspects the word can also mean "taxes".

The attitude of the Muslim religion to money and property and its acquisition was of course a subject of discussion from the beginning of the literature. The authoritative religious and ethical point of view is that of al-Ghazzālī (so to be written, cf. Moh. ben Cheneb, *R.A.A.*, vii., 1927, p. 224 sqq.) in the second decade of the *Ihyā'*, especially book 13 (Ritter, *op. cit.*, gives an analysis) and 14 (transl. by H. Bauer, *Erlaubtes und verbotenes Gut = Islamische Ethik*, iii., 1922; cf. R. Hartmann in *Isl.*, xiv.).

The acquisition, guarding and disposal of property is one of the four main sections of economics (*Tadbir al-Manzil*), the second part of practical philosophy, which is divided into ethics, economics and politics, just as it entered Islām with the rest of Hellenistic sciences. As the *Politics* of Aristotle, the first book of which deals with economics was not translated into Arabic, the Muslims had to be content with the only translated work on economics, composed by the Neo-Pythagorean Ps.-Bryson which has had a deciding influence on the whole economic literature of Islām. The text, the Greek original of which is lost, was first edited by L. Cheikh in *Machriq*, xix. (1921) and has been recently published with the Hebrew and Latin versions and a German translation by M. Plessner (cf. *Bibl.*). The interesting chapter on *māl* in it was further expanded by Muslim authors of the school of Ps.-Bryson, particularly from religious literature. A standard work is the *Akhṭaṭ-i Nāṣiri* of al-Ṭūsī [q. v.] of which the economic section has been analysed and translated by Plessner. The view of the origin of money which Aristotle holds in the *Nic. Ethics* reached Islām direct, besides coming through Ps.-Bryson; it is first found in the *Tahdhīb al-Akhṭaṭ* of Miskawaih (this is his correct name and not Ibn Miskawaih [q. v.]) e.g. Cairo 1322, p. 38 [cf. also NĀMŪS and DHĀHAB].

The word *māl* very early became a technical term in arithmetic. It is first found in exercises in dividing inheritances applied to the property of the testator which is to be divided. We later find the word used regularly for the unknown quantity in an equation; in this meaning it was afterwards replaced by *shai'* [q. v.]. Used for the unknown in quadratic equations it became the word for the square of a number. The fourth power is called *māl al-māl*, the fifth *mālu ka'bin*, the square of the cube. The history of this change of meaning has been elucidated by J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra und Rechenkunst* (S. B. Ak. Heid., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1917, N^o. 2, esp. chap. vi., cf. also index, s. v. *Māl*).

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Arab *Lexicographers*, the *Lisān al-'Arab* and Dozy, s. v.); M. Plessner, *Der oikonomós des Neupythagoreers 'Bryson' und sein Einfluss auf die islamische Wissenschaft*, 1928; Merx, *Die Einführung der aristotelischen Ethik in die arabische Philosophie (Verhandlungen des XIII. Intern. Orientalistenkongresses, p. 290 sqq.)*; on the meaning in algebra cf. the references given in Ruska, *op. cit.*; al-Khwarizmi, *Maḥāṣīn al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 1895, p. 59, 198 sq. (the latter passage transl. by Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, xiv. = S. B. P. M. S. *Erlg.*, xl., 1908).

(M. PLESSNER)

MĀL AMĪR, more accurately Māl-i Amir, a ruined site in Lūrīstān. It lies in the centre of a flat plain about 3,100 feet above sea-level, in 49° 45' East Long. and 31° 50' N. Lat., 3-4 days' journey east of Shūstar [q. v.] and marks the site of a mediaeval town for which during the caliphate the name *Īdhadj* (sometimes vocalised *Aidhadj*) was exclusively used. The modern name Māl-i Amīr seems to be first used in the Mongol period; at least the first known occurrence is in the first half of the xivth century in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 29) in the Arabic form Māl al-Amīr = "estate of the prince". *Īdhadj* under the 'Abbāsids was the capital of a district of the province, and was also described more precisely as *Īdhadj al-Ahwāz* i. e. "*Īdhadj* of al-Ahwāz" (*Khūzistān*), sometimes called after Rām(a)hurmuz to distinguish it from a place of the same or similar name in the region of Samarkand (cf. Yāqūt, i. 416, 417: *Īdhūdī*; ii. 496).

Even under the Sāsānians the somewhat inaccessible district of *Īdhadj* seems to have enjoyed a certain independence. When the Arabs for the first time invaded *Khūzistān* in 17 (638) they came to a friendly arrangement with the lord of *Īdhadj* by which the latter was guaranteed the possession of his power (Tabarī, i. 2553). Eleven years later (29 = 649) however, the governor of Baḡra, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir [q. v.], was forced by a rising in the newly won province to undertake a military expedition which took him incidentally to *Īdhadj*; see Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje), p. 382 and above, ii. p.

Under the caliphate *Īdhadj* played no prominent part. During the troubles in the last decade of Omayyad rule Abū Dja'far al-Manṣūr afterwards Caliph (cf. v. Vloten, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lii. 214) administered the district of *Īdhadj* for the 'Alid pretender 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [q. v.]. A son, afterwards the caliph al-Mahdī, was born to him here, apparently by a woman of *Īdhadj* (see Tabarī, iii. 527). The family of the latter apparently kept up its connection with *Īdhadj* for Yāqūt (i. 416) speaks of descendants of al-Mahdī who bore the family name of *Īdhadjī*. The name Māl al-Amīr, "prince's estate", might date from the time of al-Mahdī when the 'Abbāsids seem to have had lands in *Īdhadj*. But this name of *Īdhadj*, as already mentioned, does not occur in an Arabic source till 500 years later, so it may be assumed with greater probability that it arose in the time of the Atābegs of Lūr-i Buzurg [q. v. = Great Lūr] under whom *Īdhadj* attained its greatest prosperity. This ruling family, which traced its origin to a Kurd chieftain of Syria, is also called the Faḍlawī dynasty after an ancestor or the Hazāraspid after the proper founder of their power, Malik Īḥāzrasp. Their rule over East and South Lūr-

ristān dated from about 550 (1155). The capital was Idhadj. At times the power of these princes stretched eastwards as far as the vicinity of Isfahān and southwards to Baṣra and to the Persian Gulf. They owned the suzerainty of the caliphs or of the Mongol Khāns who replaced the 'Ab-bāsids; in practice they were fairly independent. Among the Atābegs of this dynasty mention may be made of Aḥmad Nuṣrat al-Dīn (696—730 or 733 = 1226—1329 or 1332). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, he built 160 madrasas in his kingdom, of which 44 were in Idhadj. He also improved caravan traffic by hewing roads through the rocks. Under his successor Afrāsiyāb II, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa spent some time in Idhadj and gives an interesting description of life at the court in this town. The Tīmūrīds in 827 (1424) put an end to the rule of the Faḍlawī dynasty. On this dynasty cf. above ii., p. 48 *sqq.* and the genealogical tables in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. 460 and E. von Zambaur, *Manuel de Généal. et de Chronol. pour l'Histoire de l'Islam*, Hanover 1927, p. 234.

On the later history of Idhadj nothing is known. The town probably became gradually deserted after the fall of the Faḍlawīs. Its ruins are now represented by a large mound of earth, about 35 feet high, of irregular shape with smaller mounds of rubble around it. Cf. Layard in *J. G. R. S.*, xvi., 1846, p. 74 and Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, i. 403, and Jéquier, *op. cit.* (s. *Bibl.*), p. 134.

It may be mentioned that the Būyid Sultāns struck coins in Idhadj; cf. Lindberg, *Les Monnaies Coufiques des Buyides* = *Mém. de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord*, Paris 1840—1844, ii. 269 and see above iii., p. 44^b. On coins of the Atābegs minted in Idhadj cf. above iii., p. 48^a.

The perfectly flat plain of Māl-Amīr out of which rises the mound of ruins of the Sāsānian and Muslim town of Idhadj is about 4 miles broad and about 7 long according to Jéquier (see *Bibl.*) who has given a plan of it (*op. cit.*, p. 133). It runs from N. W. to S. E. c. 3100 feet above sea-level and is surrounded on all sides by steep, barren but not high hills. The most important of these border ranges is in the S. E. and is linked up to the Mungasht hills farther south (cf. Rawlinson in *J. R. G. S.*, ix. 80—81; de Bode, *op. cit.*, xiii., 100; Layard, *op. cit.*, xvi. 74 and de Bode, *Travels*, ii. 30) within which stood the fortress of the same name, which played an important part in the middle ages (Mungasht, Man-khisht, Māndjasht; cf. also above iii., p. 46^b, 47^a). The ridge which shuts in the plain of Māl-Amīr in the east or N.E. is called Kūh Geshmet. According to Jéquier, there is a large artificial lake in the north (northeastern) part of the plain, which finally disappears in the swamp. According to de Bode (*J. R. G. S.*, xiii. 104), there were in his time two small lakes there, the so-called Shatt-bend's, which dried up in summer like the marshes and the small streams which run through the plain. The water of the latter came in the main from the lake of Deriādje-i Bandān, south of the plain of Māl-Amīr, behind which Houtum-Schindler (see *Bibl.*) ascended the steep wall of the Tanawsh range. The lake called Fam al-Bawwāb described by Yāqūt may be identical with this stretch of water; cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

Among the numerous ravines which are to be

found among the hills that border the Māl-Amīr plain on the N. E. the most interesting from the archaeological point of view is that of Kul-i Fārā (see the plan in Jéquier, *op. cit.*, p. 135). *Kūl*, according to O. Mann means in Lūri "little ravine"; cf. above iii., p. 41^b. Dieulafoy and Schindler have erroneously reproduced this to them unintelligible word by *Kal'a* or *Kūt* = fortress: see Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 743, note, whose suggestion about the meaning of *Kūl* is now ruled out. For Fārā, H. Schindler gives the form *Ferra* and *Ferendj* (Franks, Europeans), the latter apparently based on a Lūri interpretation of the male costume in the reliefs there. Earlier travellers (Layard, de Bode) write *Kūl-i Fir'awn*, apparently because their Lūri authorities identified the name Fārā with Fir'awn (Pharaoh) whom they knew from the Qur'ān.

The majority of the sculptures of pre-Īrānian (Elamite) origin in the region of Māl-Amīr are to be found in *Kūl-i Fārā*. Quite close to the entrance to the ravine is a large stele with a large human figure in high relief, a row of smaller figures with a well preserved 24 line cuneiform inscription and 10 smaller inscriptions (the latter giving the names of the individuals represented). According to the large inscription it is a monument erected by a certain Ḥanni, son of Taḥḥiḥi. Opposite, on the other side of the ravine at intervals on blocks of stone and on the wall are five tablets with other reliefs of rude execution. Special mention must be made of a great procession with 67 figures. The total number of figures in *Kūl-i Fārā* is according to Layard 341.

Opposite the ravine of *Kūl-i Fārā*, in the hills which bound the S. W. side of the plain of Māl-Amīr is the cave with many corridors of *Shikefte-i Salmān*, "the cave of Salmān". According to the *Bakhtiyārīs* who hold this place in great honour, the name is derived from that of Salmān al-Fārisī [q. v.], the first Persian to adopt Islām, who is buried there, contrary to the modern Sunnī and Shī'ī tradition which locates the tomb of this companion of the Prophet in al-Madā'in (Salmān Pāk; cf. iii., p. 79). In *Shikefte-i Salmān* have survived four primitive bas-reliefs of the Elamite period of which two are outside and two inside the cave. Among them is a figure, over life size with a 36 line cuneiform inscription which also dates from the Ḥanni above mentioned. On a little esplanade to the south of the cave are the ruins of a little Muslim sanctuary, probably erected on the site of an older sanctuary. In the corner of the cave is a spring in which rises one of the little streams that water Māl-Amīr.

Apart from the monuments of *Kūl-i Fārā* and *Shikefte-i Salmān* there are a series of other monuments and remains of the ancient and mediaeval periods in the plains of *Shikefte-i Salmān*. For example, in the southwest part of the plain near a ruined *imāmaḍade* (saint's tomb) which the Lūrs call *Shāh-Suwār* (the king on horseback) on a slope of the hill is a small stele, obviously also of the Elamite period, with 6 figures and an inscription which has been destroyed. According to Layard, there are many popular traditions about this place. A little north of *Shāh-Suwār* at a place called *Kūh Wā* are the ruins of a palace. In the opposite direction in the N. E. section of the plain rises a round palace on the summit of a rock, called *Kal'a Gashdum* (= Scorpion Hill) by the natives. A ravine near by is called *Hong*; in it

may be seen a much weathered Sāsānian rock-sculpture of great dimensions, probably of the earlier period (c. *Shāpūr I*).

That the plain of Māl-Amīr enjoyed comparative prosperity in the Sāsānian period is evident from the remains of canals of this date.

In the S. W. of the plain a narrow road runs to the village of Hallādjan (de Bode: Halegun). Near it are old ruins of the period of the Atābeg dynasty. There is an Atābeg citadel, an Atābeg bridge and well. The numerous traces of buildings probably date from a mediaeval town. Of recent date is the ruin (mentioned by de Bode) of a palace of Ḥasan Khān, a chief of the Bakhtiyārī tribe of Čāhar Lāng who lived here about 1821. Here is another little river called Hallādjan or Shāh Rūben which is probably connected with the lake at Deriādje-i Bandān already mentioned (cf. Layard, *J. R. G. S.*, xvi. 74 and *Early Adventures*, i. 403; de Bode, *J. R. G. S.*, xiii. 100 and *Travels* etc., i. 404).

In the N. E. of Māl-Amīr runs an old road paved with huge blocks of stone, which is now called Rāh-i Sulṭān (the Sulṭān's path) or Djāddet-i Atābeg (= Atābeg road) to the Sar-i Rāk (Rādj) some 3,500 feet high, the highest point, and thence to Iṣfāhān after several days' journey. It has already been mentioned above that the Atābegs did a great deal for road-making in their lands. But the original planning of the road probably goes back to a great antiquity; cf. thereon de Bode, *J. R. G. S.*, xiii. 102—104, and *Travels* etc., ii. 6—8, 35—46. Perhaps, he suggests, the "ladder-road" (κλίμακος κοίλη) over which Eumenes passed, as mentioned by Diodoros xix. 21, may be identical with the Atābeg road. Remains of old roads paved or hewn out of the rock are also found in other places in the neighbourhood of Māl-Amīr; cf. iii. 51^b. The natives ascribe them at once to the Atābegs, as they do the ruined caravanserais found everywhere. Near the Sar-i Rāk pass about 12 miles east of Māl-Amīr is a place called Kaḷ'a-i Medrese, where chiefs of the Bakhtiyārīs meet every year. There are the ruins of two Sāsānian buildings; cf. Unvala, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxv., 1928, p. 86—88, who gives a detailed description of them. Schwarz, (*op. cit.*, p. 340) thinks that this Kaḷ'a-i Medrese—in spite of the discrepancy in the distances given—corresponds with the place Halāfihān mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭā (ii. 41). A ruined site of the same name, also with two Sāsānian buildings is according to Unvala 24 miles S. E. of Masdjid-i Sulaimān [cf. *SŪSAN*]; 4—5 hours N. E. of Māl-Amīr are the ruins of SŪSAN [q. v.].

The Arab geographers of the middle ages reckoned the celebrated stone bridge (*kaṇṭara*) of Iḏḥadj crossing the Dujail (Kārūn) among the wonders of the world. It was also called Kaṇṭara Khurrazād from the alleged (otherwise unknown) name of the mother of Ardashīr I, who is said to have built this bridge and another in the town of Aḥwāz (see Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 321). Otherwise we only know the masculine form of the Irānian name Khurzād (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 338 note 4 and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. 180b). In the ivth (xth) century this bridge of Iḏḥadj was restored by the vizier of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla after two years of work. De Bode identifies it with the "Atābeg" bridge at Hallādjan; probably however we should, with Rawlinson, (*op. cit.*, p. 83 and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 339, identify it with the

"Old Bridge" crossing a small tributary of the Kārūn N. E. of Kaḷ'a-i Medrese. For further information on the Bridge of Iḏḥadj cf. Yāqūt, i. 416, iv. 189 and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 338—339.

The rulers who had the sculptures and rock inscriptions of Kūl-i Fārā and Shikefte-i Salmān made, belong to the period of the later Elamite kingdom, to the period between Nebuccadnezar I (1146—1123) and the rise of Assyria in the first half of the ixth century i. e. about 1000 B. C. It cannot be decided whether king Ḥanni, son of Taḥḥiḥi, from whom the monuments and inscriptions date, and the Shutur Nakhkhunte, son of Indada mentioned by him, ruled the whole of Elam or whether they are to be regarded as members of a local dynasty ruling perhaps the district of Māl-Amīr. The inscriptions are in the Elamite language but contracts written in the Babylonian language have also been found in Māl-Amīr; cf. the *Bibliography*.

Here it may be mentioned that following de Bode the town of the Uxians which Alexander the Great passed on his way from Susa to Persepolis after passing the "Susan Gates" has often been sought in the region of Māl-Amīr; s. de Bode, *Travels* etc., ii. 47 sq.; Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i., Leipzig 1870, p. 409 and Kaerst in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, i. 1424.

Since the late middle ages (beginning of the vii/xiiith century) the Bakhtiyārī Lūrs have settled in the district of Māl-Amīr (cf. above iii., p. 42^a, 45^b). They spend the winter there on account of the fine green pastures. On the Bakhtiyārīs see BAKHTIYARIS and iii., p. 42^b, 45^b, 46^a, 50^a.

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Neue Beiträge zur Kunde der susischen Inschriften = *Abh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wissensch.*, xxxiv., 1894, p. 743—747 (based mainly on Layard) and G. Hüsing, *Der Zagros und seine Völker* (A. O., ix., N^o. 3—4), Leipzig 1908, p. 47—57 (based on Jéquier); s. also J. de Morgan, *Mission scientif. en Perse*, vol. iv.: *Recherch. Archéolog.*, Paris 1896—1897, p. 176 sq.

For the Elamite bas-reliefs in Māl-Amīr and the cuneiform inscriptions with them the reader is referred to Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 745, 747—748 for illustrations, squeezes, editions, decipherment and commentaries as regards the *Bibliography* down to 1893. The inscriptions were first edited by Layard in his *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, London 1851, Pl. 31—32, 36—37. Mention should also be made of: A. H. Sayce, *The Inscriptions of Mal Amir*, in *Actes du 6ème Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes à Leyde*, vol. ii., Leyden 1885. Weissbach gave a new edition in the publication above mentioned, a new transcription and translation of the Māl-Amīr texts with commentary; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 748—752, 759—777 (and plates i—iv.). A transcription, differing in many points from Weissbach, of the two great inscriptions of Kūl-i Fārā and Shikefte-i Salmān (with notes) was given by G. Hüsing in *Elamische Studien* (= *M. V. G.*, iii., Heft 7), Berlin 1898, p. 21—34; cf. also Hüsing's short articles in *O. L. Z.*, ix., 1906, col. 605—606; xi., 1908, col. 337 sq. The latest edition of all the Māl-Amīr inscriptions — including the fragmentary one of Shikefte-i Salmān omitted by Weissbach — is that of Scheil; s. *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, vol. iii., Paris 1901, pl. 23—26; transcription and translation under N^o. lxiii. and lxiv., p. 102—112. Scheil (*ibid.*) also published autotype facsimiles of the bas-reliefs and a picture of the cave of Shikefte-i Salmān: cf. pl. 27—33. In his travels in Lūrīstān O. Mann also visited Māl-Amīr and took squeezes of the inscriptions there (cf. *O. L. Z.*, xi. 605); but so far as I am aware he has published no more about them. — On the particular form of cuneiform used in the Māl-Amīr inscriptions see Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 752—759 (syllabary) and the epigraphic tables on pl. iv—v.; cf. on the question of transliteration Hüsing, *Elamische Studien*, p. 15—21 with table of characters and do., in *O. L. Z.*, vii., 1904, col. 437—440.

In Māl-Amīr have also been found cuneiform tablets of a legal nature (contracts) written in the Babylonian language; 16 of these contracts have been edited, transliterated and translated by V. Scheil in *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, vol. iv., Paris 1902, pl. 19—20 and p. 169—194.

(M. STRECK)

MALABAR, a district of the Madras Presidency in British India, situated on the west coast of the peninsula, between 10° 15' and 12° 18' N. latitude and 75° 14' and 76° 15' E. longitude, and extending for 150 miles along the shores of the Arabian Sea; on the E. the district is bounded by the Western Ghats, the hills of which attain an average elevation of 5,000 feet, but occasionally rise to 8,000 feet. Out of a total population of 2,039,333 (according to the Census of 1921) there are 1,004,327 Muslims, of whom 93.60 per cent are Sunnis; the greater part of them are Mappillas [q. v.];

the Labbais [q. v.] form the next largest group, and there are a few Pathans, and in the larger coast towns a few Arabs.

Trade with Arabia appears to have led to the introduction of Islām into the Malabar coast at an early period, the exact date of which is uncertain. Hindu rājās encouraged the Arab traders and the commerce of the western coast had passed almost entirely into their hands by the end of the xvth century when the Portuguese arrived to dispute it with them. The Arabs did not give way without a struggle, but by the middle of the xvth century only the petty coasting trade was left in Arab hands, and when the power of the Portuguese declined in the xviith century their place was taken by English and Dutch traders. In 1766 Haidar 'Alī [q. v.] added Malabar to his dominions, but found it a turbulent possession, and his son Tipū Sultān [q. v.] in 1792 had to abandon this territory to the British.

Bibliography: W. Logan, *Malabar, Madras 1887*; C. A. Innes, *Malabar (Madras District Gazetteers)*, Madras 1908.

MALACCA (from the Sanskrit *amlaka* through the Malay *mīlaka*, *Phyllanthus pectinatus* Hook fil., *Euphorbiaceae*) is the name of a town situated on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in 2° 11' 30" N., 102° 15' E. (Gr.), of a river which enters the sea at that spot, and of a territory of about 720 English square miles adjacent to and administered from the town. Formerly the name was often extended to the Malay Peninsula as a whole, but this usage is obsolete in English though still sometimes found in Continental works.

The earliest date in the history of Malacca occurs in Book 325 of the History of the Ming dynasty of China (1368—1643), which relates the sending of a Chinese mission to it in the year 1403, in consequence of which the local chief was shortly afterwards recognized as king by the Chinese Emperor. Previous to this time Siam had apparently claimed some kind of suzerainty over the country. Two alleged earlier references are very doubtful, one in chapter ix. of the Javanese history *Pararaton*, and the other in the Siamese *Koṭ Mophierabān* (*Maṇḍirapāla*). The latter work certainly mentions Malacca as a vassal of Siam, but in its introduction it speaks of a Siamese king (Paramatrailokanātha) whose reign began about 1435. The oldest strictly contemporary notice of the place occurs in the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* of Ma Huan, which records a Chinese mission to it in 1409 and states that at that time the king and people of Malacca carefully observed the tenets of Islām. As Malay traditional history connects the rise of Malacca with the fall of Singapore (probably *circa* 1377), it seems likely that the establishment of Islām as the official religion in Malacca may have occurred between these dates.

Owing to its position on the trade route from India and Western Asia to the Malay Archipelago, China, and Japan, Malacca became in the xvth century the most important of the Malay states; it was visited by traders from various countries, many of them being Muslims from Northern and Southern India, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and it became the centre of a Muslim propaganda of which the earliest successes in this part of the world had already been registered by Marco Polo in North-Eastern Sumatra before the close of the

xiiith century. After the middle of the xvth century Malacca territory was increased by the conquest of Pahang (on the East coast of the Peninsula); and for a time the kingdom included all the coasts of the centre and South of the Peninsula to about 4° N. together with a suzerainty over the parts of Sumatra lying opposite to it. Siam made several unsuccessful attacks on Malacca during this period.

The growth of this incipient empire, which however already showed signs of decay in the form of internal divisions and bad administration, was cut short by the Portuguese conquest in 1511, whereby the town and its immediately adjoining territory, together with the command of the sea, fell into European hands. Though often challenged by the attacks of their Muslim neighbours (especially the new state of Aceh [Achin] in Northern Sumatra), the Portuguese maintained their hold on Malacca till 1641, when after a prolonged siege it was taken by the Dutch. In 1795 it was occupied by the British, in the name of the Prince of Orange, and held until 1818, when it was returned to the Netherlands under the provisions of the treaty of Vienna. In 1824 it finally became British and in 1826 it was incorporated in one government with Penang and Singapore and made subject to the East India Company.

During the Dutch period the importance of Malacca as a trading centre declined; it was never allowed to compete seriously with Batavia, and in the end it was quite overshadowed by Penang (founded in 1786) and Singapore (founded in 1819). In recent times it has shared in the general economic development of the Peninsula; but it only ranks as the fifth town in British Malaya, with a population (in 1921) of 30,671 (of whom about one-fifth were Muslims) in an area of 3.5 English square miles. In the whole settlement or territory of Malacca, including the town itself, the population was 153,522, of whom 83,635 were Malays proper (including a considerable number of Minangkabau descent), 2,777 other Muslims (such as Javanese, Banjarese, etc.) of similar Indonesian stock, 1,146 Muslim Indians, 257 Muslim Chinese, and 56 Arabs, making an approximate total Muslim population of 87,871, almost all of whom were Sunnis of the school of *Shāfi'ī*. Of the rest of the Asiatic population about four-fifths were Chinese and one-fifth Hindus.

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(C. O. BLAGDEN)

MALAGA, Arabic *Mālaqa* (ethnic: *Mālaqī*), a large town in Spain on the Mediterranean and capital of the same name, has at the present day 133,000 inhabitants. It is built at the centre of a bay commanded by the hill of Gibralfaro (the *Djabal Fāroḥ* of Idrisi). The town is traversed from north to south by the "rambla" (i.e. the bed, usually dry [Arabic *ramla*]) of the Guadalmedina

(*wādi 'l-madīna*) which, while very often dried up, sometimes overflows in the rainy season. To the west of the town lies the Vega or Hoya of Malaga where the vegetation is exotic and extremely luxurious.

Malaga, the ancient *Malaca*, was founded by the Phoenicians and retained for long under Roman rule traces of a deep Punic influence; its port under the Empire was one of the most important in the Iberian peninsula. At a later date it was the see of a bishop. It was taken from the Byzantines in 571 by the Visigothic king Leowigild. In 711 it was taken by a Muslim force sent from Ecija by Tārik. It soon became an important Muslim town and in time supplanted *Arshidhōna* (Archidona, q. v.) as capital of the province of Reio (Latin: *regio*?) where in the time of the governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Husām b. Dirār al-Kalbi the Arab *dūnd* of Jordan (al-Urdunn) was settled in 125 (742). Malaga welcomed the founder of the Omayyad dynasty of Spain, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I al-Dākḥil, after his landing at Almuñecar and his triumphal progress through the district of Elvira. But, in the second half of the third (ninth) century, the province of Reio including Malaga became closely involved in the troubles stirred up by the nationalist 'Umar b. Ḥaṣṣūn. In the reign of the Emīr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥakam, according to the historian Ibn Ḥaiyān, the province supplied for a summer expedition (*ṣā'ifa*) against Galicia an imposing number of horsemen: 2,600. Later, when the rebel was causing anxiety to the Emīr 'Abd Allāh an expedition on a large scale had to be undertaken against the province of Reio. An army under the command of prince Abān son of 'Abd Allāh took the field in 291 (904) and inflicted a severe defeat on the troops of Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn. Three years later, the same general had to besiege Malaga which was held by the rebel Musāwir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Another expedition was again led against Malaga in the reign of 'Abd Allāh in 297 (909).

The great caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, on ascending the throne, had no peace until he succeeded in putting down the rebellion of Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn. In the early years of his reign several expeditions were again sent against the rebels in the province of Reio of which Malaga was the port but not yet the capital. Once order was completely restored by the sovereign, Malaga entered on a long period of prosperity which continued till the end of the Umayyad caliphate.

From being capital of a province, Malaga became the capital of an independent kingdom in the period of the *mulūk al-tawā'if*. The Ḥammūdids after having had to renounce their claims to the caliphate of all Muslim Spain were able to hold out in a little principality in the S. E. of Spain with Malaga as capital. At the same time another branch of the same family founded a little kingdom around the town of Algeciras. The Ḥammūdid dynasty of Malaga survived till 449 (1057) [on it cf. the article ḤAMMŪDIDS]. The king of G-anada, the Zirid Bādis b. Ḥabbūs, had hitherto been nominally their vassal. He decided to cast off their suzerainty and seize their principality. He did this with ease and exiled the last Ḥammūdids to Africa; his son al-Mu'izz was appointed ruler of Malaga. On the death of Bādis in 466 (1073) his kingdom was divided between his two grandsons 'Abd Allāh and Tamim and Malaga

fell to the latter. The town very soon passed to the Almoravids and then to the Almohads. When in 629 (1232) Muḥammad I Ibn al-Aḥmar founded the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada, Malaga and its province formed part of his lands and remained in the power of the dynasty till the period of the Catholic Kings. Ferdinand and Isabella took Malaga from the Muslims on Aug. 18, 1487 after a close blockade.

The Arab geographers of Muslim Spain almost all give enthusiastic descriptions of Malaga. Idrīsī (xth century) mentions two of its suburbs, praises the sweetness of its waters and the flavour of its fruits. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the second half of the xivth century says much the same and adds that a fine gilt porcelain was made at Malaga which was exported to the whole Muslim world. Finally Ibn al-Khaṭīb frequently speaks of Malaga in his description of the kingdom of Granada; one of his minor works is devoted to a comparison of Malaga with Salé, the *Mufaḥḥara Mālaḡa wa-Salā* (the Arabic text has been published from two MSS. of the Escorial by M. J. Müller, *Wettstreit zwischen Malaga und Salé, in Beiträge zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber*, p. 1—13).

Very few monuments of the Muslim period survive in Malaga, which have not been very much altered. The old chief mosque has become the cathedral. According to the author of *al-Rawḍ al-miṣṭār*, this *djāmi'* had five naves and five doors, two on the side facing the sea, one on the east front (*Bāb al-Wādī*) and one on the north side (*Bāb al-Khawḥḥa*). Another mosque of Malaga built in the *Ḳaṣba* is said to have been founded by the traditionist Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ of Emsa (d. 158 = 775). The old Muslim citadel is still called Alcazaba. There are very few relics of Islām in it, a vaulted gateway (Arco de Christo) and a tower (Torre de la Vela). This citadel was joined to another fortress by a double rampart built on the hill of Gibralfaro; it was restored at the end of the xiiith century by the Naṣrid rulers of Granada.

Malaga in the Muslim period remained an important sea-port and an active centre of shipbuilding, less important however than its neighbour Almeria. This *Dār al-Ṣinā'a*, the name of which has survived in the form *Atarazana*, occupied the actual site of a market and one of the gates with the motto of the Naṣrids (*lā ḡhalība illa'llāh*, "There is no victor but Allāh") is still standing.

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MALĀḤIM (A., sing. *malḥama*) came, after a long and obscure development, to mean "destinies", either simply *al-malāḥim*, or *kutub al-malāḥim* or in the singular. The word was already quite adequately explained by De Sacy in his *Chrestomathie arabe*², ii. 298—302, on the basis of several passages in Ibn Khaldūn's *Muḥaddima*. There Ibn Khaldūn defines *al-malāḥim* as "numerous books on dynastic changes and events (*hidṭhān al-duwal*), written in verse and prose and *raḡjaz*, many of which are spread abroad amongst the people, some dealing with the changes in the Muslim people (*al-milla*) as a whole, and others with particular dynasties, but all ascribed to well known individuals", although, in Ibn Khaldūn's opinion, it would be difficult to prove the correctness of any of these ascriptions (Quatremère's text, ii. 192 foot; De Slane's transl., ii. 226). The most famous case of these is the book called *al-Djafr* (q. v. and the references there). Such predictions as to public affairs have close connection with, and were probably developed from the Jewish and Christian apocalypses. As there are many stories, both in sober historians and in popular tales, describing these books as secretly preserved and consulted by dynastic leaders for their own guidance, they have also contacts with the Roman Sibylline books. The popular doctrine of the Mahdī [q. v.] and of the Last Day (*al-Ḳiyāma* [q. v.]) became inextricably confused with this branch of Muslim literature.

The derivation of *malḥama* and the development of its meanings are very obscure. The word does not occur in the *Qur'ān* which has the root only in *laḥm* and *luḥm* with the concrete meaning, "flesh". Yet the root *l-ḥ-m*, like the cognate Hebrew root, had apparently two very separate but old meanings, "food" and "fighting". Further, the fact that the Hebrew food-word, *leḥem*, means "bread", while its exact equivalent in Arabic means "flesh" would suggest a separation very far back rather than a borrowing (cf. the comparative treatment and references in Browne-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 535 sqq.). In old Arabic the meaning of decisive fighting, leading to defeat, pursuit and slaughter, seems to be certain (cf. the treatment in the *Lisān*, xxii. 9—11, and add to the quotations there *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 124, 728; *Dirwān* of Ṭufail b. 'Awf, ed. Krenkow, p. 139, l. 29, with translation and note on p. 15).

The *Lisān* endeavours to connect the meanings (flesh; warp and woof in weaving; close, entangled fighting) under the general idea "being intricate, mixed" (*ishṭibāk*, *ikhtilāf*) or with the picture of the flesh of the slain on the battle-field. But, in view of the Hebrew usage, it is better to be satisfied with the meaning of *malḥama* as "a stricken field"; the *Lisān* (p. 10) reiterates the idea of war and fighting with much slaughter and especially "in the Fitna" (*bī'l-fitna*), its only allusion to the prophetic and eschatological usage. An epithet of Muḥammad is "the prophet of the *malḥama*" and of that the *Lisān* gives two explanations: (i) "the prophet who was sent with the sword" (as in another tradition, *bu'ithu bī'l-saif*); (ii) "the prophet of union and good order" (*ta'lif, ṣalāḥ*).

There is very little general prophecy in the *Qur'ān* as to future historical events in this world; but in Tradition there is a great deal. Even the two *Ṣaḥīḥ's* have sections on such future *fitan* —

apparently the oldest word for them and frequent in the *Qur'ān* — especially those leading up to the Last Day. In *Buḫārī* (*Bulāḡ* 1315, ix. 46–61; Book 92 in Wensinck, *Handbook*) the Prophet is quite explicit in foretelling such woes and trials to come and in warning how they must be met. In Muslim (Constantinople 1329–1333; viii. 165–210; Book 52 in Wensinck, *Handbook*) there is a similar series of hortatory predictions, but, also, an explicit statement (p. 172 *sq.*) that the Prophet foretold everything which would happen to his People until the Last Day. By Ibn *Khaldūn* (*Muḡaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii. 182 *sqq.*; transl. De Slane, ii. 212 *sqq.*) this tradition is cited and others, by later and less weighty authorities, which make the Prophet give a dynastic history for future Islām, with the names, fathers' names and tribes of all leaders of revolts until the end.

The use of the term *malāḥim* in connection with those prophecies appears first among the 'Alids in their doctrine of the *Djafr*. The *Fihrist* gives two occurrences: 'Alī b. Yaḡṡīn (d. A.H. 182; p. 224, l. 22) had a *Kitāb min umūr al-Malāḥim* and Ismā'il b. Mihrān (p. 223, l. 20) had a *Kitāb al-Malāḥim*. But the use must have spread very rapidly. In the *Maṣābiḥ* of al-Baḡhawī (Cairo 1318, ii. 128 *sqq.*) those traditions are classified and one section is *Bāb al-Malāḥim* (p. 130–33). All the traditions bear on the wars of the Last Days but the word *malḥama* itself occurs only in the early part of the *ḥisān* section (p. 132 middle) in such phrases as "the *Malḥama*", "the great *Malḥama*", connected with the capture of Constantinople and the appearance of al-Daḡdijāl. In the *Miḡhāt al-Maṣābiḥ* (Dihli 1327, p. 396 *sqq.*) the text is practically the same, only adding the names of the collections from which the traditions are taken, Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī. Abū Dāwūd has a separate section on *malāḥim* (N^o. 36 in Wensinck). In such a book of edification as the *Tadhkirā* of al-Kurtubī (d. 671 = 1272), in the *Muḡhṭaṣar* of al-Sha'rānī (Cairo 1324) the sections on the *Malāḥim* have swallowed up the whole doctrine and history of the Mahdī (p. 113–21), to the aid of whom there is sent an angel called Ḍamāra (?), *ṣāhib al-malāḥim*.

Ibn *Khaldūn* has recorded the final form which these prophecies took. Traditions put in the mouth of the Prophet were supplemented and largely displaced by calculations of astrologers and by the speculations of pantheistic Sūfis using the science of *Simiyā'* [q.v.] in the interests of the 'Alids. We have thus to distinguish sharply between (i) the *malāḥim*-predictions registered in the canonical books of traditions and in the literature of edification based upon these and (ii) the *malāḥim*-books based upon secret tradition and on astrology which went back to the 'Alids and are represented best by the *Djafr*. For, besides the *Djafr* ascribed to Ḍja'far al-Ṣādiq, there was also an astrological *Djafr*, ascribed to Ibn Ishāḡ al-Kindī, dealing with the dynastic destinies of the 'Abbāsids. An asserted fragment of this, called the Little *Djafr*, was in circulation in the Maghrib in Ibn *Khaldūn*'s time, but had apparently been composed in the interests of the Muwaḥḥids. Further Ibn *Khaldūn* had known as in circulation in the Maghrib several poems of this class in the interests of different western dynasties. In the Orient he had heard of several such *malāḥim* ascribed to Ibn Sīnā and he had actually had

knowledge of one such ascribed to Ibn al-'Arabī. In Cairo he had found another, also ascribed to Ibn al-'Arabī, giving a horoscope for that town. In the Orient, too, he had seen a *malḥama*-poem by a certain Sūfī, Muḥammad al-Bādjirīkī, of the Ḳarandālī Fraternity of darwishes, who left behind him a heretical sect, al-Bādjirīkiya, and who died 724 (1324). Ibn *Khaldūn* gives a mass of details on this *malḥama* and on its author, who called it a *Djafr*. It dealt with the dynasties of the Mamlūks and Ibn *Khaldūn* knew it in two recensions from which he quotes. For still more details on this genre of literature, based on Ibn *Khaldūn*'s personal knowledge, see Quatremère, text, ii. 193–201 (the *Bulāḡ* texts are not complete) and De Slane's translation, ii. 226–237. In stories, there are frequent references to the science of *malāḥim* as one of the esoteric sciences along with astrology and *ḡarb al-ramal*. Thus, in Habicht's text of *The 1001 Nights* (ed. Breslau, iii. 218) in the Story of Ḳamar al-Zamān and Budūr, a form closely akin to the version of Galland and different from that in the second Calcutta and the *Bulāḡ* editions, Marzawān, the foster-brother of Budūr, is described as learned in the sciences of astronomy and the sphere and reckoning and algebra and *ramal* and *malāḥim*.

Bibliography: is given in the course of the article. (D. B. MACDONALD)

MAL'AK. [See MALĀ'IKĀ.]

MALĀ'IKĀ, angels, is the Arabic broken plural of an early Semitic (Canaanite?) word *mal'ak*, meaning "messenger". The evidence would suggest that it is a loan-word, coming into Arabic from Hebrew: there is no trace of a verb in Hebrew (nor in Phoenician, where the noun occurs in later inscriptions), and in Arabic the root, even, is in the greatest uncertainty, being referred to a dubious *l-k* (Lane, p. 81, *b, c*; *Lisān*, xii. 272 *sqq.*; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, i. 150) and to a still more dubious *l-k* (*Lisān*, xii. 370). The singular in Arabic is normally *malak* without *hamza*, and so always in the *Qur'ān*; although the *Lisān* in two places (xii. 274, 8; 371, 5) quotes the same verse as a proof that *mal'ak* does occur, but as an exceptional form (*shādhḡh*). Both singular and plural in Arabic are used only in the sense "angel". In the *Qur'ān* it occurs twice in the dual (*malakain*, ii. 96; vii. 19); of the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt (q. v. and under *siḡr*), and of Adam and Eve being tempted in the Garden to believe that they may become angels. The plural occurs very often in the *Qur'ān* (in Flügel's *Concordance* under *l-k*, p. 171) but the singular only 12 times (Flügel under *m-l-k*, p. 183). These are of the people demanding revelation by an angel rather than a human being (*baṣṣar*, vi. 8, 9, 50; xi. 15, 33; xvii. 97; xxv. 8); women think Joseph an angel for his beauty rather than a human being (*baṣṣar*, xii. 31); an angel's intercession (*shafā'a*, liii. 26) does not avail; twice as collective for angels, beside the '*arṣḡ* (lxix. 17), and in rows and rows (lxxxix. 23).

In xxxii. 11 "the angel of death" (*malak al-mawt*) occurs but not by name; see article 'IZRĀ'IL, and references in tradition in Wensinck, *Handbook*, p. 226. Ḍjibril, the angel of revelation, is named three times (ii. 91, 92; lxvi. 4); cf. traditions on him in Muslim, i. 109–111 of ed. Constantinople 1333, and other references in Wensinck, p. 59. In *Qur'ān* xxvi. 193–195, Ḍjibril, unnamed, is called

"the Faithful Spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-amin*); he brings down the revelation to the *ḡalb* of Muḥammad in a clear Arabic tongue. There are other descriptions of him, still unnamed, in *Qur'ān* liii. 5—18 and lxxxi. 19—25, as appearing plainly to Muḥammad in revelation. He, as "our Spirit" (*rūḥanā*), was sent to Maryam (xix. 17). He is called "the Holy Spirit" (*rūḥ al-ḡudus*) in xvi. 104 and Allāh aided 'Isā with the same (ii. 84, 254; v. 109). Mikā'il (variant Mikāl) is named (ii. 92) as an angel of the same rank as Djibril; see a long and apparently true story of how his naming came about in Baiḏāwī (Fleischer's ed., i. 74, 18 sqq.); in traditions he, with Djibril, appears to Muḥammad and instructs him; he does not laugh (Wensinck, p. 152^b); Muḥammad called the two his *waḡir*'s of the angels. To Isra'il [q. v.], the angel with the trumpet of resurrection, there is no reference either in the *Qur'ān* or in canonical traditions but very much in eschatological legend. In *Qur'ān* xliii. 47, the tortured in hell call to the keeper of hell, "O Mālik!" and in xcvi. 18, the guards of hell are called *al-Zabāniya*, an otherwise unused word, meaning apparently, "violent thrusters" (*Lisān*, xvii. 55); the number of these, *Qur'ān* lxxiv. 30, is nineteen and they are asserted specifically to be angels, apparently to guard against the idea that they are devils; they are called "rough, violent" (*ḡhilāḡ, ṣhidād*). Another class of angels are those "Brought Near" (to Allāh), *al-muḡarrabūn* (iv. 170); these praise Allāh day and night without ceasing (xxi. 20); Baiḏāwī calls them also *al-'alawiyūn* (on *Qur'ān* ii. 28; Fleischer's ed., i. 47, 23); and *al-karrūbiyūn* (כרוכים) on *Qur'ān* iv. 170 (Fleischer's ed., i. 243, 25) as those that are around the *'arṣh*. The same term, *muḡarrab*, is used of 'Isā (*Qur'ān*, iii. 40) as he is in the company of the angels nearest Allāh; cf. article 'Isā, above, for his semi-angelic character. At the beginning of the *Sūra* of the Angels (*Qur'ān* xxxv.) there is a significant description: "making the angels messengers (*rusulan*), with wings two and three and four; He increases in the creation what He wills"; this has had much effect on later descriptions and pictures. They are guardians (*ḡāfiḡin*) over mankind, cognizant of what man does and writing it down (*ḡatībīn*; *Qur'ān* lxxxii. 10—12). In xxi. 94 the writing down is ascribed to Allāh himself. In lxx. 4; lxxviii. 38; xcvi. 4, there occurs the very puzzling phrase "the angels and *al-rūḥ*". Baiḏāwī on the first two passages shows how perplexing the distinction was found (Fleischer's ed., ii. 356, 5; p. 383, 4): "the *rūḥ* is an angel set over the spirits (*al-arwāḡ*); or he is the whole genus of spirits; or Djibril; or a creation (*ḡhalḡ*) mightier than the angels"; cf., too, Kazwini's *'Adḡā'id*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 56. For spirits and the conception "spirit" in Islām see article RŪḤ. In the *Qur'ān* there is no reference to the two angels, Munkar and Nakir, who visit the dead man in his grave, on the night after his burial, and catechize him as to his Faith. Thereafter, if he is an unbeliever, his grave becomes a preliminary hell, and if he is a believer, it becomes a preliminary purgatory from which he may pass at the Last Day into paradise; it may even, if he is a saint, be a preliminary paradise. This is called technically the Questioning (*su'āl*) of Munkar and Nakir and, also, the Punishment of the grave (*'adhāb al-ḡabr*). This doctrine, similar to the Lesser Judgement of Christian theology, is

one of the *sam'iyāt* (to be believed on oral testimony) and is based on the implicit meaning of *Qur'ānic* passages (xiv. 32; xl. 11, 49; lxxi. 25) and upon explicit traditions (Taftāzānī's commentary on Nasafī's *'Aḡā'id*, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 109; *Mawāḡif* of al-Idjī with commentary of al-Djurdjānī, ed. Bulāḡ 1266, p. 590 sqq.). There is a still fuller account and discussion by the Ḥanbalite theologian Ibn Kaḡyim al-Djāwziya (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 106, N^o. 23) in his *Kitāb al-Rūḡ*, ed. Ḥaidarābād 1324, p. 62—144, §§ vi—xiv.

The angels are, also, called the heavenly host, or multitude (*al-mala' al-a'lā*, xxxvii. 8; xxxviii. 69) and guard the walls of heaven against the "listening" of the *djinn* and *ṣhaiḡān*'s. See further on this under *SHR*, iii., p. 410^a.

The *Qur'ān* lays stress on the absolute submission and obedience of the angels to Allāh. "To Him belong those who are in the heavens and in the earth and those who are with Him (*'indahū*) are not too proud for His service (*'ibāda*) and they do not become tired. They praise, night and day, without intermission" (xxi. 19, 20). "They do not anticipate Him in speech and they labour in His command" (xxi. 27). At the creation of Adam they are distinguished in this respect from him and his future race: "while we praise Thee and sanctify Thee" (ii. 28). Over the Fire there are set certain terrible and powerful angels, "they do not rebel against Allāh as to what He commands them and they do what they are commanded" (lxvi. 6). But does this absolute obedience extend to impeccability (*'iṣma*; q. v.)? The *Qur'ān* is emphatic as to their obedience, but is in contradiction as to their created nature and as to their relationship in that respect to the *djinn* and to the *ṣhaiḡān*'s. Thus, in several passages in the *Qur'ān*, the story is told of the creation of man out of clay and that the angels were bidden by Allāh to prostrate themselves to him. This they all did "except Iblis" (*illā Iblis*; *Qur'ān* ii. 32; vii. 10; xv. 31; xviii. 48; xxxviii. 74). Iblis, therefore, must have been an angel; as Baiḏāwī says, "If not, the command to them did not apply to him and his being excepted from them was illegitimate" (Fleischer's ed., i. 51, 21). This would mean that the angels were not impeccable. But, again, in *Qur'ān* xviii. 48 the statement is expanded, "except Iblis; he was of the *djinn*; so he departed from the command of his Lord" (*fasaḡa 'an amri rabbiḡi*). Further, in *Qur'ān* vii. 11; xxxviii. 77, Iblis pleads in justification that man was created of clay (*ḡin*) but he of fire (*nār*); and the *djinn* are acceptedly created of fire; "fire of the *samūn*" in *Qur'ān* xv. 27, "of a *māridi* of fire" in *Qur'ān* lv. 14. The meaning of *māridi* is unknown; the *Lisān* (iii. 189, 13—19) gives a number of contradictory explanations, but it is probably an unidentified loan-word. Iblis and the *djinn*, then, were created of fire; but there is no statement in the *Qur'ān* as to the material out of which the angels were formed. A tradition traced back to 'A'isha is the foundation of the accepted position that the angels were formed of light: "The Prophet said, 'The angels were formed of light (*ḡhulīḡat min nūr*) and the *djānn* were formed of a *māridi* of fire and Adam of that which was described to you'" (Muslim, vii. 226 of ed. Constantinople 1333; Baiḏāwī, i. 52, 4). Another difficulty in the doctrine of the impeccability of the angels is the *Qur'ānic* statement as to Hārūt and Mārūt referred

to above. These two angels are supposed to have yielded to sexual temptation, to be confined in a pit near Bābil and there to teach magic to men. But, it is answered, the *Qur'ān* says nothing of their fall; (ii.) teaching magic is not practising magic; (iii.) they always first warn those who come to them, "We are only a temptation (*fitna*); so do not disbelieve" (*Qur'ān* ii. 96); cf., further, Taftāzānī on the '*Aḥkām*' of Nasafī, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 133.

In Baiḍāwī on *Qur'ān* ii. 32, there is a long discussion of the angelic nature (ed. Fleischer, i. 51, 20 to p. 52, 8) which, however, runs out in the despairing statement that knowledge on the point is with Allāh alone (*al-'ilm 'inda'llāh*). Perhaps Iblis was of the *djinn* as to his actions (*fi'ān*) but of the angels as to species (*naw'*). Also, Ibn 'Abbās has a tradition that there was a variety (*qarab*) of the angels who propagated their kind (this has always been regarded as an essential characteristic of the *djinn* and of the *shaiṭān*'s as opposed to the angels) and who were called *al-djinn*; and Iblis was of these. Or, that he was a *djinn* brought up among the angels and identified with them. Or, that the *djinn* were among those commanded to prostrate themselves to Adam. Or, that some of the angels were not impeccable, although that was their characteristic in general, just as some men, e.g. the prophets, are guarded against sin but most are not. Further, perhaps a variety of the angels are not essentially different from the *shaiṭān*'s but differ only in accidents and qualities as men are virtuous or evil, while the *djinn* unite both, and Iblis was of this variety. The tradition from 'A'isha is no answer to this explanation, for light and fire in it are not to be taken too precisely; they are used as in a proverb, and light is of the nature of fire and fire of light, they pass into another; fire can be purified into light and light obscured to fire. So al-Baiḍāwī.

With this should be compared the scholastic discussion in the *Mawāḥiṣ* of al-Idjī, with the commentary of al-Djurdjānī (ed. Bülāḡ 1266, p. 576). In it the objector to the '*isma*' of the angels has two grounds: (i.) their urging upon Allāh that he should not create Adam showed defects (slander, pride, malice, finding fault with Allāh) in their moral character; (ii.) that Iblis was rebellious, as above. These grounds are then answered scholastically. Then various *Qur'ānic* texts, as above, on the submission and obedience of the angels are quoted. But it is pointed out that these texts cannot prove that all of them, at all times, are kept free from all sins. The point, therefore, cannot be absolutely decided. Individual exceptions under varying circumstances may have occurred, just as, while the *shaiṭān*'s as a class were created for evil (*khulūkū li'l-sharr*), there is a definite tradition (*Sharḥ* by al-Māturīdī on *al-Fiḥḥ al-akbar* ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa, ed. Ḥaidarābād 1321, p. 25) of one Muslim *shaiṭān*, a great-grandson of Iblis, who appeared to Muḥammad and was taught by him certain *sūras* of the *Qur'ān*.

The story of Hārūt and Mārūt suggests that the angels possess sex, although they may not propagate their kind. But "they are not to be described with either masculinity or femininity" (*Aḥkām* of Nasafī, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 133). Taftāzānī and the other commentators in this edition explain that there is no authority (*naḥi*) on this

point and no proof by reason (*'aql*); it should, therefore, be left unconsidered and that, apparently, was the course followed by al-Idjī and al-Djurdjānī. They may have sex and not use it. In that respect man who has in him the possibility of sin and must himself rule his appetites of lust (*shahwa*) and of anger (*ghaḍab*) has a higher potentiality of excellency than the angels (Baiḍāwī on *Qur'ān* ii. 28, ed. Fleischer, i. 48, 28 *sqq.*).

This leads to the second question as to the angels which scholastic theology has considered, the relative excellency of angels and men, and, especially, of angels and prophets. This is stated shortly by Nasafī (p. 147 of ed. cited above): (i.) "The Messengers (*rusul*) of mankind (*al-bashar*) are more excellent than the Messengers of the angels and (ii.) the Messengers of the angels are more excellent than the generality of mankind and (iii.) the generality of mankind are more excellent than the generality of the angels". Taftāzānī develops that there is general and indeed necessary agreement on the excellency of the messengers of the angels over mankind in general, but that the other two statements (i. and iii.) will bear argument. He urges (i.) the prostrating of the angels to Adam; (ii.) that Adam was taught all the names of things (*Qur'ān* ii. 29); (iii.) that Allāh "chose" (*iṣṭafā*) Adam and Nūḥ and the family of Ibrāhīm and the family of 'Imrān over all created things (*'ala 'l-'ālamīn*; *Qur'ān* iii. 30); (iv.) that mankind achieves excellencies and perfections of knowledge and action in spite of the hindrances of lust and anger. But the Mu'tazilites and the "philosophers" (*al-falāsifa*) and some Ash'arites held the superior excellence of the angels. They urged (i.) that they were spirits, stripped of materiality (*arwāḥ muḍjarrada*), complete actually, free of even the beginnings of evils and defects, like lust and anger, and from the obscurities of form and matter (*zulumāt al-hāyilā wa'l-ṣūra*), capable of doing wonderful things, knowing events (*ka-wū'in*), past and to come, without error. The answer is that this description is based on philosophical and not Muslim principles. (ii.) That the prophets learn from the angels, as in *Qur'ān* xxvi. 193; liii. 5. The answer is that the prophets learn from Allāh and that the angels are only intermediaries. (iii.) That there are multiplied cases both in *Qur'ān* and in tradition where mention of the angels precedes that of the prophets. The answer is that precedence is because of their precedence in existence or because their existence is more concealed (*akhfā*) and, therefore, faith in them must be emphasized. (iv.) In *Qur'ān* iv. 170, "*al-masīḥ*" does not disdain to be an '*abd*' to Allāh nor do the angels" must mean, because of linguistic usage, that the angels are more excellent than 'Isā. The answer is that the point is not simple excellency but to combat the Christian position that 'Isā is not an '*abd*' but a son to Allāh. In the *Mawāḥiṣ* (p. 572—578) there is a similar but much fuller discussion which involves a philosophical consideration of the endowment—mental, physical, spiritual—of all living creatures from immaterial spirits to the lower animals (*al-bahima*).

In the *Adjā'ib al-Makhluqāt* of al-Qazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 55—63) there is an objective description of the angels in all their classes, in which the statements of *Qur'ān* and *Sunna* are adjusted to the Aristotelian-Neoplatonic universe

with its spheres (*al-afāk*), in accordance with al-Ḳazwī's general aim to give a picture of the created universe in its details and wonders. Yet, apparently, while the angels possess the quality "life" (*ḥayā*) and are the inhabitants of the heavens and of the heavenly spheres (*sukkān al-samawāt*) they are not to be reckoned among the animals (*al-ḥayawān*). Al-Damīrī includes mankind and the *djinn*, even the diabolic (*mutashāitana*) *djinn*, such as the *ghūl*, in his *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* but not the angels. Equally acute and scholastic with the discussion in the *Mawāḳif*, and more spiritual than that by Ḳazwī, is al-Ḡhazzālī's treatment of the mystery of the angelic nature in some of his specialistic smaller treatises. For him it is part of the general question of the nature of spirit to which his smaller *Maḍnūn* is devoted. See, too, the larger *Maḍnūn* (ed. Cairo 1303) in *Rukn*, ii., p. 23 sqq., and the translation by W. H. T. Gairdner of his *Mishkāṭ al-Anwār* (London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924), *passim*.

The above is a statement of Muslim ideas as to the angels. But Muslim literature also takes account of non-Muslim ideas on them, as those of "philosophers", Christians, dualists, idolaters. These will be found given shortly by Baiḍāwī on *Ḳur'ān* ii. 28 (ed. Fleischer, i. 47, 18 sqq.) and in more detail in *Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 1337 sqq.

Bibliography: Besides the references above, Walter Eickmann, *Angelologie u. Dämonologie des Korans*, New York and Leipzig 1908; a number of books and articles by Josef Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1926; *Jewish proper names in the Koran*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. 2; *Muhammeds Himmelfahrt*, *Isl.*, ix. 159 sqq.; E. W. Lane, *Thousands and One Nights*, notes 1 and 21 to Introduction; note 15 to chap. i. (D. B. MACDONALD)

MALATYA, an old city, not far from the upper Euphrates. It lies at the junction of important roads (in antiquity: the Persian royal road and the Euphrates route; in modern times Samsūn-Siwās-Malatya-Diyārbakr and Ḳaisariya-Albistān-Malatya-Ḳharḡūt) in a plain, the fertility and richness of which in all kinds of vegetables and fruits was celebrated by the Arab geographers, as in modern times by von Moltke and others, at the northern foot of the Taurus not very far south of Tokhma-ṣū (Arab. Naḥr al-Ḳubākib) which is there crossed by the old bridge of Ḳırkgöz. The town was supplied with drinking-water by the springs of 'Uyūn Dāwūdiya and by the Euphrates. Weaving used to be a flourishing industry there; according to Ibn al-Shihna there were once 12,000 looms for spinning wool in Malatya but they no longer existed in his time.

The town appears as Melidda in Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions and two "Hittite" stelae have been found there (to be more accurate: at Arslan Tepe, a little south of Malatya: Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscr. Hettitic*, in *M. V. A. G.*, 1900, part iv., p. 13; 1906, part v., p. 7). It is probably also to be identified with the district called *M-l-s* (last letter uncertain) in the inscription of king Z-k-r of Ḥamāt, (c. 800 B. C.) which Pognon found in 'Aḥs near Aleppo. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vi, 8) calls the town *Melita* a *Samiramide condita*; the name of the legendary foundress has perhaps survived in that of the fortress of Shamrīn which Michael Syrus (*Chronicle*, transl., Chabot iii., 272) mentions in the 11th century in the land of Sawād

in the region of Malatya. To its position on the Oriental *times* Malatya owed its great prosperity in the Roman period. From the time of Titus it was the headquarters of the *Legio XII Fulminata*; it was much extended by Trajan and under Justinian raised to be the capital of the province of Armenia III. Anastasius and Justinian refortified and beautified it. After his severe defeat at Malatya in the autumn of 575 Khosrow I burned the town (John of Ephesus, vi. 9; E. Stein, *Studien zur Gesch. d. Byzant. Reiches*, Stuttgart 1919, p. 66—8; 83 note 9; 200 Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihri was sent by 'Iyād b. Ḡhānim from Armenia VI (*Shimshāt*) against Malatya and took the town; but it was later retaken from the Muslims. When Mu'āwiya became *wālī* of Syria and al-Djazīra, he again sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama against the town. He stormed it in 36, left a troop of cavalry in it to guard the frontier and placed a governor in it. Mu'āwiya himself visited Malatya on his campaign against Asia Minor and left a large garrison in the town which henceforth became one of the headquarters for the summer campaigns into Bilād al-Rūm. When the people abandoned the town in the time of the caliphs 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair, it was taken and sacked by the Byzantines; on their withdrawal, it and the whole of Armenia IV was settled by the Armenians and and Nabataeans, that is Aramaic speaking peasants, driven out of his kingdom by the emperor Philipppicus. (Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxv. 125; al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 185; Michael Syrus, transl. Chabot II, 482; according to Theophanes the Armenians were settled in Malatya by Philipppicus in 712 A. D. They increased very much and were valuable allies of the Arabs in the wars against the Byzantines (Michael Syrus, *loc. cit.*). The caliph Omar settled the fugitive inhabitants of Ṭuranda (now Derende) in Malatya and made al-Djāwana b. al-Ḥarīth of the tribe of the Banī 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣa'a governor. In 123 (740—741) a Greek army of 20,000 men under Ashkivash, the general of the Thema Armeniakon, advanced against Malatya and plundered the country round it. The inhabitants closed the gates and sent a messenger to Hishām in al-Ruṣāfa; but the latter soon heard that the Greeks had withdrawn and sent the messenger back with a body of cavalry. Later, when he himself took the field against the Byzantines, he camped before Malatya until the rebuilding of the town which the enemy had destroyed was completed (Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*; Michael Syrus, ii. 506; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, year 743; Ps. Dionys, ed. Chabot, year 1051). The Emperor Constantine VI Copronymos in 133 (750) advanced on Kamakh and Malatya, whose inhabitants looked in vain for help to Mesopotamia, as a civil war was raging there. As the emperor knew this he demanded that the inhabitants should abandon the town. After at first refusing they finally agreed, being exhausted by the siege, left the town with all their goods and chattels and went to al-Djazīra whereupon Constantine levelled Malatya to the ground; nothing but a half ruined granary remained standing. Ḥiṣn Ḳalawdhīya was also destroyed and its inhabitants, like those of the other villages in Armenia IV, carried off into captivity (Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*; Michael Syrus, ii. 518; Baethgen, *Abh. f. d. K. d. Morgent.*, viii. 3, p. 54, 127; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 15). Six years afterwards (139 A. H.) al-Manṣūr wrote to Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh who had in the

previous year defeated an army of 100,000 men under Constantine and retaken Malatya (G. W. Freytag, *Selecta ex histor. Halebi*, Paris 1819, p. 62, note 58) ordering him to rebuild and fortify the town. He then appointed his nephew, the Imām 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm, governor of al-Djazīra and its marches (*al-Thughūr*). He arrived there in 140 with al-Ḥasan b. Kaḥṭaba and Khurāsān troops, who were reinforced by Syrian and Mesopotamian troops to the number of 70,000. They camped at the ruined city and collected builders and workmen of all kinds from everywhere and rebuilt Malatya with its mosque and large barracks for the frontier troops; the work was finished in six months. Hiṣn Kālāw^{dh}hiya was also rebuilt (Balādhuri, *loc. cit.*; Michael Syrus, ii. 522; Ps. Dionys., ed. Chabot, p. 67; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 633; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 35); a frontier fort was built 30 *mīl* from the town and another on the Nahr Kūbākīb (Tokhma-*ṣū*). Al-Manṣūr settled 4,000 Mesopotamian soldiers in Malatya to whom he gave increased pay and allotted lands as fiefs.

In the next year (141) Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was sent to Malatya with a Khurāsān army to protect the town from the enemy. The former inhabitants, at least those who were still alive, thereupon returned to Malatya. An expedition sent by the Byzantines against Malatya was defeated by Hārūn al-Rashīd (Balādhuri, *loc. cit.*). In the reign of al-Ma'mūn, his son, al-'Abbās, who was governor of al-Djazīra conducted a campaign against the Byzantines (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 239) from Malatya. In the summer of 222 (837) the emperor Theophilus went into Armenia via Zibātra, which he sacked and burned, and on his way back passed through the country of Malatya which was also laid waste and its inhabitants carried off prisoners into Byzantium (Michael Syrus, iii. 89; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 133 *sqq.* Tabarī, Ya'kūbī and other Arabs wrongly date this campaign in 223 [838]; cf. for the contrary view Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 310, note i. and Bury, *Hist. of the East. Roman Empire*, 1912, p. 260, 1; Markwart, *Handēš Amsōrya*, xxviii., 1914, p. 44, 1). The town itself, which was handed over to him by the Roman prisoners there, he spared out of fear of an approaching army of the enemy. Towards the end of the following year al-Mu'taṣim sent the Syrian amir Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf against the Byzantines but he only met with moderate success; the people of Malatya under Afshin and the amir 'Omar b. 'Abd Allāh b. Marwān al-Akṭa' of Malatya in alliance with the Armenians and 10,000 Turks then defeated the emperor Theophilus near the fortress of Dazimon (al-Mas'ūdī, *B.G.A.*, viii. 169; Muralt, *Chronogr. Byz.*, p. 418, 729; Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 312). In 841, however, the Byzantines conquered al-Ḥadath, Mar'ash and the land of Malatya. When in the middle of the 10th century the Paulicians (Arab. al-Bailīkānī, al-Bayālīka) some of whom lived in the country west and north of Malatya (Karapet Ter Mkrcēan, *Die Paulikianer*, Leipzig 1893, p. 116 *sqq.*) rebelled against Byzantium, the amir of Malatya, 'Omar b. 'Abd Allāh al-Akṭa' ('Αμερ, 'Αμβρος), protected them from their persecutors; their leader Karbeas built in this region the fortresses of 'Αργασιών (Argawān), Tephrikē (Diwriḡh) and Amara (Emeril, near Yarpuz). Fighting went on for some years with varying results (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 362—365); finally 'Omar al-Akṭa' was completely defeated on a

campaign in Asia Minor in Radjab 249 (863) by the valiant Petronas (al-Baṭrunās), Michael III's general, with his whole army on the Mardj al-Uṣkuf (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 380; Tomaschek, *Sasun u. d. Quellengebiet des Tigris*, S. B. Ak. Wien, cxxxiii., vol. iv., 1895, p. 23; on the site of the "Bishop's Meadow": Le Strange, *Eastern Caliph.*, p. 138). The Emperor Basil I in 871 went against Tephrikē and Taranton (Derende); he plundered Zibātra and Sumaisāt and then encamped πρὸς τῷ Ζαρνὺχ ποταμῷ (Nahr al-Zarnūk, now: Čirmiklī-*Ṣū*), ἐνταῦθα τὸ Κεραμίσιον ἔστι (Theophan. continuat., ed. Bonn, p. 268; Kaṣṭrā Karāmīs in Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbelo-Lamy, i. 460; now: Čirmiklī, cf. Tomaschek, *Beitr. z. alten Gesch. u. Geogr., Festschr. f. H. Kiepert*, Berlin 1898, p. 141). But he was not able to take Malatya which was fortified (Hergenröther, *Photius*, ii. 242; Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 471). His army suffered heavy losses during the siege and the emperor himself was nearly captured. Whether he undertook a second campaign against Malatya is doubtful (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 475).

The Arab general Mūnis in 304 (916—917) devastated Cappadocia from Malatya (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 635); similar invasions took place in 310 and the following years. It was not till 314 (926—927) that the Byzantines were able to exact their revenge. Under the brave Domestikos Joannes Kurkuas (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 221: *al-dumistikḥ Kurkūsh*; Michael Syrus, iii. 122 *sq.*; 158: Kyriakos), they entered the district and advanced up to the suburbs of Malatya, laying waste the country and going as far as Shimshāt (Arsamosata) (in 315 according to Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 205; transl. p. 158, wrongly "*in fines Samosatēnos invaserē*"). Kurkuas forced the amir of the town to send his son, Abū Ḥafṣ ('Απόχαψ), and the general Abū 'l-Ash'ash ('Απολασάσ) to him and to acknowledge the suzerainty of the emperor (Symeon Magister, Bonn, p. 741 *sq.*; Georg. Monach., ed. Muralt, p. 834, while the Bonn edition p. 908 and Theophanes contin., ed. Bonn, p. 416 and Georg. Kedren., ii. 310 *sq.* wrongly write 'Αποσάσ). Kurkuas, himself an Armenian by birth, seems to have granted the lands of Malatya and Sumaisāt to the Armenian prince Mleh (Arab. Maliḥ, Greek Μελάς) who was however again driven out of Malatya and Sumaisāt in 320 by Sa'īd al-Dawla, uncle of the Ḥamdānīd Nāṣir al-Dawla of Mawṣil (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 639; *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk.*, xlv. 102 *sq.* following Djāmāl al-Dīn b. Zāfir). But in 934, after the death of the two friends of the Byzantines, Abū Ḥafṣ and Abū 'l-Ash'ath, Kurkuas and Mleh again appeared before the town, which at that time was protected by a double wall and a ditch full of water. The inhabitants found themselves forced by starvation to negotiate about the surrender of the town. During the negotiations the Greeks succeeded by a stratagem in forcing an entrance through the north gate of the town and taking it on May 19, 934. The inhabitants, in keeping with the promise that had been given them, were allowed to leave the town. The walls were razed so that the town was henceforth open to all attacks (Michael Syrus, iii. 122 *sq.*; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii. 221; Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec au Xe siècle*, Paris 1870, p. 423, 1; Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 89 *sq.*, 106, 108). In the next decade Saif al-Dawla repeatedly raided the territory of Malatya.

His mamlūk Nadjā' in his campaign to Hanzīṭ in 350 (961—962) encountered 'Abd Allāh of Malatya and put him and his friends to flight (Freitag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 197; Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 88). Two years later he again ravaged the land of Malatya for 18 days with fire and sword (Freitag, p. 204, 206).

When the emperor Nicephoros conquered Syria, he wished to repopulate Malatya, which was defenceless and deserted. But the Greeks refused to live there for fear of Arab razzias. His advisers therefore recommended him to invite Syrian Jacobites to the country. He did this and promised the Patriarch Mār Yōhannan Sarigā, that if he repopulated Malatya, Hanzīṭ and the passes (καλεισοῦμαι), he would no longer persecute the Jacobites (Michael Syrus, iii. 130 sq.; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 411 sqq.; Markwart, *Handels Amsōrya*, xxx., 1916, p. 121 note). People now flocked to Malatya from all parts (c. 969 A. D.). Monasteries were built. About 1100 there were said to be in Malatya and district 53 churches and 60,000 Christians capable of bearing arms, including many Melkites (Michael of Tinnis in Renaudot, *Hist. Patr. Alexandr.*, Paris 1713, p. 403; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, i. 424, note 1). The emperor did not, however, keep his promise; persecutions again became of everyday occurrence and drove the Jacobites more and more into the arms of the Arabs (Michael Syrus, iii. 131, 136, 147).

According to Ibn al-Aṭhīr (*al-Kāmil*, iii. 65), Malatya at this time was placed in the *ṭema* 'Αρμενιάκων (*Armiṇyākus*) which he says stretched to the Bosphorus (*Khalidj al-Kustāntīniya*).

The Emperor John Tzimisce (Shīmshkīk) in Dhu 'l-Hijja 361 (972) on his campaign to Nišibin crossed the Euphrates at Malatya (Yahyā al-Antākī in Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 183 note; Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, i., Paris 1896, p. 255). The rebel Bardas Scleros in 366 (976—977) seized the town of Malatya, imprisoned the strategos who was governing it for the Emperor and had himself proclaimed *basileus*. When Scleros was fighting against the imperial general Michael Burtzes (al-Burdjī) there was with him a *Shaiikh* who had been converted to Christianity, the patrician 'Ubaid Allāh al-Mutanāssir of Malatya, who is perhaps identical with the 'Abd Allāh mentioned in 350. Scleros made him *magistros* and sent him with one of his slaves, the eunuch Kantatīsh (? 'Ανθης? 'Αλυάτης?) whom he raised to the rank of *basilikos* ("Count"), to Antākīya against the *patrikios* Kulaib, the imperial governor of this town. Kulaib surrendered to them Antākīya, the Thughūr and the whole of the "Orient"; he and the most prominent citizens of Antioch were then sent as prisoners to al-Kabādhuk (Cappadocia) (Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 2 sq., and note; p. 81—90 sq.; Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, i. 359, 362, 376 sq.). Scleros however at once sent the Antioch notables back to their homes and made Kulaib *basilikos* of Malatya (Rosen, *op. cit.*; Schlumberger, i. 386) while on the other hand 'Ubaid Allāh soon went over to the emperor Basil (977—978). When after a seven years' internment on the Tigris island of Madida near Baghdād, Bardas Scleros succeeded in gaining his freedom, he escaped to Malatya with the help of Beduins, where he at once (in Shawwāl 376 = March 987) seized the *basilikos* Kulaib who had gone over to the emperor, and himself again proclaimed

basileus (Yahyā, transl. Rosen, p. 22; Schlumberger, i. 678). Bardas Phocas, who took Bardas Scleros prisoner by treachery and then claimed the imperial title for himself, passed through Malatya on Sept. 14, 987 on his way westwards straight through Asia Minor (Schlumberger, i. 695). In 399 (1008) the Ḥamdānid Abu 'l-Haidjā' fled to Malatya before the Mirdāsīd Maṣṣūr b. Lū'lū', where the emperor appointed him *magistros* (Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Schlumberger, ii. 442).

The most important event during the Byzantine occupation of Malatya was the invasion of the Turks. Their first inroad into the area of the town was in 1058; the inhabitants fled before them mainly into the adjoining mountains where they perished of hunger and cold. The Turkish force 3,000 strong under the amīr Abū Dīnār remained 10 days pillaging Malatya and laid the country waste for a day's journey round. On their retreat the Turks were surprised by the people of the Armenian district of Sanasun (Arab. al-Sanāsana; now: Şaşūn) and all slain, with the assistance of the prisoners and fugitives from Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii. 158 sq., according to whose erroneous chronology these incidents took place in the 9th or in the last year of Constantine IX [i.e. 1050—1051 or 1054—1055]; Matthias of Edessa, transl. Dulaurier, p. 107—109; Aristakēs Lastiverci, in Tomaschek, *Sasun u. das Quellengebiet des Tigris*, *S. B. Ab. Wien*, cxxxiii., vol. iv., 1895, p. 29 sq.). One of the prisoners who survived, the Syrian monk Joseph, wrote three *mēmre* on these events; the patriarch Yōhannan X bar Shūshān also composed 4 *mēmre* on the devastation of Malatya (Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, p. 291 sq.). By the time of the Emperor Isaac I (1057—1059) we again find the Turks raiding the country of Malatya and carrying off prisoners from it. His successor Constantine X Ducas (1059—1067) restored the two walls and the ditch at Malatya (probably in 1060—1061). When the imperial decree regarding this was published, a number of citizens of Malatya, who were in Constantinople returned home and arranged for a large number of workmen and builders to be brought from Asia Minor and Antākīya; in a very short time owing to the continual threat to the town, the fortifications were rebuilt on the old foundations (Michael Syrus, iii. 165 sq.). The Byzantine *κατεπάνω* Krinotes was afterwards killed with his wife and children and the town "henceforth knew no peace" (Michael Syrus, *loc. cit.*).

These constant invasions of the Turks, which specially affected the region of Malatya (Skylitzes in the ed. of Kedrenos, Bonn, ii. 660 sq.) met with very little opposition. Then the legions quartered around Malatya, whose pay and provisions had been withheld, refused to cross the Euphrates to meet the enemy along with the local volunteers. The Turks did not besiege the town but went on to attack Kaisāriya, which they stormed (Skylitzes, *loc. cit.*). When Romanus IV Diogenes attacked the Turks in 1068 he sent a general from Göksün, perhaps, as Gfrörer suggests (*Byz. Gesch.* iii. 720), the Bulgar Aluisianos, to Malatya to guard the frontier against the raids of the Turk Afshīn (Ἀψινάλλος). The general however did not leave Malatya so that Afshīn was able to advance against the emperor undisturbed (Skylitzes in Kedrenos, ed. Bonn, ii. 671; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii. 112, note 2).

In the same year the emperor appointed the

κουροπαλάτης φιλάρετος Βραχάμιος (Skylitzes, *op. cit.*, p. 681; Anna Komn., ed. Reifferscheid, i. 205 sq.; Zonaras, ed. Dindorf, iv. 209; Arab. Filardūs al-Rūmī) to be μέγας δομέστικος (Tomaschek, *Sasun*, p. 30). He won for himself with his Armenian hordes an ephemeral kingdom on the Syrian frontier and installed the Armenian Thoros (Theodoros) son of Hētōm as governor in Malatya. Thoros was succeeded as ἡγεμόνης of the town by the Armenian Hareb, then by Balaṭianos (Valentianus?) and finally by the defeated Greek Gabriel (Michael Syrus, iii. 173 sqq.; in Matthias of Edessa, ed. Dulaurier, p. 211 sqq. with mod. Greek pronunciation *Khawril*). When the latter recognised that the Byzantines could not permanently hold out against the Turks he got the Caliph to confirm him in his rule over Malatya. He was at first able to keep the Turkish hordes from Malatya by various devices. But when they besieged Malatya, Gümüştagin b. Dānīshmand of Siwās made peace between them and Gabriel (Michael Syrus, iii. 179). Kīlīdj Arslān I besieged Malatya for the first time in 1100 A.D., but retired when Gabriel, whose daughter Morfia had been given in marriage to Baldwin of Edessa, summoned the Franks to his assistance (Michael Syrus, iii. 187, 192; Will. of Tyre, xii. 4). When Gümüştagin besieged the town and laid waste the country around, Boemund came from Antākiya with his relative Riccardo del Principato and a troop of cavalry, but he was ambushed at Mar'ash and sent a prisoner to Niksār (or Siwās) in June 1100. From there he appealed for help to Baldwin of Edessa who relieved Malatya and pursued Gümüştagin for 3 days without overtaking him. He then returned to Edessa via Malatya which Gabriel surrendered to him and left 50 horsemen for its protection. Gümüştagin appeared before Malatya again in 1100, where Gabriel had in the meanwhile made himself so detested by the inhabitants that they handed him over to Gümüştagin, who thereupon entered Malatya on Sept. 18, 1101 (Michael Syrus, iii. 188; *Receuil. Hist. Or. Crois.*, i. 5, 203; iii. 522, 526; Matthias of Edessa, transl. Dulaurier, p. 230). The dynasty of the Dānīshmandids [q.v.] thus came to rule there (on them cf. also van Berchem-Kh. Edhem, *C. I. A.*, iii. p. 2, note 3; p. 3, note 1; Zambaur, *Manuel d. Général. et de Chronol.*, Hanover 1927, p. 146 sq.). At the suggestion of the Emperor Alexios, Gümüştagin in the summer of 1103 released Boemund, who had been brought to Malatya, on payment of 100,000 dinārs (Michael Syrus, iii. 189; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königr. Jerusal.*, p. 45). According to Michael Syrus (iii. 192), Tanushman i.e. Gümüştagin b. Dānīshmand died within two years of the taking of Malatya (i.e. 1103—1104); he was succeeded by his son Aghusian (Yāghībasan?). Kīlīdj Arslān again began the siege of Malatya on June 28 and directed siege-artillery against the round N.E. tower of the town, which had to surrender after several onslaughts had been made on it. Kīlīdj Arslān I began his rule there on Sept. 2, 1106; when he fell the very next year in the battle on the Khābūr, he was succeeded in Malatya by his youngest son Tughrīl Arslān, in whose reign much evil fell upon the town as a result of the murder of the governor Pizmīsh (Michael Syrus, iii. 194). During the fighting among the other sons of Kīlīdj Arslān, of whom Mas'ūd sought refuge in Malatya about 1107 (*Rec. Hist. Or. Crois.*, iii. 534) Boemund

succeeded in conquering Abulustain, the district on the Dīaiḥān and the whole country round Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii. 195). The Atābeg of the Sultān of Malatya (probably Balaḥ, in 1111 again deprived him of his lands on the Dīaiḥān. Kīlīdj Arslān's widow left Malatya to marry the doughty amīr Balaḥ (Michael Syrus, iii. 200). A Turkish cavalry leader offered to sell Tughrīl Arslān the fortress of Ziyād; when the young sultān of Malatya wanted to take possession of it, however, it was taken from him by the son of the sultān of Khurāsān without a blow being struck. On the 11th March 1118 the amīr Mangudjag of Kamakh pillaged the country round Malatya; the Khātūn of Malatya thereupon turned to Joscelin of Edessa for help (Michael Syrus, iii. 204). In the following year the Sultān of Malatya conquered Abulustain and the lands on the Dīaiḥān; the region of Kaṭīfā passed as a gift to Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii. 205). Tughrīl Arslān owed his success to the governor Balaḥ, who advanced as far as Kamakh, defeated the Greeks with the help of al-Ghāzī b. Dānīshmand, again took Ḥiṣn Ziyād and defeated the Armenians of Gargar on the Euphrates (Michael Syrus, *loc. cit.*). When, after further considerable successes, Balaḥ fell fighting the Franks before Manbidj his kingdom was divided; the Sultān of Malatya received Masarā and Gargar with the result that there was soon fighting with Sulaimān of Ḥiṣn Ziyād. On this occasion al-Ghāzī of Siwās and his son-in-law Mas'ūd attacked Malatya and besieged it from June 13 to Dec. 10, 1124. The town suffered exceedingly from famine and the Khātūn's reign of terror and the inhabitants breathed more freely when the ruler left the town with her son and all her followers and al-Ghāzī entered it (Michael Syrus, iii. 219 sq.; Matthias of Edessa, p. 315). Under him Malatya enjoyed continued peace. His son Malik Muḥammad who succeeded him in 1135 left Malatya soon afterwards when the news of the approach of the Byzantine Emperor reached him (Michael Syrus, iii. 237). When John II Comnenos invaded Syria, Mas'ūd invaded Cilicia from Kōniya and carried the inhabitants of Adhana prisoners to Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii. 245). Malik Muḥammad in 1139 also invaded Cilicia and took from the Greeks the fortresses of Bahgāy and Gabnūpert (Βαγιά, Καπνίπερτι, Armen. Vagha, Gaban; Michael Syrus, iii. 248; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 211, note 2). Two years later he was fighting with the Franks who had advanced as far as Zibātra, 'Arka and Abulustain and encamped at Niksār opposite the emperor John, who had again taken the field against the Turks, for six months without fighting (Michael Syrus, iii. 249). After his death (Dec. 6, 1143) Dhu 'l-Nūn succeeded him in Malatya (Syr. Dānūn in Michael Syrus, iii. 253 und Suppl., p. lvii.; Byz. Δαδούνης). When however his brother 'Ain al-Dawla (Michael Syrus only "Dawla") advanced against him, the Turkish garrison of Malatya broke through the Buraidiya gate and surrendered the town to him (Michael Syrus, iii. 253). Sultān Mas'ūd of Kōniya besieged Malatya, when 'Ain al-Dawla would not submit to him of his own accord, first from June 17 to Sept. 14, 1143 and again in 1144 without success (Michael Syrus, iii. 254, 258 sqq.; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 226, note 5). After 'Ain al-Dawla's death (June 12, 1152) his minor son Dhu 'l-Qarnain succeeded him, for whom his mother first acted as regent but she was soon banished as she

plotted against his life (Michael Syrus, iii. 305 *sq.*). Mas'ūd again (July 24, 1152) tried without success to take the town. Dhu 'l-Karnain was succeeded in October 1162 by his minor son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (Mahmūd) who made himself so detested by his excesses that he had to leave Malatya (1170). His place was taken by his brother Abu 'l-Kāsim (Fakhr al-Dīn Kāsim; Michael Syrus, iii. 336 *sq.*). In May 1172 when 15, he married the daughter of the lord of Ḥiṣn Ziyād. During the wedding festivities he fell from his horse while jousting and died of his injuries (Michael Syrus, iii. 343). He was succeeded by his younger brother Feridūn (Afridūn) who had to marry the princess intended for the brother. On the news of these happenings, Kīlīdj Arslān II attacked Malatya, where however preparations were rapidly made for the defence under the direction of the eunuch Sa'd al-Dīn. Kīlīdj Arslān had to withdraw but carried off with him 30,000 prisoners from the country round (Michael Syrus, iii. 346). On Feb. 15, 1175, Feridūn was murdered by his brother Muḥammad, who after many adventures had returned in disguise to Malatya by a secret agreement with the princess of Ziyād who had left her husband (Michael Syrus, iii. 362—364). When Kīlīdj Arslān II thereupon again besieged Malatya, the discontent with Muḥammad was so great that he no longer felt safe in the town but withdrew to Ḥiṣn Ziyād. Kīlīdj Arslān after a four months' siege entered Malatya on Oct. 25, 1178 (Michael Syrus, iii. 373). He repaired the two walls of the town (Michael Syrus, iii. 388). The Turkomans, who since 1185 had been ravaging wide tracts of Asia Minor also invaded and plundered the district of Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii. 402). In 1189 (Michael Syrus; 1191 according to Arabic sources) Kīlīdj Arslān gave the town of Malatya to his son Mu'izz al-Dīn Kaīsar Shāh (Michael Syrus, iii. 407; *Rec. Hist. Or. Crois.*, ii. 56; iii. 269). Kīlīdj Arslān later found himself forced to hand Malatya over to his other son Kuṭb al-Dīn Malik Shāh; but Mu'izz al-Dīn went to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (580 = 1191—1192) and regained his position with his help (*Rec. Hist. Or. Crois.*, i. 57, 68 *sq.*; iii. 269; v. 44).

To strengthen the alliance he married the daughter of Malik al-ʿAdil and accompanied Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's army to Tibnīn (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, v. 117). In June 1200 Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimān of Dūkāt (Tökāt) deprived his brother Mu'izz al-Dīn of Malatya; the latter fled to his father-in-law Malik al-ʿAdil (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syriac.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 406; *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, ii. 71). Saladin's son, al-Malik al-Zāhir, who had only Sumaisāʿ left of his inheritance, submitted in 1207 to Rukn al-Dīn of Malatya and Kōniya (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, p. 408). In the next year Rukn al-Dīn took Angora; a few days later he died (Barhebraeus, p. 418 *sq.*). He was succeeded by his young son Kīlīdj Arslān III, who was however soon thrown into prison by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kai-Khusraw I (Barhebraeus, p. 419). After the latter (d. 1205) came his son 'Izz al-Dīn Kai-Ka'ūs, who while on a campaign against Malik al-Ashraf in Malatya developed consumption from which he died on his return (Barhebraeus, p. 437; *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, ii. 150 *sq.*). In the reign of his successor 'Alā' al-Dīn Kai-Kubād, the Tatars in 1231 penetrated to Ḥiṣn Ziyād and to the Euphrates near Malatya (Barhebraeus, p. 463). 'Alā' al-Dīn took Khilāʿ from Malik al-Ashraf in 1232. When in the next year

the latter along with his brother Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt occupied Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, 'Alā' al-Dīn collected an army of over 100,000 men, took Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Barhebraeus, p. 467) and besieged al-Ruhā in the following year; the inhabitants of Ḥarrān fearing an attack on Malatya sent him the keys of their town (Barhebraeus, p. 468; Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, v. 88). His successor Kai-Khusraw II (1237—1245) at the beginning of his reign drove the Khwārizmians out of his kingdom; on their retreat they defeated the commander (Sūbāshi) of Malatya Saif al-Dawla and crossed the Euphrates at Masarā (var. Mukra) (Barhebraeus, p. 471). In 1241, the amir of Malatya again suffered an annihilating defeat from fanatical Turkoman hordes under the prophet Pāpā (Bābā) (Barhebraeus, p. 474). When the news of the victory of the Tatars at Kōzā-Dāgh (1243; Barhebraeus, p. 475) reached Malatya, the Sūbāshi Rashid al-Dīn and the other court officials broke into the royal treasury, shared the treasure among themselves, and fled to Ḥalab. Many prominent citizens followed them; but they were surprised by the Tatars on the hill of Bēth Gōzē, a day's journey from Malatya and some slain, some taken prisoners. The inhabitants of the town, Muslims and Christians, asked the Metropolitan Mār Dionysios 'Angūr to direct the defence of the town. After two months during which Malatya was watchfully defended, the Tatars withdrew. In 1244 the Tatar chief Isāwūr (var. Nasāwūr) Nuyin besieged Malatya and ravaged the country round until Rashid al-Dīn caused him to retreat by rich presents (Barhebraeus, p. 477—479). After the division of the Saldjūk empire by Hülāgū, there ruled at first 'Izz al-Dīn at Malatya, then, after his dethronement, his brother Rukn al-Dīn (Barhebraeus, p. 482). At the end of 649 (1251—1252) and in July 650 (1252—1253), the Tatars again besieged the town under Isāwūr and wasted its surroundings (Barhebraeus, p. 491). When in 1257 'Izz al-Dīn sent al-Tuḡhr Ḥafā into the district of Malatya to seek recruits and the latter allotted the town to the Kurd chief Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Bilās, the inhabitants would not have him as they had sworn fealty to Rukn al-Dīn and feared his Tatar patron Baidjū. It was not till 'Izz al-Dīn had sent a second envoy, Bihādūr, that they admitted him into the town; but the latter soon fled again before Baidjū and only returned when he had gone, but again found the gates closed against him and was only admitted after famine had broken out in Malatya as a result of his siege (Barhebraeus, p. 498—500). In 1260 Hülāgū built bridges over the Euphrates for his vast host at Malatya, Kal'at al-Rūm al-Bira and Karḥisiya (Barhebraeus, p. 509). The Egyptian governor of al-Bira Hidar (Khidr?) in 1282 laid waste the country round Malatya (Barhebraeus, p. 546).

The Mongol Khān Abaqa (1265—1282) again divided the kingdom of Rūm between two Saldjūk cousins of whom Mas'ūd received Arzindjān, Siwās and Malatya.

In the xiith and xiiith century lived the two great Syriac historians, both born in Malatya, to whose chronicles we mainly owe our knowledge of the history of the town: the patriarch Michael I (1126—99), son of the priest Eliyā, who belonged to the family of Kindasī in Malatya and the Mafr'yan Gregor Abu 'l-Faradj called Barhebraeus (1226—86; q. v.), whose father, the baptised

Jewish physician Ahrōn had restrained his fellow citizens in Malaṭya from stupidly flying before the Tatars (Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, p. 298—300, 312—20). Michael's principal authority, Ignatios (d. 1104), was also metropolitan of Malaṭya (Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 291).

The increasing weakness of the Saldjūks about 1300 favoured the formation of local Turkoman and Armenian petty states, especially in the east of Asia Minor. According to Abu 'l-Fidā', Christians and Muslims in Malaṭya in those days lived on the best of terms with one another; the town took the side of the Tatars and informed them of everything that went on in the country. During his war against the Tatars, Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāsir in 715 (1315) decided to send a large army under the na'ib of Damascus, Saif al-Dīn Tunguz who was joined by his vassal Abu 'l-Fidā' of Hamāh, against Malaṭya. The army went by Ḥalab, 'Ainṭāb, Ḥiṣn Manṣūr and Zibāṭra to Malaṭya and encamped before the town on April 28. The inhabitants sent their ḥākim Djamāl al-Dīn al-Khiḍr, whose father and grandfather had filled the same office in their time, through the south gate, Bāb al-Qāḍī, to Tunguz, who was willing to afford them protection and security, if they surrendered the town. But he was unable to fulfil his pledge for the soldiers could not be restrained from plundering and ravaging in the town. Among the prisoners was the Tatar Ibn Kerbogha' and the ṣāhib of Ḥiṣn Arkanā', Shaikh Mindū. The greater part of the town was finally burned down (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales Muslem.*, ed. Reiske, v. 286—92; ed. Stambul 1286, iv. 77 sq.; transl. also in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 180; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalif.*, iv. 310 sq.). The Sulṭān made the territory of Malaṭya a separate frontier province, which included seven districts (Khalil al-Zāhiri, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 52). There were seven citadels around the town: Mūshār or Minshār, Kūmī, Karaḥiṣār, Kadarbirt, Kaḥ'at Akdja, Kaḥ'at Nawḥamām (?) and Kaḥ'at al-Akrād (Khalil, *op. cit.*; Gaudfroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 97, x; 105).

Malaṭya for the next few decades belonged to the Mamlūk Sulṭāns. As their remotest province, it was with Ḥalab in 791 (1389) the scene of a great rebellion led by the governors Minṭāsh and Yelboghā against Barḳūk [q.v.]. About this time the Turkish family of the Dhu 'l-Qadroghlu [q.v.] began to rise to power in the region of Malaṭya and Albistān where they ruled till 1515 under Egyptian suzerainty. About 794 (1391/2) Bāyazīd I conquered the town and in 1400/1 Timūr. By the battle of Kōḥ Ḥiṣār (1516) it fell into the hands of Selim I [q.v.] who destroyed the Dhu 'l-Qadroghlu. This was the cause of his war against Egypt, which was rapidly decided on the field of Marḍī Dābiḳ. At a later date the eyālet to which the Sandjak of Malaṭya belonged was still called Dhu 'l-Qadriya; Malaṭya now forms a sandjak of the wilāyet of Ma'mūret al-'Aziz (Kharput).

The town in 1838 was the headquarters of the Ser-asker Hāfiṣ Pasha, with whom Molke was attaché. It is said to have suffered much at the hands of the troops quartered there for months before the battle of Nizib. After the earthquake of 1893 Malaṭya was rebuilt on the site of the suburb of Asbusu S. W. of the older site now called Eski-Shehr, but the old town continued to be inhabited. It has now about 30,000 inhabitants, including many Armenians, Kurds and Kizilbash.

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MALAY PENINSULA is a name sometimes rather loosely applied to the whole tract of land South of the Isthmus of Kra (Lat. 10° N.); but so far as the Northern part of this tract is concerned the name is a misnomer, the bulk of the population there being Siamese and Chinese, not Malay. Excluding from the total Malay population of Siam [q.v.] as a whole some 50,000 Malays scattered in Ayuthia, Bangkok, Chantabun and the rest of the Eastern shore of the Gulf of Siam, the remaining 350,000 are in Southern Siam and mainly in the parts South of Kra. But it is not till about Lat. 7° N. that one meets with districts where the majority of the inhabitants is Malay, viz. on the West coast Palean and Sētul and on the East coast the province of Patani (formerly an important Malay state, finally conquered by Siam in 1832). Of the approximate total population of 370,000 in these three districts the greater part consists of Malays. The Southern boundary of Siam, running irregularly between 6° 45' and 5° 45' N., separates them from the rest of the Peninsula, which is attached to the British Empire and with which we are here concerned. The area of this latter portion is about 52,500 English square miles.

The geological structure of the Peninsula includes calcareous rocks and limestone, cherts, shales, quartzite, volcanic rocks, granite, alluvial deposits, and the ferruginous substance known as laterite. The most important minerals are tin and tungsten. The former has been exported for more

than a thousand years and is still a very important product.

Until about fifty years ago the rivers, though mostly small and only navigable for small craft, were the chief and almost the sole means of access to the interior, which was then an almost trackless forest of luxuriant vegetation, traversed by a number of mountain ranges, some running roughly north and south, others transversely or irregularly. A few of the highest points exceed 7,000 feet (roughly 2,100 metres). At sea-level the average temperature is about 82 F. (about 27 C.) with a daily and annual variation of not more than about 10 F. (about 4.5 C.) in each direction; the annual rainfall varies locally from about 60 inches (about 150 cm.) to four times that amount. The N.E. and S.W. monsoons prevail, but are subject to periods of slight or variable wind. The climatic conditions are therefore very favourable to the main staples of native agriculture, viz.: rice, coconuts and miscellaneous local fruits; to these, foreigners have added the cultivation of other products, such as tapioca and coffee (now almost abandoned) and especially Para rubber, in the cultivation of which the Peninsula has led the way. The economic development of the Peninsula may be said to date from the institution of the Residential system in three of the Western states in 1874, which led progressively to the making of a network of excellent roads and a State railway system now comprising a trunk line from Singapore to the western part of the boundary with Siam, where it links with the Siamese system, and a number of branches, one of which turning northward through the centre of the Peninsula is destined to join the Siamese railway at a point near the eastern end of the frontier.

From the administrative point of view, the British portion of the Peninsula falls into: 1. the British colony styled the Straits Settlements (which is an abbreviation of "British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca"), comprising the three "settlements" or divisions of Singapore, Penang and Malacca; 2. the Federated Malay States, viz. Perak, Sēlangor, Nēgēri Sēmbilan, on the West coast and Pahang on the East coast, which are united in an administrative union under a Chief Secretary to Government at Kuala Lumpur (in Sēlangor) and 3. the Unfederated Malay States, viz. in the extreme North and on the West coast, Pērlis and Kēdah, and on the East coast, Kēlantan and Trēngganu, and in the extreme South, Johor. Administratively the Island of Labuan off the coast of North Borneo, and the Cocos-Keeling Islands and Christmas Island to the South-West of Java form part of the "settlement" of Singapore; and the State of Brunei (Bērunai) in Borneo is an unfederated Malay State ranking with those of the Peninsula.

The Colony has the usual administrative machinery, consisting of a Governor (who is also the High Commissioner for the Malay States), together with executive and legislative councils, and a Supreme Court. Each of the Malay States has a Malay ruler, who usually bears the title of Sultan, and also a British official, styled in the Federated Malay States the British Resident and in the unfederated ones British Advisor or General Advisor, and a State Council. For the Federated States there is in addition a Federal Council and a Judicial Commission. In these States the chief

administrative departments are federalized under federal heads, and in one or two cases (such as Education) are linked up with the corresponding department in the Colony. Both the Colony and the States are divided into administrative districts, and the officials in charge of such districts in the Colony and Federated States are mainly Europeans. The same applies to the heads of the principal departments of Government. Many of their assistants are also European. In the unfederated States the administrative machinery is not so elaborately organized and the proportion of Europeans is smaller. Government schools have been established in the principal villages and give elementary instruction exclusively through the medium of Malay. In towns there are also higher schools, supported but not founded or managed, by Government, which give instruction through the medium of English. The college at Kuala Kangsar, which is bilingual, is mainly for the sons of Malay rajas and chiefs though others are admitted. Female education has developed more slowly but is gaining ground.

The ancient history of the Peninsula is obscure. Palaeolithic and neolithic implements have been found in various places. The so-called aborigines, amounting in 1921 to about one per cent. of the total population, comprise in the extreme North a few thousand woolly-haired Negritos, generally termed Sēlang, in the centre a much larger number of wavy-haired light brown people known as Sakai, and in the South mostly straight-haired people of the Indonesian type, often referred to as Jakun. The first two groups and a portion of the third speak languages containing a strong Mon-Khmer element, the remaining Jakun speak Malay dialects with some alien admixture. From about the 7th century A. D. Sanskrit inscriptions on stone found in Kēdah and Province Wellesley (opposite Penang) attest the presence of Buddhists using a South Indian script. An inscription of 775 originally set up at Ligor (Nakhon Sīri Dhammarāj) about Lat. 8° N. indicates that before that date certain points on the isthmus were held by the Śailendra kings of Śrī Vijaya (Palembang in Southern Sumatra), who controlled the trade route through the Straits and across the isthmus probably till near the end of the xiith century. It would appear from a notice in the History of the Liang dynasty of China (502-556 A. D.), Book 54, that this isthmus had formerly been controlled by the state of Funan, which centred round the mouths and lower course of the Mekong river. An inscription found at Chaiya (Jaiya, near Lat. 10° N.) and probably dated 1183 gives the king who presumably set it up a princely title which points to the Malayu region of Southern Sumatra, adjoining Śrī Vijaya to the North-West. Another inscription of Chaiya dated 1230 was set up by the local king Candrabhānu who according to the Mahāvamsa and other sources raided Ceylon on two occasions (probably about 1236 and 1256) with his "Jāvaka" (i. e. Malay) forces.

It is plain, therefore, that between the viiith and the xiiith centuries the settlement of the Peninsula by Malays from Sumatra had been going on. A few years later, but before 1280, the Siamese from Sukhohai (Sukhodhaya) put an end to Malay rule in Ligor, thus beginning the extension of Siamese influence to the southward. In the Javanese poem Nāgarakrētāgama (1365) a

number of places on both coasts, from Kēdah and Sai (in the old Patani state) in the North to Singapore [q. v.] in the South are claimed as vassals of the Javanese empire of Majapahit. In the same century, but at a date which cannot be precisely fixed owing to the fragmentary condition of the record, the earliest Malay inscription in the Arabic character as yet discovered makes it plain that Islām had recently become the state religion of Trēngganu. In the xvth century Islām was being spread in the Peninsula under the influence of the then most important state, Malacca [q. v.]; and after its fall in 1511 at the hands of the Portuguese its dynasty continued to rule in the extreme South (Johor) and neighbouring islands, while another branch held Pahang, and Perak eventually came into the hands of a family claiming to descend from the senior line of the same stock. In or before the xvth century an immigration of Minangkabau settlers from Sumatra founded a number of small states inland of Malacca, which all eventually admitted the suzerainty of Johor, save the southernmost, Naning, which was in theory at any rate a subordinate ally of the Portuguese. In the early part of the xviith century the Achinese raided Kēdah, Perak, Johor, etc., and for a number of years exercised some sort of suzerainty over Perak. Meanwhile the Northern states came intermittently under Siamese influence, which varied with the strength of that power but retained the character of an external suzerainty till Kēdah in 1821 and Patani in 1832 (this last finally) were conquered by Siam.

The Dutch tenure of Malacca (1641—1795), while it controlled to some extent the external trade of the Malay states, did not interfere with their internal affairs. In the eighteenth century Bugis adventurers settled in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago and made their influence felt on the mainland, ultimately establishing the new state of Sēlangor under a still ruling Bugis dynasty. British influence dates from the founding of Penang (1786), which was followed by a temporary occupation of Malacca (1795—1818), its final cession in 1824, the founding of Singapore (1819), and the incorporation of all three settlements in one government (1826), which in 1867 was transferred from the control of India to that of the Colonial Office. The policy of non-interference with the Malay states was maintained until long continued disturbances in Perak, Sēlangor, and Sungai Ujong (part of Nēgēri Sēmbilan), due to Malay dynastic quarrels and civil war between unruly gangs of Chinese tin-miners, coupled with an increase of piracy in the Straits, led in 1874 to the inauguration of the Residential system. This ultimately developed into the present system whereby since 1895 Perak, Sēlangor, Nēgēri Sēmbilan and Pahang form a federation administered under the direction of British officials. Pērlis, Kēdah, Kēlantān and Trēngganu were ceded by Siam in 1909 in return for certain concessions, one of which was the abolition of the extra-territorial privileges of British subjects.

The population in 1921 of the part of the Peninsula and adjacent islands under British administration or protection was about 3,325,000, nearly half being immigrants, mainly Chinese, and to a less extent Indians, among whom males predominated very considerably. The great bulk of the native-born population consisted of Malays, and the total number of Malays, properly so-called

(including, however, something like 100,000 persons of Minangkabau descent in Nēgēri Sēmbilan and Malacca) numbered 1,418,198. The other Muslim Indonesians amounted to 171,315 (including 112,775 Javanese, 37,848 Banjarese, 9,772 Boyanese, 8,388 Bugis, 727 Achinese, 859 Korinchi, and 946 Mendeling). The 47,465 non-Indonesian Muslims comprised 41,337 Indians, 4,315 Arabs, 1,800 Chinese, and a few Persians and Turks; the total Muslim population was 1,636,978, the great majority being Sunnis of the school of Shāfi'i. Of the non-Muslim population roughly three-quarters were Chinese and about one-quarter Indians but there were also 32,448 so-called aborigines of the Peninsula (a few of whom may, however, have been converts to Islām), 18,178 Siamese, 14,833 Europeans (mostly British, but including Continental Europeans and Americans of European descent), 12,629 Eurasians, 6,989 Japanese, and 2,215 Sinhalese, besides several smaller communities.

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MALAYS. People. In this article only the Islāmic features of the Malay nation will be dealt with, so neither ethnographical nor anthropological questions will be discussed. It may be sufficient to say that the Malays originally—we do not venture to say: as autochthons—were established in the middle part of Sumatra, especially in Palembang, and spread over the eastern and northern parts of that huge island, and settled in the Straits, mainly in Malacca [see MALAY PENINSULA], and founded colonies in Borneo, along the great rivers, and elsewhere eastward. They belong to the widely dispersed Polynesian (or Indonesian) race, whose languages extend from Madagascar to the Philippines and from the peninsula of the utmost S. E. point of Asia to the remoter islands of Micronesia and Melanesia in the Pacific. The Malay chronicles, for the greater part mythical, and a few epigraphical data, make it clear that there was a highly cultivated Hinduised Malay kingdom in Palembang, the seafaring people of which went over to several adjacent and more distant countries; it was along the ways of commerce that they carried the Malay language to sundry ports and lands. It is not exactly known in what century Islām swept away Hinduism, but it is a fact that the new religion on its arrival in the Straits found Malay people settled in the Peninsula and the Malay language introduced there as the generally adopted speech of commerce and political intercourse.

Language. It is due to Islām that Malay, being already a language enriched with many Sanskrit words, became an idiom of very mixed lexicographical character. The Islāmic current brought words of Tamil origin, innumerable Arabic words, some of them in Dekhanised or Persian-like garb, many Persian words, some of them with Indian characteristics, and a small quantity of Hindustani vocables. In that heterogeneous form Malay became the vehicular language of the new religion. Undoubtedly it had found its way already to the most visited ports in the Archipelago in a simplified form fit for intercourse with all kinds of natives and foreign merchants, later also with European, namely Portuguese and Dutch captains and ambassadors. It was Islām that gave Malay a literary character, and when it had established itself as a medium into which innumerable Arabic books were translated, its form became crystallised and its orthography was fixed systematically. That uniformity made it the appropriate language for literary and liturgical purposes and also a *κονή* for dogmatics and mysticism, as well as romantic and historical literature. It has to be borne in mind that there is a great difference between the patois or *linguaccio* heard in most of the sea-ports, and the cultivated literary language, which became highly developed in Malacca, once the seat of a Muḥammadan court and a royal library. When Arabic and Indian learned men came to Aceh, they discussed theological questions in Malay and even wrote books in that language. The literary form is sustained uniformly to the present day, literary products being written in archaistic formulae, and the colloquial style being used in different parts of the Archipelago, the purest in Johore and Malaya in general and the East-coast-districts of Sumatra; the least pure in Java and more eastern islands. In the Moluccas, especially in Ambon (Amboyna), the preaching of Christianity availed itself of Malay; in those islands this language has therefore assumed an individual character. As to its linguistic character, it may suffice to notice that Malay, like all Polynesian languages, belongs to the agglutinative type, declension not existing, conjugation being limited within narrow bounds, and amplification of the mainly dissyllabic stems with a quantity of prefixes, infixes and suffixes giving opportunity of forming words for almost all grammatical and logical relations. There are some traces of the influence of Arabic grammar on Malay syntax, but on the whole the Muḥammadan current has not essentially altered the character of the language; it has only enriched it with an enormous number of words, and given to its written literature an individual Islāmic character.

Literature. Of pre-Islāmic literature nothing is known. As far as may be concluded from a few old inscriptions in Hindu script, it seems that Malay was written in Kawi-like characters, but literature, in its earliest known form, is written in Arabic letters only. The oldest manuscripts are preserved in the Cambridge and Oxford libraries; they date from the last years of the xvth and the first decade of the xvith century. The only literary-historical evidence of the existence of written literature in the xvth century is the mention, in a xvith century chronicle, of the use made of a royal library at Malacca at the time when the Portuguese endeavoured to capture that town (1511).

Malay literature, as it presents itself now, is only for a very small part original. Hardly any of the chronicles, tales and poems are derived from Arabic sources directly, most of the religious and semi-historical romances having been translated from Persian, but all these literary products are imbued with the Muslim atmosphere, being full of Arabic words and phrases, and laden with Islāmic theory. There are, it is true, some indigenous farcical tales, and some fables, especially the sometime highly appreciated mouse-deer-tales, moreover some original romances with Hinduistic influences, and several adapted old Javanese tales, that do not betray real Islāmic influence, but the very fact that all these books are written in Arabic characters makes them overflow with Arabic words, and in that way shows that they belong to Islāmic mentality. In this short account there will be no mention of literary products going back to the great Sanskrit epic poems, nor of the tales that do not show traces of Muslim influence; only in so far as Malay literature has Islāmic features, will it be treated here. The originally genuine Indonesian deer-fable has undergone an Islāmic correction. The historical writings, more or less mythical and semi-romantic, are almost absolutely Islāmised. To that class of works the chronicle *Sijarah Melayu*, and other ones, as the chronicles of Kutawaringin, Kutai, Aceh and Pasai are to be reckoned. A partly historical, but for the greater part fictitious, romance is the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. A host of romances, dealing with foreign princes and princesses and their endless adventures, has been spread over a great part of the Malay-reading East-Indian World; the titles of all those popular, but for European readers less attractive, books, may be found in the catalogues of Malay manuscripts at Leyden, Batavia and London. Some books of fiction have been translated from Persian, Arabic or Hindustani. A group of them is to be traced to the *Hitopadeśa*-collection, another one to the *Tuti-nāma*-series, a third one to the *Bakhtiyar-cycle*. By way of exception foreign authors have written in Malay; e.g. the Radjput Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī [q.v.], who wrote a great encyclopaedic chronicle at the instigation of an Acehese queen. A very great number of texts deals with the old prophets, the Prophet Muḥammad, his family and friends. Those works, like e.g. the romances of Amir Ḥamza and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya, have Persian originals. The purely religious books cannot be regarded as Malay literature.

Poetical literature has a different character. The real Malay kind of poetry, though not devoid of Persian influences, is the *pantun*, i.e. popular quatrains, whose first two lines deal with a natural fact, or a well known event, and are intended to prelude, phonetically, the 3rd and 4th lines, that contain the real meaning of the usually erotic poem. The other "genre" is the *sha'ir*. Its form is the stanza of four rhyming lines. Some of these very extensive overloaded poems are from the Javanese, some others are versified versions of prose romances; moreover historical events, love-scenes, religious matters, mystical speculations etc. are dealt with in innumerable *sha'irs*, the titles of which may be seen in the following catalogues: Leyden Univ. Library, by H. H. Juynboll; Supplement thereto by Ph. S. van Ronkel; Batavia, the Hague and Brussels by the same; London (R.A.S.) and ibidem E. I. H. (India Office Library) by H. N. van der Tuuk.

Special literary questions have been dealt with by Ph. S. van Ronkel. The papers on Malay Subjects and some numbers of the Malay Literature Series contain some valuable contributions. A fuller account is given in the Dutch *Encycl. van Nederl.-Indië*, s. v. Literatuur (Maleische).

(PH. S. VAN RONKEL)

MALÄZGERD, district (*Ḳaḏā*) and town in Armenia, to the North of the lake of Wan. Of the name, there occur, in old-Armenian, the forms *Manavazkert*, *Manavazkert* and *Manazkert*. The middle-Armenian and Byzantine forms, *Mandzgerd* and *Mavr̥ḡinsepr̥* resp. as well as the Arabian form *Manāzjdjird*, point to old-Armenian *Manazkert* being the original form, *Manavaz(a)kert* representing a popular etymological formation, from the name of the noble family of the Manavazeans, which, in olden times, resided in the district. For it is phonetically impossible, that an old-Armenian form *Manavaz(a)kert* should regularly become *Manazkert*. This is the theory of Hübschmann, who admits however the possibility, that an earlier *Manavaz(a)kert* may have been arbitrarily shortened in pronunciation, so as to become *Manazkert*, the word being otherwise too long. W. Belck has conjectured, that in the first part of the word, there may be hidden the name of the Urartæic (pre-Armenian) king Menuas of Wan. This conjecture is based on the fact, that from an inscription of Menuas it appears, that this king founded a city, which was called *Menuahina* (= Menuas-town); thus it would, according to Belck, be very probable, that *Maläzgerd*, in whose environs there have been found many inscriptions of Menuas, was this very town, named after him. If such be the case, then the old-Armenian form *Manavazkert* must have originated from a later, popular etymology. From the fact, that names of towns formed with *-kert* (= **-kartā*) seem to have originated not before the Parthian epoch, as Hübschmann observes, it would follow, that the memory of the old king Menuas was still alive in the relatively late Parthian time. This difficulty, however, is not insoluble, for it seems, that the name of another Urartæic king of Wan also may survive in classical Armenian quasi-historical tradition as *Aram*.

The oldest and best Arabic spelling of the name of the town is *Manāzjdjird*, with *n*; the forms with *l* are later, and on them is based the modern name (*Maläzgerd*). The spelling with *n* we find e.g. in al-*Iṣṭakhri*; *Yāḳūt*; the author edited by Houtsma in *Rec. des textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjucides*, ii.; al-Nasawī (ed. Houdas); in a varia lectio of the text of the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr* (*G. M. S.*, New Series, ii. 119); and in the text quoted *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 797. The spelling with *l*, common in later texts, occurs, among older authors, in al-Muḳaddasī; Ibn al-Aṭṭir; the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr* (the reading adopted by the editor); *Djuwaini*, and the *Nuḥat al-Ḳulūb*. The terminations *-djird* and *-kird* also alternate in the spelling: this variation is already noted by *Yāḳūt* (*Muḏjam*, iv. 648). As regards the form *Manazav*, cited by Marquardt (*Erānšahr*, p. 162) from Thomas Ariruni, cf. Hübschmann, *Die alt-armenischen Ortsnamen* (in *Idg. Forschungen*, xvi.), p. 450.

For the year 1898 the number of inhabitants of the district *Maläzgerd* is given as 21,000, viz. 12,000 Kurds, and the rest Armenians. The district belonged to the *wilāyat* Bitlis, *sandjak* Mūsh. In this hilly country, the highest elevation is the

Sipān-Dagh (3,000 m.); perhaps the same mount as the *Sang-i Safid*, which is, according to *Yāḳūt* (*Muḏjam*, iii. 168), a mountain in these regions. The soil of the district is fertile; its main products are wheat, barley, millet, lentils and peas, which are also exported, as are also sheep and horses, e.g. to *Diyārbekr*. The region of *Maläzgerd* produces also salt and mineral stone, which becomes hard when brought to the day light. Its wild animals are the wolf, the fox and the stone-marten, which is hunted for its fur. Textiles are manufactured in and exported from the district.

The town of *Maläzgerd* is situated on a tributary of the *Murād Şu*, called the *Tuzla Şu*; *Hādjdjī Khalifa* (*Djihān-numā*, p. 426) reckons 2 *marḥala* between *Maläzgerd* and *Erzerum*. The town lies, moreover, on the way from *Siwās* to *Ardjish*, and also at the crossing of the two different ways, which connect *Mūsh* and *Bāyazid*. The city is surrounded by a high wall and towers; at the East of the town there is the citadel, built from black volcanic stone. In the vth (xth) century, *Maläzgerd* had a triple wall, and it was well furnished with drinking water from within (*Cedrenus*, ed. Bonn, ii. 590). More than one fruitless siege of this place is recorded in its history.

Belck supposes, that the well-known battle between the Assyrian king *Tiglathpilesar I* against the allied *Nātri-kings* took place in the plain of *Maläzgerd* (*Z. D. M. G.*, li. 560). If, at that remote time, the town of *Maläzgerd* existed already, is not certain. That it existed in the time of the Urartæic king *Menuas*, who, as Belck thinks, gave his name to the town, is made probable by an inscription of that prince, from which it would appear, that he rebuilt an older citadel and an older palace on that place. The environs of the modern city of *Maläzgerd* are remarkably rich in cuneiform inscriptions, which were discovered by *Lehmann* and *Belck* during their stay there. They found an Assyrian inscription of *Tiglathpilesar I* and several Urartæic inscriptions, among others, of *Menuas* (± 800 B. C.) and *Argistis II* (714—ca. 690 B. C.). It appears from these documents, that *Menuas* devoted great attention to the irrigation of the land, by constructing several canals.

In the early Middle-ages, the town of *Maläzgerd* (*Manazkert*), lying on the confines of the cantons *Harkh* and *Apahunikh*, was sometimes assigned to the former, sometimes to the latter. That in old-Armenian times here resided the family of the Manavazeans, has already been remarked. For these matters, and also for the quotations from Byzantine and Armenian authorities regarding them, cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 328, 330, 449 sq.

Maläzgerd belonged, since the beginning of their dynasty, to the realm of the *Bagratides* of Armenia, who allowed it to be ruled, as well as *Akhlat*, *Ardjish* and "*Perkri*" (= *Bergiri*), by a family of their vassals. This family, whose members bear Arabic names, became in course of time independent of the Armenian kings, but, on the other hand, was obliged to pay tribute to the emperor of Byzantium (*Constantinus Porphyrogenetus*, *De admin. imp.*, ed. Bonn, p. 192 sq.).

Yāḳūt says, that the inhabitants of *Maläzgerd* are Armenians and Byzantines (*Rūmī*); a native of this town was *Abū Naṣr al-Manāzī* (this, therefore, is the *nisba* of the name), who was *wazīr* to one of the *Marwānid* princes of *Diyārbekr*. This *Abū*

Naṣr died 437 (1045—1046) and, according to our authority, was a good poet: Yāqūt cites two fragments from his poems (*Muʿdjam*, iv. 648 sq.). Regarding another al-Manāzī, cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 788, note 1.

Among political events connected with the town of Malāzgerd, it may be noted that, on the occasion of the campaign, which the great Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla undertook into Armenia (328 = 940), there is mentioned one ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, prince (*ṣāhib*) of Malāzgerd and Sibalwark (Sewerek) (*J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 797): the name ʿAbelxamīr occurs among the names of the dynasty of Malāzgerd, recorded by Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, and this contemporary of Saif al-Dawla doubtless belonged to that family. But he cannot be the ʿAbelxamīr of the Greek text, who, from a chronological point of view, must have lived two generations earlier (cf. the genealogical table of these dynasts of Malāzgerd in Bandurius *Animadversiones in Const. Porph. Lib. de Administr. Imp.*, in the Bonn edition of Constantinus, iii. 372). In 353 (964) a certain Nadjā, a *ghulām* of Saif al-Dawla, revolted against his master, after taking possession of that part of Armenia, which was ruled by one Abu ʿl-Ward. The latter was slain, and, among the places conquered by Nadjā, Malāzgerd also is cited (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 408); in the year 359 (969—970) Malāzgerd was taken by the Byzantines (*ibid.*, viii. 445); they must have lost it again before 382 (992—993), for in that year they besieged not only Akhlāt and Ardjīsh, but also Malāzgerd, but this time they could not take it, but returned home after concluding a treaty for ten years with Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Marwān (*ibid.*, ix. 67). In 440 (1048—1049) it must have belonged to the Byzantines, for the *ghazwa*, which Ibrahim, Toghrīl Beg's brother, undertook into the Byzantine empire, affected also the territory of Malāzgerd (*ibid.*, ix. 372). And it is explicitly stated by Ibn al-Aṭhīr (ix. 411), under the year 446 (1054—1055), that Malāzgerd was in possession of the Byzantines, for there he relates, that this strong city resisted a siege by Toghrīl Beg himself (cf. also Cedrenus, ed. Bonn, ii. 590 etc.). The most important historical event, with which the name of the town is connected, is the battle of Malāzgerd (463 = 1071) between Alp Arslān and the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes, in consequence of which the eastern part of Asia Minor, viz. Armenia and Cappadocia, was lost for ever to the Greek empire [Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 44; *Rec. des textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjoudes*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 38 etc.; *Rāhat al-ʿūdūr* (G. M. S., New Series, ii.), p. 119; Zonaras, ed. Dindorf, iv. 213 etc.; cf. also H. Gelzer in K. Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* 2, p. 1010]. After this event, therefore, Malāzgerd passed into the possession of the Saldjūks. In 531 (1137) it was given by king Malikshāh, along with Erzerum and part of the territory of Akhlāt, to his brother Saldjūk, as a *kiṣʿ* (*Rec. de textes...*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 185).

In course of time, the city was besieged in vain (587 = 1191) by Ṭāki al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Aiyūb. In 601 (1204—1205) its environs suffered from the inroads of nomads from the direction of Ādharbāidjān (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 41, 134). During the disturbances, of which Armenia was the scene in the beginning of the viith—xiiith century, mention is several times made of Malāzgerd. In 603

(1206—1207), a former *manitūk* of the Shāh Arman took possession of Malāzgerd, and, after that, also of Akhlāt. He had, in addition, control of Ardjīsh and other places. This man, whose name was Balbān (the vocalisation of the first syllable is uncertain), was assisted by the prince of Erzerum, Mughith al-Dīn Toghrīl Shāh b. Kīlidj Arslān, against al-Malik al-Awḥad, son of al-Malik al-ʿAdil of Egypt. Later on, Balbān was murdered by his ally of Erzerum, who tried to enter Akhlāt and Malāzgerd, but in vain, so that he was obliged to return to his own states (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 168 sq., 180 sq.). In 623 (1226), Djalāl al-Dīn b. Khwārizmshāh ʿAlā al-Dīn Muḥammad occupied Malāzgerd, as he intended to attack Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿAlī, the *nawwāb* of al-Malik al-Ashraf, in Akhlāt. But, since his attempt on this town did not succeed, and as the winter also set in (he had entered Malāzgerd on Dhū ʿl-Kāda 13, November 5, 623), and the Turkomans invaded his own realm, he was obliged to retire (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 301). In 626 (1229) however he succeeded in taking Akhlāt, after which he besieged Malāzgerd, first in person, afterwards leaving one of his generals in charge of the siege, but on this occasion without success (al-Nasawī, ed. O. Houdas, text, p. 205, 208; translation, p. 342, 344, 347).

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(V. F. BÜCHNER)

MĀLDA (properly, Māldah or Māldaha), a district in Eastern Bengal and in the Rājshāhī Division of the Presidency of Bengal. Area 1,899 sq.m. Pop. in 1911, 1,004,159, of whom 465,521 were Hindus, and 505,396 Muslims. In old times it was famous for its two capitals of Gaur [q. v.] or Lakhnawī, and Pandua, where there are many ruins of the mosques and other buildings of the Muḥammadan kings of Bengal.

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(H. BEVERIDGE)

MALDIVE ISLANDS, a group of coral islets in the Indian Ocean, lying between 7° 6' N. and 0° 42' S. lat., and 72° and 74° E. long., and consisting of seventeen atolls with a great number of islands, of which about 300 are inhabited, the population being estimated at 70,000. The Moorish traveller, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, lived for more

than a year (1343—1344) in the islands, but the first Europeans to visit them were the Portuguese, who established a factory in them in 1518. The Maldives were much harassed by Māppilla (Moplah) pirates from the Malabar Coast and in 1645 the king, who is entitled "Sultān of the Twelve Thousand Isles", placed himself under the protection of the Dutch in Ceylon, with which island the Maldives have, since that time, been politically connected. The natives are Muslims and fall into three ethnographical divisions, (1) the northern, with a strong admixture of Dravidian blood from India, (2) the central, under the immediate rule of the Sultān, who resides in Male, which has acquired from Arab traders and settlers a strain of Semitic blood, and (3) the natives of the southern clusters, who have had little communication with the central group, and preserve more of the primitive type, resembling the Sinhalese villagers of Ceylon. All are peaceful, intelligent and industrious, growing their own crops and weaving their own cloth and mats. The chief exports are copra, coir, and dried fish products. The language is a dialect of the Sinhalese, somewhat Muḥammadanized, but many read Arabic more or less fluently.

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(T. W. HAIG)

MALĦAMA. [See MALĦĦIM.]

MALĦ, a town, which no longer exists, the old capital of the Mandingo empire, in the western Sūdān, also called Māli, Mālli, Melli, Melle, Mani or Mané. All these names are dialectic or local variants of the same word which is the name of the country of origin of a people whom the French call Malinké, following the Pul and Tuculors, and the English "Mandingo", following the form used by one section of this people on the Lower Gambia.

The name found in the Arab authors for this town was not the one used by the inhabitants themselves and the latter is not given us by the geographer Idrisi, nor the historian Ibn Khaldūn, nor the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta, nor Leo Africanus. It was only in 1913 that the translation of an Arabic manuscript not long before discovered in the Sūdān, the *Ta'riḫ al-Fattāḥ*, enabled us to learn that in reality there were two successive capitals of the Mandingo empire or of Mali: the older was called Djariba or Djériba and there was later another called Niani.

Recent researches in the valley of the Niger have enabled the sites of these two towns to be discovered. The first was situated at the junction of the Niger and the Sankarani, and at the place called Mani or Mali Tombo, i. e. ruins of Mali. There are still traces of a very ancient and important town, which the natives regard, according to their traditions, as the ancient residence of their former sovereigns and the place where the latter are buried.

As to the second town, a copyist's error in the text of Ibn Khaldūn concealed the true name till

the publication of the *Ta'riḫ al-Fattāḥ* in 1913. It was recently recognised that the capital in question should be located on the left bank of the Sankarani, and at the level of Siguiri, not far from the place where there is still a town of the same name, Niani.

Djeriba was no doubt the cradle of the Mandingo dynasty of the Keita of the xith—xiiith century. We have no information about it. We are more accurately informed about Niani. It is supposed to have been founded in 1238 after Sundjata Keita, ruler of the Mandingo, had defeated in 1235 at Kirina the emperor of Sōsō, Sumangurur Kante, his rival and enemy. Gongo Mūsā, often wrongly called Kankan Mūsā, was ruling there a century later, when on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he attracted to his court an Arab poet named al-Sāhili who belonged to a Granada family. By orders of Gongo Mūsā, this foreigner built in Gao a mosque with battlemented terrace and pyramidal minaret. According to tradition, this was the first building of the type, now so widely spread in the western Sūdān, the origin of which is North African.

In 1352—53 in the reign of Sulaimān Keita, brother of Gongo Mūsā, the Arab traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta visited the town. It was then a completely Muslim metropolis, in which lived Egyptian and Moroccan legal authorities, students of Islām, readers of the Qur'ān in the mosques, and merchants. No description of the different quarters of the town has come down to us but we have a fairly detailed account of the sovereign's palace. The ruler gave his audiences in a room looking out on a courtyard, with six windows of wood, three of which were covered with plates of silver and above these three covered with plates of gold. These windows were hidden by curtains, which were lifted to show that the hour of audience had come.

The empire of Mali retained its power down to the beginning of the xvth century when its decline began. According to Leo Africanus who visited the Sūdān in the first half of the xvth century, the capital Mali or better Niani was inhabited by about 6,000 families who included many artisans and traders. Islām was flourishing, the town had still a number of mosques and prosperous schools but it had lost its former glory.

In 1545, Dā'ūd, brother of the *askiya* of Gao, marched to Niani; the ruler of the Mandingo having succeeded in escaping, Dā'ūd occupied the town which he plundered for a week before withdrawing, ordering his soldiers to defile the palace of the king with ordure.

In the xviith century the growth of the Bambara kingdoms of Segou and Kaarta contributed to overthrow what was left of the old Mandingo power, the last chiefs of which, leaving Niani, took refuge in Kangaba.

There is no doubt that Niani was visited on several occasions by the Portuguese. We know nothing of the expeditions which set out from their factories in Lower Gambia to the interior; on the other hand, we have notes about the Mandingo capital on the journey made in 1483 of an embassy from Elmina (now the Gold Coast Colony). João de Barros describes it in his Book III of his *Asia*: "By the route of the fortress of Minas (Elmina) he (John II) also sent an embassy to Maḥmūd b. Manzugul, grandson of Mūsā, king of Songo. This city is one of the most populous of this great country which we usually call the

land of the Mandingoes". Another author, Barth, claims to identify the Songo of the Portuguese historian with the land of the Songhoi on the Niger. This is clearly wrong. But is Songo a name applicable to the Mandingo capital? M. Delafosse does not think so; he calls attention to the fact that the country of the Mandingoes is still known among the coast peoples of the Gulf of Guinea and in all the Fanti and Ashanti country under the name of Songo, so that among those with whom the Portuguese of Elmina mixed, the word was simply a synonym of Mandingo or Mali.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Voyage dans le Soudan*, transl. de Slane, Paris 1843; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, Algiers 1852—6; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique tierce partie du Monde*, mise en français par Jean Temporal, nouvelle édition annotée par Schefer, Paris 1896—8; 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sa'di and Tomboukti, *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, transl. Haudas, Paris 1900; M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Paris 1912; Marquart, *Die Beninsammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden*, index s.v. Malli; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, transl. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 52 sqq. (HENRI LABOURET)

MALIK (A.), King. In the Qur'ān the word, in addition to being used of the kings of this world, is also applied to Allāh, e.g. xx. 113: "So is Allāh exalted, the King, the Truth". In iii. 25, Allāh is the *malik al-mulk*, the possessor of royal power, which he gives to and takes from whom He will; in the *Fātiḥa* many Qur'ān readers read *malik* (for *malik*) *yawm al-dīn*; God's kingdom is also described as *mulk* and *malakūt* [cf. ALLĀH].

Muslim rulers do not generally call themselves kings; as in the Qur'ān, the use of the word was confined to the rulers of foreign peoples in so far as it had an earthly significance. The application of the word to Muslim potentates was regarded not so much as blasphemy but rather as implying a form of rule which was contradictory to Muslim political theory. It was considered very much to Mu'āwiyā's discredit that he described himself as the first king in Islām; and as a kingdom, which is contrasted with the imāmate, the dignity alone worthy of the Muslim rulers, the rule of the Omayyads was attacked and despised by the pious old fashioned party.

While religious constitutional literature does not recognise the word *malik* as a term for Muslim conditions, it plays a very much greater part in the literature of mirrors for princes which is indifferent to religion, but, only when it is a question of a ruler in general and not of specifically Muslim rulers. Al-Dīḥāzī gives his *K. al-Taḍjī* the subtitle *Fī Ahlāk al-Mulūk* and al-Fārābī deals very fully with the duties of a king. In the ethical encyclopaedias which deal with all three moral sciences, ethics, economics and politics [cf. MĀL], like the *Sulūk al-Malik fī Tadbīr al-Mamālik* of Ibn Abi 'l-Rabi', the king appears as the subject of special chapters in the scheme of division of this kind of literature.

With the spread of Islām and the Arabic language into Asia, *malik* became used as the equivalent of the Persian *shāh* and as a royal title was particularly favoured by mediaeval dynasties of Turkish origin. We find the title *malik* as early as the Sāmānids and in the next century the Būyid Bahā' al-Dawla calls himself *Malik al-Mulūk*,

a title modelled on the ancient Iranian title of "King of Kings". Among the Saldjūks, Atābegs and Urtuḳids, it is the regular title of sovereignty, usually combined with an honorific epithet. It is not so generally used by the Aiyūbids and Mamlūks. In the feminine it is the royal title of the Mamlūk queen *Shādjār al-Durr*, who calls herself "queen of the Muslims" (*Malika al-Muslimīn*). One of the rare occurrences in India of the title is also in the feminine *Malika*, which queen Rāziya of Dehli uses in place of the *Sulṭān* of the other members of the dynasty. After being practically extinct for several centuries in the Muslim world *malik* has quite recently been adopted as the royal title in the new kingdoms of Egypt, 'Irāk, the Hīdžāz and Afghānistān so that it has suddenly, if somewhat artificially under the influence of the western conception of king, come to be the royal title *par excellence* in the Muslim world.

Bibliography: *Lisān al-'Arab*, s. v.; Hughes, *Dictionary*, s. v. "King"; Kremer, *Gesch. d. herrsch. Ideen*, p. 323; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii. 31 sqq. (M. PLESSNER)

MALIK 'AMBAR ḤABASHI, an Abyssinian slave, who rose to great power and influence in the Deccan. When Aḥmadnagar was conquered by prince Dāniyāl in 1009 (1600), Malik 'Ambar and Rādjā Minnān, a Deccan chief, divided the remaining territories between them. About this period owing to the rebellion of Sulṭān Salīm, the death of Akbar, and the revolt of Sulṭān *Khusrū*, 'Ambar found time to regulate his country and raised large armies, and even dared to seize several of the imperial districts. He introduced a new revenue system into the Deccan, perhaps in imitation of Tōdar Mall. When the authority of the emperor *Djahāngir* was established, he sent several expeditions to the Deccan, but 'Ambar could not be subdued. At last he restored the places taken from the Mughals to *Shāh Djahān*, to whom he became attached and remained loyal to him until his death, which occurred in 1035 (1626), in the 80th year of his age. He was buried in Dawlatābād [q. v.].

Bibliography: *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, i. 115—116 sq.; Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p. 553; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vi. 104, 105, 395 and 428; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii. 389 sq. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL I, NĀSIR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MĀ'ALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MALIK AL-'ĀDIL, an Aiyūbid, was born in Rabī' I 576 (Aug. 1180) and knighted with full ceremony on Palm Sunday (May 29) 1192 in 'Akkā by Richard Ceur-de-Lion who was on friendly terms with his father. A few years later his name begins to appear in the history of the Aiyūbid wars. When his father, who was besieging Māridīn [q. v.] with his army, left it after the death of al-'Aziz, Saladin's brother, on 27th Muḥarram 595 (Nov. 29, 1198) to seize the capital, Damascus, for himself, he entrusted the conduct of the siege of Māridīn to his son Kāmil. The governor of the town had begun to negotiate with him for surrender, when reinforcements arrived and after a fight which went badly for al-Kāmil, the latter was forced to withdraw and join his father in Damascus. Al-'Ādil's death (7th Djumādā II, 615 = Aug. 31, 1218) left him the difficult task of clearing Egypt of the Crusaders, who had landed near Damietta in the beginning of summer and had begun to besiege the town.

On the news of their landing, al-ʿĀdil [q. v.], who was then in Syria, sent troops to Egypt and al-Kāmil endeavoured to defend the land as best he could. The Christians gained the upper hand at first and by the end of Shaʿbān 616 (beg. Nov. 1219), Damietta had fallen into their hands. It took nearly two years for al-Kāmil, who had had homage paid to himself as sultān of Egypt and Syria after the death of his father, to retake the town with the help of the other Aiyūbids, particularly his brother al-Malik al-Muʿazzam; the Christians by this time were tired of fighting and in Raddjāb 618 (the end of August 1221) they offered to abandon the town if given a free passage. Al-Kāmil, who feared not without reason that they would soon receive reinforcements from Europe, gladly accepted their terms whereupon the Franks left Egypt. But then troubles broke out within the Aiyūbid ranks. When al-Muʿazzam died (end of Dhū l-Ḳaʿda 624 = Nov. 1227) al-Kāmil and his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf attacked his son and successor al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd and finally took Damascus from him (Shaʿbān 626 = June/July 1229); al-Kāmil next occupied southern Syria and Palestine and al-Ashraf was recognised as ruler of Damascus under the suzerainty of al-Kāmil, while their nephew Dāwūd received al-Karak, al-Shawbak and some other remote fortresses as compensation. Al-Kāmil had previously entered into negotiations with the Emperor Frederick II and concluded a treaty with him by which he ceded Jerusalem to him with a corridor to Jaffa and the Emperor in return promised to help him against all his enemies. After some time the Aiyūbids came into conflict with the Saljuqs. Kai-Kāʿūs I [q. v.] had previously quarrelled with al-Ashraf and sought to bring against him a confederacy of petty Mesopotamian dynasties and under his brother and successor Kai-Kobād I [q. v.] it came to open fighting. The successes won by al-Kāmil in this war, however, aroused the jealousy of his relatives and they formed a coalition against him [cf. AIYŪBIDS]. Al-Kāmil then set out for Egypt and advanced victoriously as far as Damascus. He succeeded in taking this city also but died very soon afterwards (in Raddjāb 635 = March 1238). As a ruler he was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished of the Aiyūbids. He was a brave soldier and a skilful diplomat and rendered lasting services to the development of his country. He devoted special attention to irrigation and in his reign the defences of the citadel of Cairo were completed. He also took a lively interest in the cause of learning.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* (ed. Wüstenfeld), N^o. 705 (transl. de Slane, iii. 240); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), xii., see Index; Abu l-Fidāʾ, *Annales* (ed. Reiske), iv., passim; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, v. 345 sqq.; Ibn Iyās, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr* (Bulāḳ 1311), i. 77 sqq.; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist. orient.*, i, v., passim; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii. 433 sq., 441 sqq.; Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 221 sqq.; Röhrich, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, see Index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL II. [See SHAʿBĀN.]

MALIK SARWAR, *Khawādja-i Djahān* was a eunuch given by Sālār Raddjāb to his grandson Muḥammad, son of Firūz Shāh Tughlak, in whose service he rose to be chief eunuch and controller of the elephant stables. He

was faithful to his master in all his troubles, and in 1389 received the title of *Khawādja-i Djahān* and was made *wazīr*. Muḥammad's son, Maḥmūd Shāh, sent him in March, 1394, to govern the eastern provinces, with his headquarters at Djawnpūr, and conferred on him the title of Malik al-Shark, or lord of the east. He took thither with him Kāranful, a slave and water-bearer of Firūz Tughlak, whom he had adopted, and his brothers. His administration was most successful and his adopted son Kāranful served him loyally. On the disruption of the kingdom of the Tughlak dynasty after Timūr's invasion, Malik Sarwar assumed the title of Sultān al-Shark and established his independence in Djawnpūr. Kāranful received the title of Malik al-Shark, and his brother Ibrāhīm was made commander of the fort and city.

Malik Sarwar died in 1400 and was succeeded by Kāranful, who ascended the throne of Djawnpūr under the title of Mubārak Shāh.

Bibliography: Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīm*, Bombay 1832; *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol. iv.; *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, by Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad; *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, New Series, vol. i., N. W. P. and Oudh (*Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpūr*, by A. Führer), 1889.

(T. W. HAIG)

MĀLIK B. ANAS, a Muslim jurist, the imām of the *madhhab* of the Mālikīs, which is named after him, and frequently called briefly the Imām of Medina.

I. The sources for Mālik's biography

The oldest authority of any length for Mālik, Ibn Saʿd's account (d. 230) based on al-Wāḳidī (d. 207) in the sixth class of the Medina "successors", is lost as there is a hiatus in the manuscript of the work, but it is possible to reconstruct the bulk of it from the quotations preserved, mainly in Ṭabarī (iii. 2519 sq.), in the *Kitāb al-Uyūn* (*Fragm. hist. arab.*, i. 297 sq.), in Ibn Khallikān and al-Suyūṭī (p. 7, 6 sq., 12 sq., 41, 46). From this it is evident that the brief biographical notes in Ibn Kṭaiba (d. 276) and the somewhat more full ones in the *Fihrist* (compiled in 377) are based on Ibn Saʿd. The article on Mālik in Ṭabarī's (d. 310) *Dhail al-Mudhail* is essentially dependent on the same source, while a few other short references there and in his history are based on other authorities. Al-Samʿānī (c. 550) with the minimum of bare facts gives only the legendary version of an otherwise quite well established incident, while in Ibn Khallikān (d. 672) and particularly in al-Nawawī (d. 676) the legendary features are more pronounced although isolated facts of importance are also preserved by them. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911) gives a detailed compilation from Ibn Saʿd and other works, most of which are now no longer accessible but are for the most part of later date and unreliable, like the *Musnad Ḥadīth al-Muwaffaʿ* of al-Fāfiḳī, the *Ḥilya* of Abū Nuʿaim, the *Kitāb al-Muṭṭafak wa l-Muṭṭalaf* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, the *Kitāb Tartīb al-Madārik* of al-Kāḍī ʿIyād, the *Faḍāʾil Mālik* of Abū l-Ḥasan Fihri. The bulk of the later *Manāẓid*, for example that of al-Zawāwī, is of no independent value.

II. Mālik's Life

Mālik's full name was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Mālik b. Anas b. Mālik b. Abī ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. al-

Hārith b. Ghaimān b. Khuthail b. 'Amr b. al-Hārith al-Aṣbaḥī; he belonged to the Ḥumair, who are included in the Banū Taim b. Murra (Taim Kuraish).

The date of his birth is not known; the dates given, varying between 90 and 97 are hypotheses, which are presumably approximately correct. As early as Ibn Sa'd we find the statement that he spent three years in his mother's womb (over two according to Ibn Kṭaiba, p. 290), a legend, the origin of which in a wrong interpretation of an alleged statement by Mālik on the possible duration of pregnancy is still evident in the text of Ibn Sa'd. According to a tradition preserved by al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad himself is said to have foretold his coming as well as that of Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfi'. His grandfather and his uncle on the father's side are mentioned by al-Sam'ānī as traditionists, so that there is nothing remarkable in his also being a student. According to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, he is said to have first wanted to become a singer, and only exchanged his career for the study of Fiqh on his mother's advice on account of his ugliness (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 79, note 2); but such anecdotes are little more than evidence that some one did not particularly admire him. Very little reliable is known about his studies, but the story that he studied Fiqh with the celebrated Rabi'a b. Farrūkh (d. 132 or 133 or 143) who cultivated *ra'y* in Medina, whence he is called Rabi'at al-Ra'y can hardly be an invention, although it is only found in somewhat late sources (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 80). Later legends increase the number of his teachers to incredible figures: 900, including 300 tābi'ūn are mentioned. He is said to have learned *ḥirā'a* from Nāfi' b. Abī Nu'aim. He transmitted traditions from al-Zuhri, Nāfi', the Mawlā of Ibn 'Umar, Abū 'l-Zinād, Hāshim b. 'Urwa, Yahyā b. Sa'id, 'Abd Allāh b. Dinār, Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, Abū 'l-Zubair and others, but the isnāds of course are not sufficient evidence that he studied with the authorities in question; a list of 95 *shuyūkh* is given by al-Suyūṭī, p. 48 *sqq.*

A fixed chronological point in his life, most of which he spent in Medina, is his being involved in the rising of the 'Alid pretender Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 145 (on the other hand the story of Mālik's alleged dealings with Ibn Hurmuz in the same year gives the impression of being quite apocryphal). As early as 144 the caliph al-Manṣūr sent to the Ḥasanids of Mecca through him a demand that the two brothers Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh suspected of being pretenders should be handed over to him; this shows that he must have already attained a position of general esteem and one at least not openly hostile to the government; he was even rewarded out of the proceeds of the confiscated property of the captured 'Abd Allāh, father of the two brothers above named. This mission met with no success. When Muḥammad in 145 by a coup made himself master of Medina, Mālik declared in a *fatwā* that the homage paid to al-Manṣūr was not binding, because it was given under compulsion, whereupon many who would otherwise have held back joined Muḥammad. Mālik took no active part in the rising but stayed at home. On the failure of the rebellion (147) he was punished by flogging by Dja'far b. Sulaimān, the governor of Medina, when he suffered a

dislocation of the shoulder, but this is said to have still further increased his prestige and there is no reason to doubt that the stories of Abū Ḥanīfa's ill-treatment in prison are based on this episode in the life of Mālik. He must have later made his peace with the government: in 160 the caliph al-Mahdī consulted him on structural alterations in the Meccan sanctuary, and in the year of his death 179 the caliph al-Rashīd visited him on the occasion of his pilgrimage. While this fact may be considered certain, the details in the *Kitāb al-Uyūn* are already somewhat legendary and in Suyūṭī, following Abū Nu'aim, quite fantastic. The story of al-Manṣūr found as early as Ibn Sa'd, in a parallel *riwāya* in al-Ṭabarī of al-Mahdī, is quite fictitious and is given again with fantastic detail in al-Suyūṭī (from Abū Nu'aim) of al-Rashīd, that the caliph wanted to make the *Muwatta'* canonical and only abandoned his intention on the representations of Mālik.

Mālik died, at the age of about 85 after a short illness, in the year 179 in Medina and was buried in al-Baḳī'. 'Abd Allāh b. Zainab, the governor there, conducted his funeral service. An elegy on him by Dja'far b. Aḥmad al-Sarrādj is given in Ibn Khallikān. Pictures of the *ḥubba* over his grave are given in al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Hidjāziya*², opposite p. 256 and in Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pasha, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaramain*, vol. i., opposite p. 426.

As early as Ibn Sa'd (certainly going back to al-Wāḳidī) we have a fairly full description of Mālik's personal appearance, his habits and manner of life, which however cannot claim to be authentic, nor can the sayings attributed to him which became more and more numerous as time went on. The few certain facts about him have been buried under a mass of legends: the most important facts have already been noted and the others will be found in al-Suyūṭī and al-Zawāwī.

On the transmitters of his *Muwatta'* and the earliest members of his *madhhab* see Sect. iii. and v.; here we will only mention the most important scholars who handed on traditions from him. These were 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, al-Awzā'i, Ibn Djaraidj, Hammād b. Zaid, al-Laiṭh b. Sa'd, Ibn Salama, al-Shāfi', Shu'ba, al-Thawrī, Ibn 'Ulaiya, Ibn 'Uyaina, Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh and his *shaiḫs* al-Zuhri and Yahyā b. Sa'id; al-Suyūṭī, p. 18 *sqq.* gives a long list of transmitters but most of them are not corroborated. We may just mention the apocryphal story of Mālik's meeting with the young al-Shāfi' (*Fragm. hist. ar.*, i. 359; Wüstenfeld, *Gött. Abh.*, 1890, p. 34 and 1891, p. 1 *sqq.*), which is simply an expression of the view that was held of the relation between the two Imāms.

III. Mālik's Writings

Further sources for his teachings

1. Mālik's great work is the *Kitāb al-Muwatta'*², which, if we except the *Corpus Juris* of Zaid b. 'Alī, is the earliest surviving Muslim law-book. Its object is to give a survey of law and justice, ritual and practice of religion according to the *idjma'* of Islām in Medina, according to the *sunna* usual in Medina and to create a theoretical standard for matters which were not settled from the point of view of *idjma'* and *sunna*. In a period of recognition and appreciation of the canon law under the early 'Abbāsids, there was a practical interest in pointing out a "smoothed path" (this

is practically what *al-muwaṭṭaʿ* means) through the far-reaching differences of opinion even on the most elementary questions. Mālik wished to help this interest on the basis of the practice in the Ḥijāz and to codify and systematise the customary law of Medina. Tradition, which he interprets from the point of view of practice, is with him not an end but a means; the older jurists are therefore hardly ever quoted except as authorities for Mālik himself. As he was only concerned with the documentation of the *sunna* and not with criticism of its form, he is exceedingly careless as far as order is concerned in his treatment of traditions. The *Muwaṭṭaʿ* thus represents the transition from the simple Fikh of the earliest period to the pure science of Ḥadīth of the later period.

Mālik was not alone among his contemporaries in the composition of the *Muwaṭṭaʿ*; al-Mādjashūn (d. 164) is said to have dealt with the consensus of the scholars of Medina without quoting the pertinent traditions, and works quite in the style of the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* are recorded by several Medina scholars of the same time (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 219 sq.) but nothing of them has survived to us. The success of the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* is due to the fact that it always takes an average view on disputed points.

In transmitting the *Muwaṭṭaʿ*, Mālik did not make a definitive text, either oral or by *munāwala*, to be disseminated; on the contrary, the different *riwāya*'s (recensions) of his work in places differ very much (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 222). The reason for this, besides the fact that in those days very little stress was laid on accurate literal repetition of such texts and great liberty was taken by the transmitters (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 221), lies probably in the fact that Mālik did not always give exactly the same form to the same lectures in different "classes". But the name *Muwaṭṭaʿ*, which certainly goes back to Mālik himself, and is found in all recensions is a guarantee that Mālik wanted to create a "work" in the later sense of the term, although of course the stories which make Mālik talk of his writings reflect the conditions of a later period. In later times the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* was regarded by many as canonical (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 213, 265 sq.; al-Suyūṭī, p. 47) and numerous legends deal with its origin (al-Suyūṭī, p. 42 sqq.).

Fifteen recensions in all of the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* are known, only two of which still survive in their entirety, while some five were studied in the iiith/ivth centuries A. H. in Spain (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 222, note 2 and 4) and twelve were still available to al-Rudānī (d. 1094) (Heffening, *Fremdenrecht*, p. 144, note 1):

a. the vulgate of the work transmitted by Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Maṣmūdī (d. 234), often printed, e.g. Delhi 1216, 1296 (without isnads, with Hindustānī translation and commentary), 1307, 1308, Cairo 1279—1280 (with the commentary of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Zurkānī, d. 1122), Lahore 1889, Tunis 1280; numerous commentaries, editions and synopses; cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 176; Ahlwardt, *Katalog Berlin*, 1145; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy al-Lakhnawī (Introduction to the edition of the recension *b*), Lucknow 1297, p. 21 sqq.; al-Suyūṭī, p. 3 and passim (work of al-Fāfiḳī), p. 57 (on Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr) and p. 58 (chief passage); Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 230, note 2; Schacht, *Abh. Preuss. Ak.*, 1928, No. 2 c; and al-Suyūṭī, *Isʿāf al-Mubawṭaʿ bi-Riḍāʾ al-Muwaṭṭaʿ*, Delhi 1320 and

Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Patnī, *Madjmaʿ Biḥār al-Anwār*, Lucknow 1283;

b. the recension of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī (d. 189) which is also an edition and critical development of Mālik's work, as al-Shaibānī at the end of most chapters gives his own views and that of Abū Ḥanifa on the questions discussed, sometimes with very full reasonings; often printed e.g. Lahore 1211—1213 (with Hindustānī translation and notes), Ludhiana 1291, 1292, 1293, Lucknow 1297 (with introduction and commentary by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy al-Lakhnawī), Kasan 1910 (do.); several commentaries; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*; Schacht, *op. cit.*, No. 2, 2a, 2b; and the works quoted under a.

On the relation of these *riwāyas* to one another cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 223 sqq.

c. The quotations from the recension of ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197) which are preserved in the two fragments of al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb Iḥṭilāf al-Fuḳahāʾ* (ed. Kern, Cairo 1902, and Schacht, *op. cit.*, No. 22) are fairly comprehensive; this *riwāya* follows that of Yahyā b. Yahyā quite closely.

The other recensions of the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* are given by al-Lakhnawī, *op. cit.*, p. 18 sqq.; further lists of transmitters of the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* are given in al-Suyūṭī, p. 48, 51 and in al-Nawawī.

2. Whether Mālik composed other works besides the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* is doubtful (the statements in the *Fihrist*, p. 199, 9 sq., which speak of a number of writings by Mālik are quite vague and uncertain). The books ascribed to him fall into two groups: legal and otherwise. Among the legal we read of a *Kitāb al-Sunan* or *al-Sunna* (*Fihrist*, p. 199, 9, 16) transmitted by Ibn Wahb or by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī, a *Kitāb al-Manāsik* (al-Suyūṭī, p. 40), a *Kitāb al-Muḍjālasāt*, transmitted by Ibn Wahb (*ibid.*), a *Risāla fi ʿl-Aḳḍiya*, transmitted by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Djalil (*ibid.*, p. 41) and a *Risāla fi ʿl-Fatwā*, transmitted by Khalid b. Nazzār and Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif (*ibid.*). The genuineness of all these is, however, uncertain and even if they go back to Mālik's immediate pupils (sometimes they are actually attributed to the latter; cf. al-Lakhnawī, *op. cit.*, p. 19) Mālik's own share in them would be still uncertain. A book (Gotha 1143) said to have been transmitted by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī and heard by him along with Ibn Wahb and Ibn al-Ḳāsim is certainly apocryphal and besides does not pretend to give any utterances of Mālik himself.

Of other titles are mentioned a *Tafsir*, a *Risāla fi ʿl-Ḳadar wa ʿl-Radd ʿala ʿl-Ḳadariya*, a *Kitāb al-Nuḍjūm* and a *Kitāb al-Sirr* (al-Suyūṭī, p. 40 sq.) which are in the usual style of the apocryphal literature. The suspicion of falsity is also strong in the case of the *Risāla* containing advice to the caliph al-Raṣhid, mentioned as early as the *Fihrist* alongside of the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* (printed Būlak 1311; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*) which look like a Mālikī counterpart of the *Kitāb al-Kharāj* of Abū Yūsuf: even al-Suyūṭī doubted its genuineness, although for reasons which are not convincing to us.

3. There are two other main sources for Mālik's teaching (setting aside the later accounts of the doctrine of the Mālikī madhhab):

The more important is the *al-Mudawwana al-Kubrā* of Ṣaḥnūn (d. 240) which contains replies by Ibn Ḳāsim (d. 191) according to the school of Mālik or according to his own *raʾy* to questions of Ṣaḥnūn as well as traditions and opinions of

Ibn Wahb (d. 197) (cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Heffening, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Krenkow, in the article SAHNŪN).

Al-Ṭabarī who in his *Kitāb Iḥṭilāf al-Fuḥalā* has preserved fragments of the *Muwattaʾ*-recension of Ibn Wahb (cf. above), also quotes frequently traditions and opinions of Mālik in his commentary on the Qurʾān on the "legal" verses.

IV. Mālik's position in the history of Fiqh

Mālik represents, in time, a stage in the development of Fiqh in which the reasoning is not yet thorough and fundamental but only occasional and for a special purpose, in which the legal thought of Islām has not yet become jurisprudence and, in place, Medina where the decisive foundations of Muslim law were laid down. One of the main objects in the juristic thought that appears in the *Muwattaʾ* is the permeation of the whole legal life by religious and moral ideas. This characteristic of the formation of legal ideas in early Islām is very clear, not only in the method of putting questions but in the structure of the legal material itself. The legal material, having in itself no connection with religion, that has to be permeated by religious and moral points of view, is the customary law of Medina, by no means primitive but adapted to the demands of a highly developed trading community, which for us is the principal representative of old Arabian customary law: it appears in Mālik sometimes as *sunna* "use and wont", sometimes it is concealed under the Medina *idjmāʿ* which he ascertains with great care; broadly speaking this only means that objections on religious grounds have not been raised by anyone against a principle etc. of customary law. The older jurisprudence had another main object: the formation of a system which sets out from principles of a more general character, which aim at the formation of legal conceptions in contrast to the prevailing casuistry and is to some extent rounded off in a codification, if still a loose one, of the whole legal material.

While the islamisation of the law had been already concluded in its essential principles before Mālik, many generations had still to work at its systematisation; therefore Mālik's own legal achievement can only have consisted in the development of the formation of a system. How great his share in it was cannot be ascertained with certainty from the lack of material for comparison. The surprising success achieved by the *Muwattaʾ* of Mālik out of a number of similar works, would in any case be completely explained by the fact that it recorded the usual consensus of opinion in Medina without any considerable work of the author's own and came to be regarded as authoritative as the expression of compromise (just as the works on Tradition came to be regarded as canonical). The *Muwattaʾ* would in this case have to be regarded less as evidence of Mālik's individual activity than as evidence of the stage reached in the general development of law in his time. It may be said that this average character was just what Mālik aimed at (cf. Sect. iii. 1).

The high estimation in which Mālik is held in the older sources is justified by his strict criticism of Ḥadīth and not by his activity in the interest of Fiqh (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2484, 2492; al-Samʿānī; al-Nawawī; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 147, 168; do., *Zāhiriten*, p. 230); even this only means that

with his ḥadīths he kept within the later consensus. That al-Shāfiʿi devoted special attention to him out of all the Medina scholars (cf. his *Kitāb Iḥṭilāf Mālik wa l-Shāfiʿi*) is explained by the fact that he was a disciple of his.

As to the style of legal reasoning found in the *Muwattaʾ*, Ḥadīth is not by any means the highest or only court of appeal for Mālik; on the one hand he gives the *ʿamal*, the actual undoubted practice in Medina, the preference over traditions, when these differ (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2505 sq.) and on the other hand in cases where neither Medina tradition nor Medina *idjmāʿ* existed, he laid down the law independently; in other words he exercises *raʾy*, and to such an extent that he is occasionally reproached with *taʿarruk*, agreement with the ʿIrākīs (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 217; do., *Zāhiriten*, p. 4 sq., 20, note 1). According to a later anti-*raʾy* legend, he is said to have repented of it on his deathbed (Ibn Khallikān). It is scarcely to be supposed that he had diverged seriously from his Medina contemporaries in the results of his *raʾy*.

V. Mālik's Pupils

The Mālikī Madhhab

In the strict sense Mālik no more formed a school than did Abū Ḥanīfa; evidence of this is found in the oldest names *Ahl al-Ḥidjāz* and *Ahl al-ʿIrāk* resp., compared for example with *Aṣḥāb al-Shāfiʿi*. These names at once indicate the probable origin of the Mālikī madhhab; after a regular Shāfiʿi school had been formed, which in view of al-Shāfiʿi's personal achievement, is quite intelligible in the development of Fiqh (cf. Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, p. 76, 80 sq.), it became necessary for the two older great schools of Fiqh, whose difference was probably originally the result of geographical conditions in the main, also to combine to form a regular school, when a typical representative of the average views like Mālik or Abū Ḥanīfa was regarded as head. In the case of Mālik the high personal esteem, which he must have enjoyed even in his life-time (cf. Sect. II) no doubt contributed to this also. But it is to his pupils that his elevation to the head of a school is mainly due. Traces of this process are still to be found in the varying classification of old jurists as of the Ḥidjāz school or as independent mudjtahids (cf. also *Fihrist*, p. 199, 22).

Among Mālik's pupils and companions who soon became known as Mālikīs may be mentioned: al-Laith b. Saʿd (d. 161 or 165 or 175), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Kāsim (d. 191), ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197), Maʿn b. ʿĪsā (d. 198), Ashhab b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 204), ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 212), ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 214), ʿAbd Allāh al-Kaʿnabī (d. 221), Ismāʿīl b. Uwais (d. 226) and his brother Abū Bakr, Sahnūn (d. 240). Sahnūn was too late to hear Mālik himself; with him the formation of the Mālikī madhhab is already concluded.

Of the later Mālikī Fiqh literature two short compendia attained special fame as text-books: the *Risāla* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Zaid al-Kairawānī (d. 386) whom the author of the *Fihrist* mentions as an important contemporary (p. 201, 12) and the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Ishāq (d. 767); numerous commentaries on and editions of both exist and they have also been discussed in Euro-

pean languages (cf. *Bibl.*). Their importance has sometimes been exaggerated in Europe; development did not stop with them (cf. Pröbster, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xlii. 422 sqq.; Pröbster deals with an important later jurist in *Islamica*, ii. 430 sqq.). His immediate pupils are not to be regarded as opponents of *ra'y* any more than Mālik, and the Mālikī madhhab is not at all more conservative or traditionalist than the Ḥanafī for example (B. Ducati in *Islamica*, iii. 214 sqq., even endeavours to show that it is the most juridical of the Muslim schools of law).

The Mālikī madhhab spread mainly in the west of the Muslim world; after it had succeeded in driving out the madhhab of al-Awzā'ī and the Zāhir school, it prevailed not only in the Maghrib (Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, including Muslim Spain) but in all the rest of Africa, so far as it has adopted Islām. The Mālikī school has many followers in Egypt: in Upper Egypt it occupies about the same position as the Shāfi'ī in Lower Egypt. This geographical distribution seems to go back to corresponding conditions existing before the formation of the madhhabs. Particularly ardent or successful disseminators of Mālik's teaching were 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (d. 238 or 239) and Ismā'īl b. Ishāq (d. 282; *Fihrist*, p. 200, 3) but there must also have been earlier scholars for whose time the existence of a regular school is doubtful.

Bibliography: On Mālik's life: Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 250, 290; al-Tabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, Index, s.v.; *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 198; al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, G.M.S., xx. 41^a; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o 560; al-Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 530; de Goeje, *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, Index, s.v.; al-Suyūṭī, *Taz-yīn al-Mamālik*, in: Ibn al-Kāsim, *al-Mudawwana*, vol. i., Cairo 1324; 'Isā b. Mas'ūd al-Zawāwī, *Manāḳib Saiyidnā al-Imām Mālik*, *ibid.*; the further *Manāḳib* and Mālikī *Ṭabaqāt*-literature; a modern list by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaiy al-Lakhnawī in the introduction to his edition of the *Muwatta'* of al-Shaibānī (cf. above iii. 1b).

On Mālik's writings: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 175; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 213 sqq.; al-Lakhnawī, *op. cit.*

On Mālik's position in the history of Fikḥ: Bergsträsser, *Isl.*, xiv. 76 sqq.; Goldziher, *op. cit.*

The older Mālikīs are given in *Fihrist*, p. 199 sqq. Of the Mālikī *Ṭabaqāt*-works there have been printed e.g. *al-Dibāj* of Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799) along with the *Takmil al-Dibāj* of Aḥmad Baba (d. 1032), Fez 1898 and *Nail al-Itihādī bi-Taṭrīz al-Dibāj* of the same Aḥmad Baba, Fez 1317 (cf. Fagnan, in *Festschrift Codera*, p. 105). On individual Mālikī jurists cf. the articles on them. On the spread of the Mālikīs: Aḥmad Paṣha Taimūr, *Naḡara tārīkhīya fī Ḥudūd al-Madhāhib al-arba'a*, Cairo 1344; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 28; do., *Handleiding*³, p. 21; Ibn Farḥūn, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Bergsträsser, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1914, p. 410 sq.

Discussion of the Mālikī teaching in European languages (some further references): Perron, *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane* (transl. of the *Mukhtaṣar* with extracts from the commentaries), 1848; Sautayra-Cherbon-

bonneau, *Du Statut personnel et des Successions* (based on the *Mukhtaṣar*; the commentary takes note of modern decisions), 1873; 'Abd al-Rahīm, *The Principles of Mohammedan Jurisprudence*, 1911 (Italian by Cimino, 1922); al-Ḳairawānī, *Risāla*, transl. by E. Fagnan, 1914; Ruxton, *Mālikī Law* (synopsis of French transl. of the *Mukhtaṣar*), 1916; Khālil b. Ishāq, *Mukhtaṣar*, transl. and annot. by J. Guidi and D. Santillana (Italian), 1919; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, 1926; Russell-Suhrawardy, *A Manual of the Law of Marriage, from the Mukhtaṣar*.

(J. SCHACHT)

MĀLIK B. 'AWF, a contemporary of Muḥammad, called al-Naṣrī, to distinguish him from several men of the same circle in his time, and also because he traced his descent through Naṣr b. Mu'āwiya to the eponymous ancestor of the powerful Ḳaisī tribe of the Banū Hawāzin. We know very little about his history previous to the day of Ḥunain [q.v.] to which he owes his dubious fame. We may assume that he early found opportunities to display his personal bravery. He was still *amrad*, "beardless" (*Aghānī*, xix. 81) — that is, barely out of his first years of adolescence — when he commanded a detachment of the Hawāzin in the Fidjār [q.v.] war.

This distinction he perhaps also owed to the consideration which his clan, the Banū Naṣr b. Mu'āwiya, enjoyed among the Banū Hawāzin. Allies of the tribe of Ṭaḳīf (*Aghānī*, xii. 46), the Banū Naṣr found themselves in the same position with regard to the latter and the town of Ṭā'if as the *Aḥābiṣh* with respect to the Ḳuraish and Mecca. They supplied mercenaries to Ṭā'if and were given the task of defending the town and protecting against the depredations of marauders the fine gardens that covered the Ṭaḳāfi territory. Their relations were, as a rule, peaceful and friendly, but occasionally it happened that the anarchical instincts of the Beduins gaining the upper hand drove them to encroach on the domain of their allies, the citizens of Ṭā'if. This situation enables us to understand how in the struggle that was about to develop against Islām, the Ṭā'ifis were ready to march under the banner of a Beduin generalissimo.

In the year 8, Muḥammad at the head of a strong force was preparing to attack Mecca. This news disturbed the people who lived on the hills of the Sarāt. They asked themselves, if, once master of Mecca, the Prophet would not be tempted to invade their country. It was then that Mālik b. 'Awf succeeded in combining for their joint defence the majority of the Ḳaisī tribes, settled in the frontiers of Naḡd and of the Ḥidjāz. The Ṭaḳāfis joined their forces to those of their Hawāzinī allies. The only result was the defeat at Ḥunain. The commander-in-chief Mālik had had the unfortunate idea of bringing the women, children and flocks along with the actual combatants. The whole of this enormous booty fell into the hands of the Muslims.

The defeated side did not distinguish themselves by bravery on the battlefield; the tradition of the Banū Hawāzin attempts the impossible when it endeavours to hide this failure and save Mālik's reputation. After the debacle, he is said to have bravely sacrificed himself to cover the retreat of his comrades-in-arms. This same tradition attributes

to him a series of poetical improvisations on this occasion, in which, after the fashion of the old Beduin paladins he explains and excuses his flight.

The defeated leader tried to make a stand at Liya, a few hours south of Tā'if where he had a *ḥuṣn*. What was a *ḥuṣn*? In Medina at the time of the Hijra the name was given to an enclosure commanded by an *uṭum* or tower. Mālik's had probably only brick walls like the little strongholds in Yemen described by the geographer Maḳdisī (*Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim*, ed. de Goeje, p. 84). A century ago, the traveller Maurice Tamisier (*Voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1840, ii. 5) passing through Liya saw there "une forteresse flanquée de tours" intended, as in the days of Mālik, to guard the road. In any case, whatever the strength of the little building, Muḥammad easily destroyed it. When Mālik learned of the approach of the Muslims, he thought it prudent to seek refuge behind the ramparts of Tā'if.

In the interval all the booty taken by the Muslims at Hunain had been collected in the camp at *Djifrāna* including Mālik's family and flocks. To the Hawāzin deputies sent to negotiate the ransom of the prisoners, Muḥammad said: "If Mālik comes to embrace Islām, I shall return him his family and property with the addition of a gift of a hundred camels". Whatever the decision adopted by Mālik, this declaration could not fail to compromise him with the *Thaḳafis*. He rightly recognised that his position in Tā'if had become untenable. He succeeded in escaping from the town and presented his submission to Muḥammad who fulfilled his promise to the letter. Mālik then pronounced the Muḥammadan confession of faith and, to use the traditional formula, "his Islām was of good quality".

The new proselyte had extensive connections and was remarkably well acquainted with the *Thaḳafī* region. The Prophet was glad to use him against Tā'if which he had been unable to take by force. He put Mālik at the head of the *Kaisi* tribes who had adopted Islām. Mālik therefore organised a guerilla war against his old allies in *Thaḳif*. No caravan could leave Tā'if without being intercepted by Mālik's men. Exhausted by this unceasing struggle, the *Thaḳafis* decided to sue for terms. Mālik then became the representative of the Prophet among the Banū Hawāzin, and the caliph, Abū Bakr, later confirmed him in the office. He took part in the wars of conquest, and was at the taking of Damascus and the victory of Kādisiya in the *Irāk*.

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(H. LAMMENS)

MĀLIK B. NUWĀIRA, chief of the Banū Yarbū', a considerable clan of the Banū Ḥanzala, who were in turn a branch of the confederation of the Banū Tamim [q. v.]. His liberality, magnanimity and especially his courage had earned him a great reputation before the Hijra. His contem-

poraries said that in the last respect he was without a peer. There was a proverbial saying: *fatā wa-lā ka-mālik*, "a hero no doubt, but not comparable to Mālik". His fame, however, came principally from the impression made by his tragic death and from the collection of elegies, which his brother Mutammim [q. v.] devoted to him.

Along with several other Tamimī notables he embraced Islām in the lifetime of Muḥammad. In return the latter appointed him to collect the canonical taxes, *ṣadaḳāt*, from among of his fellow-tribesmen. By giving him an appointment like this the Prophet hoped to bring him definitely to his side. The death of the Prophet and the incident of the *ridḍa* [q. v.] served to show the foolishness of this hope. Like most of the nomads, Mālik had joined Islām as a political organisation, having clearly made up his mind that he would not be absorbed by it to the extent of sacrificing the independence of his tribe and his own prerogatives.

When the Muslims, or more accurately the *Kuraish*, of Medina gave their votes for Abū Bakr, Mālik refused to recognize the validity of this election which had been carried through without his participation in it. He argued for the strictly personal character of the *bai'a*, as the Beduins interpreted it. He explained himself in verse, for he was also a poet: — "If the thing turns out badly, we shall bring a remedy, crying: — long live the faith of Muḥammad!". He did not stop at this but passing from words to deeds, he divided among the Tamimīs the taxes which had been collected. An even graver step, he next plundered a caravan which was taking to Medina the contributions of those nomads who had remained loyal. Then — an eminently Beduin trait — he celebrated in verse this strange exploit, which was equivalent to a declaration of war. He finally compromised himself completely by joining his cause with that of the prophetess Sadjāh [q. v.].

In Medina, Abū Bakr had at first to shut his eyes to these things. But as soon as he felt himself master of the situation, he decided to act vigorously. Khālīd b. al-Walīd was sent against the secessionists. His orders were to spare only those who declared themselves Muslims. The individualism of the Beduins singularly facilitated the task. He attacked separately the tribes, who were divided or hesitating, and succeeded without difficulty in defeating the rebels in small sections. Thus he came to the Banū Tamim. The chiefs were suspicious of one another and declined to combine for joint action. Surprised by Khālīd and finding himself almost alone, Mālik had to refrain from fighting forces so markedly superior to his. He surrendered on an assurance that his life would be spared and finally declared himself a Muslim.

The prisoners including Mālik were, nevertheless, executed with refinements of cruelty. It was said there had been some misunderstanding of Khālīd's orders for which dialectic differences were to blame; so say those authors who feel the need of exculpating Khālīd. It was by no means the first action of the kind of the impetuous Maḳhzūmī. Did he want to get rid of a rival or deal the last blow to a rebellion by sacrificing, even against the laws of nations and his own orders, a person so highly esteemed as the chief of the Yarbū'? As he had been anxious to marry Lailā, the vivacious wife of Mālik, he was credited with the first aim. 'Omar demanded that the

faithless leader should be dismissed and brought to judgment, but Abū Bakr refused. "Never", he replied, "shall I put back in the scabbard a sword which Allāh has brought out of it". The elegies on Mālik by Mutammim remained celebrated in literary tradition. "No dead man", said the Arabs, "was ever lamented as Mālik was by Mutammim".

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(H. LAMMENS)

MĀLIK AL-ṬĀ'Ī, Abū Walid Mālik b. Abi 'l-Samh, was one of the great singers and composers of the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd period. He was born during the reign of Mu'āwīya I (40—60 = 660—680) in the land of the Ṭai', his father belonging to the Banū Thu'l, a branch of the Ṭai', whilst his mother came from the Banū Makhzūm. In this way Mālik could claim to be one of the aristocracy of Islām, and as a child he was adopted by 'Abdallāh b. Dja'far, the famous art patron of Madīna, and was given a good education. In the year 64 (684), he became enamoured with the singing of the celebrated Ma'bad [q. v.] whom he heard at the house of Ḥamza b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair, and the event changed his whole career. Taking lessons from Ma'bad and Djamīla [q. v.] in singing, he soon astonished everyone by his abilities, and he became very popular with the aristocracy. He thus came to be recognised as a professional musician, for indeed his protector, 'Abdallāh b. Dja'far, had made his house a veritable conservatory of music (al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, v. 385, text). On the death of 'Abdallāh b. Dja'far, Mālik attached himself to Sulaimān b. 'Alī the Ḥāshimite. In spite of this however (cf. *J. A.*, Nov.—Dec., 1873, p. 499), Mālik was favoured by the Umayyads Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid b. Yazīd. On the accession of the 'Abbāsīds (132 = 750) Sulaimān was appointed governor of the Lower Tigris, and Mālik accompanied him to his seat at Baṣra. After a short stay in this city, Mālik returned to Madīna, where he died over eighty years of age about the year 137 (754).

Mālik was certainly a fine singer. In one place in the *Aghānī* at least (i. 98; cf. ii. 127), he is mentioned as one of the "four great singers", by no less an authority than Ishāk al-Mawṣilī, although the latter in another place ranks him after Ibn Suraidj, Ibn Muḥriz, Ma'bad, and al-Ḡharīd (*Aghānī*, ii. 151). He was apparently not an original composer but a good adapter it would seem (*Aghānī*, i. 173; xiii. 64). Certainly, he was at a disadvantage in not being a performer on the lute (*ūd*), and Ma'bad had to correct his compositions for him.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, ed. Bulāk, iv. 168—175; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Ikd al-farīd*, Cairo 1887—1888, iii. 187; Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, p. 17; *J. A.*, Nov.—Dec., 1873, p. 497—500; al-Buḥārī, *Dirwān*, Constantinople 1300, ii. 193; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, vi. 10.

(H. G. FARMER)

MALIKSHĀH B. ALP ARSLĀN ABU 'L-FATĤ, Saldjūk Sultān (465—485 = 1072—92), born on the 9th or 19th Djumādā I, 447 (Rāwandī and *Lubb al-Tawārīkh* wrongly 445) = Aug 6th or 16th, 1055. He accompanied his father on his last campaign into Transoxania and homage was at once paid to him as Sultān by the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk and the Turkish amīrs on Alp Arslān's death. His uncle Kāwurd [q. v.], the ruler of Kirmān, was not satisfied with this, however, because he thought that, as the oldest member of the family, he had the best claim to the throne and set out with his troops for Hamadhān. When attacked by Malikshāh they made but feeble resistance. Kāwurd himself was captured and later strangled (April 1078). Malikshāh then returned to Transoxania by forced marches for the Khakān of Samarqand, Shams al-Mulk, on hearing of the death of Alp Arslān, had seized the opportunity to occupy Tirmidh and even Balkh had opened its gates to him. The Saldjūk governor Ayāz, a brother of Alp Arslān, happened to be away at the time and when he hurried back, he suffered a terrible defeat and died soon afterwards. Shams al-Mulk, however, did not dare to risk another breach with Malikshāh, so the latter re-occupied Tirmidh and proceeded to Samarqand. The Khakān thereupon submitted; Balkh and Ṭokhāristān were granted to Malikshāh's brother Takash. These campaigns prevented the Sultān from going at once to Baghdād to receive the homage of the Caliph in person, and an ambassador was sent to carry through the ceremony. The Caliph was quite ready to do so, and gave the Sultān the honorific titles of Djalāl al-Dawla, Mu'izz al-Dīn, Kāsim Amīr al-Mu'minin. Our sources are silent about the happenings of the next few years; it is not till 472 that we hear of a campaign against Kirmān, which, however, came to a peaceful termination for Sultānshāh, Kāwurd's son, submitted to the Sultān and was confirmed by him in the hereditary possession of this province. In Ibn al-Kalānisi (ed. Amedroz, p. 115), we are told that in 475 Malikshāh came to Ḥalab, but Ibn al-Aṭhīr and the other sources accessible to me make no reference to this. At this time the Sultān made the mistake of discharging 7,000 of his soldiers, although the vizier advised him against it, pointing out that if these men were deprived of their livelihood, they would in desperation become robbers or rebels and a public danger. This is what actually happened. The men went to Takash and he thought that with their help he was strong enough to rebel against his brother. He took several towns and was preparing to occupy all Khorāsān so that Malikshāh was forced to take the field against him. Takash then retired to Tirmidh, and submitted when besieged there; on this occasion he was pardoned, but when he again rebelled without success a few years later (477 = 1084), he was blinded and thrown into prison in Takrit. In 479 (1086) Malikshāh left Iṣfahān which he had made his capital and went via al-Mawṣil, Ḥarrān, al-Ruhā and Kal'at Dja'bar to Ḥalab. His object was to establish and re-organise Saldjūk rule securely in these places, but one great inducement for this campaign was that the commander of Ḥalab had appealed to Malikshāh because he was threatened by the latter's brother Tutush [q. v.]. The latter had conquered the Saldjūk ruler of Asia Minor, Sulaimān b. Ḳutulmish [q. v.], and was trying to

bring Ḥalab under his rule also, but retired when he heard of the approach of Malikshāh. The town was granted to Aḥsonkor, father of Zangī, another general Burān received al-Ruhā and Yaghisiyān, Antākiya which had just been retaken from Sulaimān while Sulaimān's son Kīlīdj Arslān [q. v.] who was still a youth was taken back by the Sultān to the ʿIrāk. There was no further campaign in Asia Minor, Malikshāh left the war against the Byzantines to be conducted by the above mentioned amirs, to whom should be added Burşuk, although the author of the *Zubdat al-Tawārikh* makes him besiege Constantinople in person. The fiction narrated in the *Taʾrikh-i Guzida* and in Mirkh̄wānd is well known, according to which Malikshāh was taken prisoner by the Byzantines without their recognizing him, and only regained his liberty by the stratagem of the vizier, Nizām al-Mulk. The story in al-Bondārī is more credible that the Byzantines had to pay the Sultān an annual tribute of 300,000 dinārs plus a lump sum of 30,000 dinārs. On his return from Ḥalab, Malikshāh visited Baghdād for the first time and he was received in ceremonial audience by the Caliph al-Muqtadī bi-Amr Allāh. The latter had previously in 474 sought a daughter of the Sultān in marriage but as she had been then still a child, the opportunity was now taken to conclude the matrimonial alliance. The wedding took place next year with great splendour and amid the jubilation of the people of Baghdād. The chroniclers give a full account of it and give no hint that this marriage was soon to be a source of trouble to the Caliph as well as to the Sultān. Before we deal with that, it must be mentioned that in 482 (1089) Malikshāh undertook a second campaign against Bukhāra, Samarqand and Qashghar as a result of the tyrannical conduct of the young prince Aḥmad, a nephew of Shams al-Mulk who was now dead. He gained great successes, took Aḥmad back a prisoner to the ʿIrāk and then forced the ruler of Qashghar to recognize Saldjūk suzerainty. Later however, he allowed Aḥmad to return to his kingdom and resume his rule, probably at the intercession of his wife Tārkan Khatun (so to be read, not Turkan Khatun) who was Aḥmad's aunt. On these incidents, cf. Barthold *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 316 sqq. Towards the end of the reign of Malikshāh the Saldjūk empire thus reached its greatest extent, especially when in 485 some Turkish amirs were sent even so far as Yaman, who subdued the land for the Sultān, temporarily only, it is true.

As regards the internal administration of the country, the Sultān left this in the hands of his vizier, Nizām al-Mulk, who was given unlimited power by him at the very beginning of his reign, which he wielded till his death, although as a result of his great age his prestige began to decline towards the end of the reign of Malikshāh and to be threatened by intrigues in the palace. His services will be appreciated in the article NIZĀM AL-MULK; here it is sufficient to characterize his policy briefly, which was to restore the dominion of orthodox Islām under its supreme head, the Caliph, with the help of the sword of the Saldjūks. He had, therefore, to do all he could to maintain harmony between the Sultān and the Caliph, but the course of events led to a breach between the two. Malikshāh had several sons by his wife Zubaida Khatun, and the eldest, Aḥmad, had been desig-

nated successor to the throne but died in 481 (1088). The obvious thing was for Prince Barkiyārūk to take his place as was desired by Nizām al-Mulk and the Turkish amirs but Malikshāh had in the meanwhile married another wife, the Princess Tārkan Khatun, who made every effort to secure the throne for her son Maḥmūd born in 480. Malikshāh, however, was more anxious about his daughter who had married the Caliph, for she was unhappy in Baghdād and complained of being neglected by her husband, so that finally the Sultān demanded that she should be sent home with the little son whom she had borne to the Caliph. She, therefore, returned to her father but died soon afterwards in 482; her son Djaʿfar however, became his grandfather's pet and he gave him the name of "Little Commander of the Faithful" in the hope that he would one day bear this title in reality. At the same time he decided to make Baghdād his winter capital and had extensive building operations carried out in the N. E. of the town when he was there in the winter of 1091/92, including a great mosque, the Djamīʿ al-Sultān; he also ordered Nizām al-Mulk and his amirs to build residences for themselves there. During this period the great amirs from the west, Aḥsonkor, Tutush etc., had come to Baghdād, great hunts and other pleasure parties were held, but the Caliph was completely ignored. When in the autumn of 1092 he was on his way from Iṣfahān to Baghdād for the third time, the aged vizier Nizām al-Mulk was stabbed by a *ḥidwāʾi* at Sahna. It was now for the first time apparent how much the existence of the Saldjūk empire depended on this one man, for when the Sultān and his wife were no longer guided by his advice, they committed the gravest errors, which were very soon to plunge themselves and their empire into destruction. Scarcely had the Sultān arrived in Baghdād than, with the intention of making his grandson Caliph, — which was contrary to Muḥammadan law as he was a minor — he announced to Muqtadī that he must at once abdicate and leave the town. With difficulty the Caliph obtained a few days respite which he was spending in prayer and fasting, when suddenly the news came that the Sultān was dead. The exact date is not certain but it was about the middle of Shawwāl 485 (middle of November 1092). He was said to have caught a severe fever while out hunting, which they attempted to cure without success by bleeding, and he died soon afterwards. But it can hardly be doubted that he was poisoned, as some writers expressly state (cf. Houtsma, in *Journal of Indian History*, Sept. 1924, p. 147 sqq.). The usual funeral ceremonies were not held; the body was sent to Iṣfahān and buried there. The Caliph had no difficulty in coming to terms with Tārkan Khatun; he offered to recognize her young son Maḥmūd as Sultān, if she would hand over to him his own son, the Sultān's grandson. This was done. The little "Commander of the Faithful" died the very next year, when the course of events took a disastrous turn for the Caliph and Tārkan Khatun with the rise of Barkiyārūk. The tragic deaths of the Sultān and his vizier were celebrated in verse by Muʿizzī; cf. Schefer, *Siasetnameh*, suppl., p. 62 sq.

Malikshāh's was a highly honourable character, he was loyal to his relatives and to his servants, brave, just and gentle. His rule is, therefore, much praised by Christian as well as Muslim

authors, but he was uncultured and owed to his vizier the reputation of a patron of learning, whose name is associated with a reform of the calendar [cf. the article *DJALĪL*], and with certain new legislation; cf. *al-Mas'āl al-Malikshāhiya*, in *Urāda fi Hikāyat al-Saljdjūkiya*, ed. Süsseheim, p. 69 sq. His connection with the *Risāla-i Malikshāhiya*, a geographical work used by Hamd Allah Muṣṭawfī, is unknown but it was certainly not written by the Sulṭān himself, as Ḥājjidjī Khalifa says (s. v.).

The name Malikshāh was further borne by: 1. Malikshāh, the infant son of Barkiyārūk, who after the death of his father in 1104 held the title of Sulṭān for a short time, but had soon to give way to his uncle Muḥammad. 2. Malikshāh b. Maḥmūd who, after the death of his uncle Maṣ'ūd in 1152 became Sulṭān, but after a few months was thrown into prison as he was quite an incapable ruler, escaped from confinement, spent some time in Khorāsān and died in 1160. We also find individuals of this name among the Saljdjūks of Rūm and Syria and among the Khwārizmshāhs.

Bibliography: cf. the article *SALDJŪKS*.

The best sketch of the character and reign of Malikshāh is in the article on him by Ibn Khallikān, who had taken many of his facts from a history by al-Hamdḥānī (MS. of vol. i. till the year 367 in Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, No. 1469). (M. TH. HOUTSMA)

MALTA, the chief island of the Maltese archipelago (Malta, Gozo, Comino, Cominotto, Filfolā and minor rocks), inhabited in ancient times by a Mediterranean race, whose megalithic monuments are preserved at Hagiar Kim ("standing stones"), Hal Tarxen and Hal Safiieni. It was colonized very early, certainly before the xth century B.C., by the Phoenicians, and formed a base for their trading ships.

It is not certain that the name of Malta is derived from the Phoenician, while the Phoenician origin of Gaulos (Gozo), meaning "a merchant boat of round shape", seems certain.

The Carthaginians became masters of the island in the viith—viiith century B.C., and kept it four or five centuries. The Romans conquered it in 218 B.C., and for the next ten centuries Malta remained under Roman and Greek influence, being situated near Eastern Sicily. Gozo had only Greek coins, and Greek and Roman coins in great number were minted in Malta. Very early, with St. Paul in the first century, the island was converted to Christianity; during the Western Empire's decay the Byzantines established themselves in it; after their conquest of Northern Africa the possession of Malta became indispensable to them.

The Muslim conquest of Malta is usually ascribed to the year 256 (869—870); in reality it was occupied long before. Ibn al-Aṭhīr informs us that in 221 (835—836), the Aghlabid Ibrāhīm "despatched a fleet against the islands"; we have every reason for believing that he refers to the islands between Africa and Sicily, comprising the Maltese islands. Further when Ibn al-Aṭhīr speaks of an army sent to Malta from Sicily in 256, he adds that at that moment "the Christians raised the siege". If Malta was besieged, undoubtedly by the Greeks of Byzantium, it may be concluded that it had already been occupied by the Muslims, who probably, having landed in 824 at Mazara, in Sicily, had occupied the Maltese islands beforehand.

The raids against Sicily and Malta began in the viiith century A.D., and it is not rash to believe that Malta fell before 800 A.D. under Muslim influence. This is also de Goeje's opinion (*Z. D. M. G.*, lviii. 905, note 2).

In Malta the Muslim occupation was certainly more permanent and strongly established than in Sicily; the narrow island was completely subjugated by the conquerors; and this helps us to understand how the Arab-Berber Muslims of Africa succeeded in forcing upon Malta the Arabic language, from which the modern Maltese dialect is derived.

The question of the origin of the Maltese dialect has occasioned many discussions between those who sustained its Phoenician origin (Vassalli, Bres, Bellermann, Cumbo, E. Caruana, Preca) and those who derived it from Arabic (Gesenius, de Sacy, L. Bonelli, Stumme, Nöldeke). The conclusion must be accepted that Maltese is an Arabic dialect, which in some ways shows resemblances to the Eastern Arabic dialects, in many others recalls the Arabic dialects of the Maghrib. Peculiarities of Maltese phonetics are the *imāla* of *ā*, which tends to become *iē* and *ie* (*ye* at the beginning of words, as *yēnā* for *ānā*), the pronunciation of ق as *hamsa*, the existence of *p* and *č* sounds in neo-latin and arabic words; in morphology the use of ن as prefix of the 1st person singular forms the main affinity with the Maghrib dialects. The accent tends to fall towards the beginning of words. In Malta itself are to be found dialectal varieties between town and country; in the country and in Gozo the dialect is nearer the original Arabic, sounds like *kh* and ġ, not heard in Valletta, are noticeable in the Gozo vernacular.

A study of the Maltese lexicon, to show how affinities with Arabic dialects, Eastern and Western, may be explained, and how word-fossils have been preserved in Maltese, is still to be undertaken. The prevalence of the Latin-Italian race and the flourishing of Italian civilization and culture in the island have influenced its dialect, both as to syntax and as to phonetics. The percentage of Latin, or rather Italian, words in spoken Maltese varies according to the degree of individual culture.

The Maltese, up to a few centuries ago, had not chosen any particular alphabet for their dialect, as they did not use it as a written language. In the xviiith century Agius de Soldanis, a Maltese, turned his attention to the dialect and began to study it; since his time several attempts have been made to systematize the writing of Maltese; it was also proposed to use the Arabic alphabet, and a diacritical transliteration, precise and scientific, was tried. In practice the use of the common Latin alphabet, with the modification of some few letters, was continued. The last attempt of this kind, which has not met with public favour nor with the approval of the vernacular press, was that of the *Għaqda tal-kittieba tal-malti* "Association of the writers of Maltese", which has published a small grammar, particularly concerned with the spelling, called *Tagħrif fuq il-kitba maltija*, Malta 1924; the preface mentions the precedent systems of writing Maltese. The same *Għaqda*, in 1925, began to publish a quarterly review called *Il-Malti*; it is mostly concerned with grammatical questions, and has promoted a movement in favour of pure Maltese (*malti safi*).

Since about 1850 the question of the Maltese dialect has also acquired a political character: the English rulers favoured the development of the dialect at the expense of the Italian language (which remains the language of culture, of the Church and of the Bar). Bibliographical information on Maltese literature to about 1900 is to be found in the works of L. Bonelli and H. Stumme.

Besides the Arabic dialect and place-names, the Muslims have left in Malta a few coins and a considerable number of inscriptions on tombstones; one of them, the celebrated inscription called of Maimūna, dated 1173 A.D., was published more than a century ago, and repeatedly studied by orientalisks (Italinski, Lanci, Amari, Nallino etc.); another one, found in Gozo, is to be seen in the Malta Museum; about twenty more have been found in the excavations made in 1922—1925 at Rábato (near the city Notabile); they are preserved in the Museum of the Villa Romana, near the place of excavation.

The Muslims lost Malta in 1090, when the Normans conquered it; they were however allowed to live on the island under the Norman government until 1249. From 1530 to 1798 Malta was the seat of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which the Turks had expelled from Rhodes in 1522. The Order organized there an important war navy. The island was in constant relations with the East and with Barbary; thousands of Muslim slaves were taken to Malta; the Maltese ships had repeated encounters with those of the Porte and of the Levantine and Barbary pirates. The Turks attempted to occupy Malta in 1565, with their well-known expedition which ended in disaster, and again in 1614; more than once they threatened to invade it under Sultan Muḥammad IV.

Considering the Order's relations with the Muslim East and the fact that an important portion of the registers of Rhodes was saved, the importance of the Order's archives for the history of the Mediterranean Levant and of North Africa in the xvth—xviii centuries is easily understood.

A few Arabic MSS. and nautical charts, of no great value, are preserved in the Public Library of Malta and in its Museum.

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MALTHAI, or properly Ma'ALṬHĀYĀ, the Arabic name of two villages in the ḡadā of Duhūk in the old wilāyet of Mawṣil. They are about 40 miles N. N. W. of Mawṣil at the point where the river of Duhūk (left bank tributary of the Tigris) enters the plain, whence the Aramaic name Ma'alṭhā > Malthai, "entrance".

The pass of Ma'alṭhāyā giving access to the country to the south of Lake Van must have played an important part in ancient times. Its importance is indicated by the famous bas-reliefs carved on the rock half an hour's walk to the south of Ma'alṭhāyā. They reproduce the same scene four times: a king standing in an attitude of adoration before a procession of seven gods, six of whom are standing, each on a mythological animal, and the seventh is seated on a throne placed on the back of a lion. There are no inscriptions accompanying them. Since, however, they are evidently connected with the similar bas-reliefs at Bāwīyān (30 miles N. E. of Mawṣil on the Khazir, a right bank tributary of the great Zāb) and these belong to the kings Salmanassar II (860—825 B.C.) and Sennacherib (689—681), it is supposed that the bas-reliefs of Ma'alṭhāyā were also executed in the time of Salmanassar II. The figures of the gods are especially interesting as forming a link between Assyrian and Hittite art.

Among the Nestorian Christians Ma'alṭhā gave its name to a diocese (also called Bēth-Nuhādhrē). A Nestorian bishop of Ma'alṭhā is mentioned as early as the fourth century (Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 52, 210); there are other references to the years 497, 544, 554, 576, 585, 605, 962, 1063, 1074, 1092, 1265 (Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, Paris 1902, Index, and Hoffmann, *o. c.*). In the seventh century the Metropolitan of the Jacobites, Mārūṭha, still numbered among his subordinates a bishop of Ma'alṭhā (Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire grec*, 1904, p. 240). At the present day Ma'alṭhāyā is still inhabited by Nestorians (in part in union with the Catholic Church).

Balādhuri, p. 331, mentions al-Ma'alla (*sic*) among the places in Mawṣil conquered by 'Utba b. Farkād in 20 (641). Muḡaddasī, p. 139, 145—146, talks highly of the wealth of the vicinity of Ma'alṭhāyā in coal, fruits, salt, meat and camphor. He locates the little town on the road from Mawṣil to al-Ḥasanīya (= Zakhō on the little Khābur; cf. M. Hartmann and G. Bell). The importance of this route for communication with the lands of the Kurds is evident from Ibn al-Aṭhīr (viii. 521). Yāqūt, iv. 578, knows Ma'alṭhāyā as a little town (*bulaid*) the name of which is occasionally mentioned in the history of the later period.

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Ninlil, wife of Assur (a lion), Enlil (a horned lion), Sin (a dragon), Shamash (a harnessed horse), Adad (a horned lion and a bull), Ishtar (a lion). According to Thureau-Dangin the bas-reliefs should be attributed to Sennacherib; as to the motif of the mounted gods, usually explained as showing Hittite influence, examples are found in Sumero-Accadian art. Cf. also Bachmann, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien* (Bawian, Malthai und Gundük), publ. by the Deutsche Orient. Gesell., Berlin 1927. (V. MINORSKY)

MĀLŪLĀ, a town in Central Syria north-east of Damascus. It is mentioned as early as Georgios Kyprios (ed. Gelzer, p. 188, N^o. 993) as Μαγλούδων (MSS. μαγλούδων, μαγαυλούδων) κλίμα in Phoinike Libanesia. Yāḳūt also calls Ma'lūla' an *iklīm* (κλίμα) near Dimashḳ with many villages. The modern Ma'lūla, a village of Christians, is picturesquely situated at the west end of a deep ravine of the Antilebanon, which splits into a western and southern arm. "At the entrance to the northern lies the monastery of Mār Taklā built half into the rocks. The two ravines form the way to the other monastery of Mār Serkis, which stands on a rocky plateau above the village". Numerous caves, mostly ancient dwelling-places, have been found on the west and southern corner of the rock on the eastern slopes of which the modern village is built in the form of an amphitheatre. Some Greek inscriptions have been found in the caves (Waddington, *Inscriptions*, N^o. 2563—2565; Moritz, p. 145—147, N^o. 3—8, including one dated 107 and 167 A. D.). Ma'lūla' and the adjoining villages of Bakh'a and Djubb 'Adin are noted for the fact that the Western Aramaic dialect still spoken there represents the last remnants on Syrian soil of the Syriac spoken throughout Palestine and Syria in the time of Christ.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

MĀLWĀ proper is an inland district of India bordered on the south by the Vindhya, and lying between 23° 30' and 24° 30' N. and 74° 30'. To this tract, known in the age of the *Mahābhārata* as Nishadha, and later as Avanti, from the name of its capital, now Ujjāin, was afterwards added Akara, or Eastern Mālwa, with

its capital, Bhilsā, and the country lying between the Vindhya and the Sātpūras. The province formed part of the dominions of the Mauryas, the Western Satraps, the Guptas of Magadha, the White Huns, and the Kingdom of Kanawdj, and then passed to the Mālawa, from whom it has its name. These, when Hinduized formed the Paramāra (Pawar) tribe of Rājput, which bore sway in Mālwa from 800 to 1200, and was overpowered in 1053 by a confederacy of the Čalukyas of Anhilvāda and the Kalačuris of Tripuri. In 1235 Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish of Dihlī captured Ujjāin, demolished the temple of Mahākāl, and sacked Bhilsā. Mālwa became a province of Dihlī, and, with interludes of Hindū revolt, remained so until, in 1392, on the dissolution of the kingdom of Dihlī after Tīmūr's invasion, the Afghan governor, Dilāwar Khān Ghūri, made it an independent kingdom. He was murdered in 1405 by his son Alp Khān, who ascended the throne under the title of Hūshang Shāh. He transferred the capital from Dhār to Māndū [q. v.] and founded Hūshangābād. On his death in 1435 he was succeeded by his son Ghaznī Khān, who, after a reign of a few months, was succeeded by his infant son Mas'ūd Khān. The child was removed by his cousin and guardian, Maḥmūd Khalḍjī, who in 1436 ascended the throne as Maḥmūd I, and whose reign of thirty-three years was the most glorious in the annals of Mālwa. He waged war successfully against the kings of Guḍjarāt, the Dakhan, and Džawnpūr, the small state of Kālpi, and Rānā Kumbha of Čitor; he retired, but without disgrace, before the superior power of Dihlī; and he extended the frontiers of his kingdom on the north, the east, and the south. On his death in 1469 his third son, 'Abd al-Kādir Chiyāth al-Dīn, who succeeded him, surfeited with public business during his father's strenuous reign, retired into his harem and left the administration of the kingdom to his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn, who in 1500 poisoned his father and ascended the throne. Nāṣir al-Dīn met his death in 1510 by falling, in a fit of drunkenness, into a tank or cistern, where his attendants, thankful to be rid of the monster, let him lie. He was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd II, who was as unfortunate in war as the first of that name had been fortunate. With the help of Muzaḥfar II of Guḍjarāt he rid himself of his powerful Rājput minister, Mednī Rāi, but in doing so embroiled himself with Sangrama Rānā of Čitor, who defeated him in the field and took him prisoner, but generously released him. He then, with inconceivable folly and ingratitude, bitterly offended Bahādur Shāh of Guḍjarāt, who invaded Mālwa and, after giving Maḥmūd every opportunity of atoning for his error, carried Māndū by assault on March 21, 1531. Maḥmūd and his sons were sent in custody towards Čāmpāner, but the officer in charge of them, apprehending a rescue, put them to death.

Mālwa now became a province of Guḍjarāt, and in 1535 the emperor Humāyūn, invading that kingdom, defeated Bahādur Shāh at Mandasor and captured Māndū, but was recalled to Hindūstān in the following year by the menacing attitude of Shīr Khān in Bengal, and Mallū Khān, an officer of Maḥmūd II, established himself in Mālwa and assumed the title of Kādir Shāh. Shudjā'at Khān and Ḥāḍijī Khān, two officers of Shīr Shāh, drove him from Mālwa and assumed the government of the province. Shudjā'at Khān died

in 1554, and was succeeded by his son Malik Bāyazīd, known as Bāz Bahādūr, who, during the decline of the power of the Sūr emperors, became independent. A severe defeat at the hands of the queen of the Gond kingdom of Garha Mandla engendered in him a distaste for warlike enterprise and he devoted himself to music and to the embraces of the beautiful Rūpmati. In 1561 Akbar's army under Adham Khān surprised the voluptuary at Sārangpur, defeated his troops, put him to flight, and captured his mistress, who took poison rather than become the conqueror's paramour. Bāz Bahādūr fled into Khāndesh and Pir Muḥammad Khān, second-in-command of Akbar's army, who followed him thither, was defeated by Mubārak Khān of Khāndesh and drowned in the Narbadā. Bāz Bahādūr returned and again reigned in Māndū, but in 1562 another army under 'Abd Allāh Khān the Uzbek invaded Mālwā and compelled him to flee to Āitor. He remained a fugitive until 1570, when he submitted to Akbar and entered his service.

Mālwā was now a province of the empire, and remained so until, in 1743, the Marāṭhās extended their rule over it, and the Peshwā was made deputy-governor.

It was afterwards divided between the great Marāṭhā generals whose descendants, Sindhya of Gwalior, Holkar of Indor, and the Ponwārs of Dhār and Dewas still hold most of it.

From 1780 until 1818, when British supremacy was firmly established, the province was one of the principal arenas in which Muslim, Marāṭhā, and European contended for empire. Since then its history has been uneventful, but sporadic risings took place at six military stations during the mutiny of 1857.

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MĀ'MAR B. AL-MUTHANNĀ. [See ABŪ 'URĀIDA.]

MAMLŪK (A., plural *mamlūkūn* and *mamlīk*), participle passive I of *malaka* "to possess", denotes the slave as his master's possession. The term owes its origin probably to the current phrase of the Qur'ān *mā malakat aimānukum* "what your right hands possess", a general designation of slaves without specialisation of gender. Mamlūk occurs once only in the Qur'ān (sūra xvi. 77), in the expression '*abd mamlūk* "a slave in the possession of his master", mamlūk alone not yet being a technical term for slave, to all appearance. In *ḥadīth*, '*abd mamlūk* occurs likewise (Dārimī, *Siyar*, b. 34), but throughout the literature of *ḥadīth* mamlūk alone is already a technical term synonymous with '*abd*. — The distinction between a slave born and a slave born from free parents, must be made by the addition of a genitive to '*abd*, in the former case *kinn* ('*abdu kinnīn*'), in the latter *mamlaka* ('*abdu mamlakatīn*').

It may be remarked that neither in *ḥadīth*, nor, to all probability, in Arabic literature, has the term mamlūk ever received the religious meaning of devotee, as is the case with '*abd*.

The Qur'ān enjoins the master to be humane

towards "what his right hands possess" (sūra iv. 40). *Ḥadīth* is copious on this point. It assures us that Muḥammad on his death-bed did not cease repeating "(I recommend to you) *ṣalāt* and what your hands possess" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 117; cf. i. 78). "Whosoever does not treat his mamlūk as he ought to do, shall not enter Paradise" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 12). "When the mamlūk performs *ṣalāt*, he is thy brother" (Ibn Mādja, *Adab*, b. 10). "The mamlūk may claim his food and raiment" (Muslim, *Aimān*, trad. 41). "The Apostle of Allāh used . . . and to protect the mamlūk who appealed to his help" (Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, b. 16). "The mamlūk who acquits himself of his obligations towards Allāh and towards his master, will receive double wages" (Bukhārī, *Ulm*, b. 31) and "one is bound to pardon his mamlūk even unto seventy times a day" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 111).

For the legal position of slaves see 'ABD.

For the Egyptian dynasties called the Mamlūks, see the following article. — It may be finally remarked that in certain circles mamlūk had the special meaning of white slave. See Fagnan, *Addition aux lexiques arabes*, s. v.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MAMLŪKS, a dynasty of rulers of Egypt and Syria.

A. Period from 1250 to 1517. The history of this dynasty is dealt with under the separate rulers; the general questions of art, religion and economics of their time are also dealt with in these articles and notably in Becker's article EGYPT [q. v.] and Hartmann's article DAMASCUS [q. v.]. Only a brief survey of the whole period is given here.

They were, as their name shows [cf. MAMLŪK], former slaves from the bodyguards of the sultāns and amīrs who had distinguished themselves by ability and been given their freedom by their masters. A somewhat arbitrary distinction is made between two dynasties, the Bahrī [q. v.] from 648—792 = 1250—1390 and the Burdjī from 784—922 = 1382—1517. The name Bahrī Mamlūks was given to the guards of Sultān Nadjm al-Dīn Aiyūb (637—47 = 1340—49), whose barracks were upon the island of Rōḍa [q. v.] in the Nile (Baḥr). Except for the first three the Bahrī Sultāns were chosen by the Mamlūks from among the descendants of the Sultān. Thus after Baibars [q. v.] there ruled two of his sons, after Kālā'ūn [q. v.] two sons, a series of grandsons and a great grandson. It was different with the Burdjī Mamlūks, a bodyguard founded by Kālā'ūn, who were quartered in the towers of the citadel of Cairo. The first Burdjī, Barḳūk, [q. v.], was able to secure the succession of his son and even a second son succeeded for a brief period to the throne, but after this the Mamlūk guards never tolerated hereditary succession again; no Sultān's son, who was proclaimed heir-apparent, ever succeeded in keeping the throne (the only exception is al-Nāṣir Muḥammad II who occupied the throne for nearly three years.) The Mamlūks did not always choose the ablest, but more often the oldest; a kind of system of seniority developed. The first Mamlūk on the throne was 'Izz al-Dīn Aibak (648—55 = 1250—57), the husband of Shadja al-Durr [q. v.] a slave whom Aiyūb had married.

In the period of its greatest extension under the Mamlūks, the frontiers of Egypt were in the west the Lybian desert as far as Barka, in the

south Nubia as far as Maṣṣaw'a, in the north the Mediterranean Sea. The frontiers of Syria in the east stretched to the Euphrates to Dēr al-Zōr through Raḳḳa, in the south to the Arabian deserts and in the north to the Taurus. The two countries met in Sinai and were separated by the Red Sea. The sultāns usually exercised suzerainty over the holy places in Mecca and Medina; Sultān Kānshūh Ghūrī [q. v.] even maintained garrisons in South Arabia for a time.

The first task of the Mamlūk sultāns was to consolidate the kingdom. Their most dangerous enemy, the Tatars under Hülāgū, was defeated in Syria in 658 (1260) at 'Ain Djālūt [q. v.]; the Crusaders were destroyed by Sultāns Baibars, Ḳalā'ūn and Ḳhalīl, the remnants of the 'Alids and Assassins [q. v.] rendered harmless by Baibars. Their power was finally consolidated and justified to the Aiyūbids by the petty kingdoms left to them, by Baibars welcoming in Cairo the Caliph who had been driven from Baghdād by the Mongols, restoring the caliphate here in 659 (1261) and then having himself appointed by the Caliph participator in power (*Kasim al-Dawla*) and having the power ceremoniously transferred to him. This remained the position till the end of Mamlūk rule. The Caliph paid homage to the Sultān on his accession and ceded all his rights to him. He thus lost all authority and became the shadow of a ruler without power, without money and without influence; only now and then an Indian Sultān sought a diploma of investiture from the Caliph.

The rule of the Sultān was absolute. He was assisted by a council in which the chief commanders of the Mamlūks sat to the left and right of the ruler according to their rank (this sitting in order of rank dated from the early Mamlūk period): the representative of the Sultān (*nā'ib kāfil*, later only appointed in case of absence of the ruler), the commander-in-chief (*amīr kabīr*), later combined with the office of Atābeg, the commander of the guards (*rās nawbat al-nuwvāb*, see AL-AMİR AL-KABİR), the War Minister (*amīr-ṣilāh*, *ibid.*), the president of the council who was the chief civil official (*amīr maḍlīs*); later the minister of the Interior (*dawādār kabīr* [q. v.]) and the ministers of the palace and domains (*ustādār*) gained more influence and became numbered among the highest officials, as did the chief military judge (*ḥādhib al-ḥudjdjāb* [q. v.], properly high chamberlain) and at times the chief marshal (*amīr akhūr* q. v.). The officers and their relative rank (cf. e. g. under AMİR AL-KABİR for the composition and order of precedence in later times) changed. These members of the council were military officers, the so called lords of the sword (*aṣḥāb al-suyūf*); they belonged to the class of amīrs of 1,000 (*muḳaddīm al-ulūf*). From this class were chosen the governors of the Syrian provinces (Damascus, Aleppo, Tripolis, Ḥamā, Ṣafad) and frequently also the governors of the citadels of Damascus and Aleppo who were appointed by the Sultān himself. The next class was formed by the *Ṭablaḳḥānā*, amīrs of 40 Mamlūks, who had the right to be accompanied by a band. They were followed by the amīrs of 10 and those of 5 Mamlūks. All the amīrs of 1,000 were appointed by the Sultān himself; the other amīrs in the provinces sometimes by the sultān and sometimes by the governor. The administrative system at the Sultān's court was reproduced on a small scale in

the provinces. Every governor was a little Sultān who had to some extent the same retinue as the Sultān in Cairo. The Syrian governors were in general independent of one another (very few like the Amīr Tengiz [see DAMASCUS, i., p. 908] had other governors subordinated to them). In the beginning the Mamlūks, perhaps influenced by the Mongols, had the tendency to make all offices secular and fill them with Mamlūks who, as lords of the sword (*aṣḥāb al-suyūf*), belonged to the military caste. They kept this up in the highest offices throughout the dynasty, but they had to create the important offices of private secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) and head of the chancellory (*ṣāhib Diwān al-inṣhā'*) and fill them with civilians and even admit Christians, Jews, and especially converts to Islām to them, because the Turkish ruling caste was not fitted for them. The above mentioned chief offices on the military and administrative side remained however reserved for the constantly increasing oligarchy, into which neither Arabs, nor the sons of Mamlūks were admitted. It hardly ever happened (I only know of 3 cases of Arabs) that Arabs or sons of Mamlūks became amīrs of 1,000, or rose to the highest posts in the legal and scholastic world and in the other branches of the civil service.

The Mamlūks were purchased on behalf of the government by a high officer, the purchaser of Mamlūks (*tādjir al-mamālīk*), educated in the first place in the Mamlūk School in Cairo, then distributed in the different branches of the corps of pages to act as armour-bearers, cup-bearers, carvers, polo-grooms, club-bearers etc., for further training and then placed in the service of the amīrs or of the Sultān as vacancies occurred. The Sultān's lifeguards were called *khāṣṣkī* and the amīrs had also similar bodyguards. The army consisted of a) the bodyguard of the Sultān, b) the *djund al-khalḳa*, enlisted troops, who were paid in money and with the yield of the crown estates, c) the guards of the great amīrs and former Sultāns. In later times there was a body of reserves, *awlād al-nās*, who were only called up for service in times of war but also received pay in times of peace. Military expeditions were usually decided upon by the council of state; the amīrs were given money to equip and maintain their troops, to be able to lead them into the enemy's country.

In addition to the military officers there were civil officials, *aṣḥāb al-ḳalam* (lords of the pen): a) the religious officials (*al-aīniya*), who filled posts in the legal and scholastic worlds and a series of other offices; b) the regular administrative officials (*al-diwāniya*) for the rest of the civil service.

The Sultān's revenue was made up of the ground-, poll- and poor-tax, from the yield of the fiefs (on the Egyptian system of appanages cf. ii., p. 9b) out of which he gave the necessary funds for the army and officials, the customs, the state factories and extraordinary taxes on goods and markets, which, not being laid down in the *Ḳur'ān*, were considered illegal and resisted. He also sometimes made money by forced purchases and sales. The government bought up goods at a fixed price and forced purchasers to take them at a definite price. Finally there were monopolies out of which the Sultān made profits. Another favourite means of raising money was for the Sultān to visit some great man from whom he extorted large sums while a guest (especially *Ḳā'itbā'ī* [q. v.]). Things

seem to have been similar in Syria but we know very little about the division of the fiefs there.

The importance of the Mamlüks in history lay in the fact that, protected by the deserts and their armies they stemmed the flood of Asiatic conquerors; they conquered Čingiz Khān's Mongols and later the hords of Timūr Lenk, who had conquered Syria for a short time, and other conquerors. After the defeat of the Tatars and the retreat of Timūr, the Sultāns were forced to concentrate on the struggle with the gradually increasing power of the Ottomans. The struggle was long avoided by the formation of buffer states on both sides; among these the most notable were the dynasties of Dhu 'l-Ghadir and of the White and Black Sheep (so-called from their standards). The success of Kā'itbā'i's policy postponed the end but the rulers who followed him were weak. The rule of the Mamlüks lost its vigour. They were weakened in long wars; their finances became quite hopeless as a result of their immoderate expenditure, not commensurate with their means and a defective system of taxation, which in the later period enabled the owners of large estates to escape the taxes. They therefore could not permanently resist the Ottomans, especially as the lack of discipline among the Mamlūk leaders and the weakness of their field artillery made the army useless. The well equipped fortresses were not defended against the Ottomans; they fell through treachery. The himself able Sultān Kānsūh Ghūrī was defeated and slain in 922 (1516) at Mardj Dābiḳ (in the province of Aleppo). The way to Egypt was thus opened to Sultān Selim; after six months' resistance the last Sultān Ṭumanbā'i had to surrender. He was hanged from the Bāb Zuwaila in Cairo. A number of the great amirs and the Caliph were taken to Constantinople. The caliphate ceased as no new Caliph was appointed; the Sultān of Constantinople became the first ruler in Islām. The protection of the holy places also passed automatically to him.

The period of the Mamlüks was marked by great activity in building (ii. 23^a). Of secular buildings, few palaces have survived; on the other hand fortresses (Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus and Biredjik) which were entirely rebuilt in the Mamlūk period, as well as a large number of fine tombs, hospitals, baths, fountains and aqueducts still exist. Of religious buildings splendid mosques with schools attached to them were built. While even under the Aiyūbids there had been only one "great mosque" in each town or independent suburb, where the Friday service was held, it became the custom under the Mamlüks that many Sultāns and governors and occasionally even one of the guilds built "great mosques" for the Friday service in the large towns. Mention may be made of the mosques of Baibars, Kālā'ūn, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, Sultān Ḥasan, Barḳūḳ, Mu'aiyad, Kā'itbā'i in Cairo, as well as the mosques in the provincial capitals Aleppo, Damascus and Tripolis. While agriculture, industry and art showed great prosperity, trade suffered very much under the later Mamlūk Sultāns through the extortionate taxes of the government. The trade through Egypt, based on treaties with Frankish and Oriental rulers, yielded huge sums. The customs and the treatment of merchants by the Sultāns finally became so intolerable that the European powers did everything possible to secure the sea-route to India in order to avoid the transit

through Egypt with its enormous expense and the roguery to which it was exposed.

The object of the last wars of Sultān Kānsūh Ghūrī was to gain a footing in South Arabia and nearer India to secure the Egyptian share in Indian trade.

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(M. SOBERNHEIM)

B. Period from 1517 to 1798. It is a significant fact, that even this period of nearly three centuries, during which Egypt belonged to the Ottoman Empire, may still be designated as a third Mamlūk period. The change brought about by the conquest of Sultan Selim in 1517 was, after all, not a radical one, from the point of view of government. Egypt and its inhabitants remained under the rule of a powerful minority of foreign race. The antagonism that existed in the beginning between Ottoman Turks and Mamlūks and which had led at first to much bloodshed (execution of 800 mamlūks by Selim I in Cairo) did not last very long after the troubles of the occupation were over. The Turkish soldiers and officials who entered Egypt during Ottoman rule soon became mixed up to a large extent with the numerically more powerful class of the Mamlūks, whose aid was, moreover, indispensable, for the government of the country. Besides, the number of Mamlūks (*al-Sharāhisa*) continued to receive additions by purchase of slaves from the Caucasus. An author of the xviiith century (Vansleb, p. 13) says that Egypt, in his day, was inhabited by Copts, Moors (by whom he means the islamised population), Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Jews and Franks. The "Turks" were the governing class and composed of Mamlūks and Ottomans, between whom no distinction is made. We may even speak of a mamlūkisation of the Ottoman element; the real ottomanisation of the country belongs to the sixth century. In accordance with what is said, the history of those centuries never shows, among the parties and factions into which the Mamlūks were divided, a pro- or anti-Ottoman party; those quarrels were only of local and personal character. Even the first governor of Egypt, *Ḳhā'ir-bek*, was a Mamlūk, although, after him, the *Pashas* were sent, without exception, from Constantinople.

During the first 100 years, it is true, the authority of the *Pashas* sent from Constantinople to govern the country was undisputed. The *Pasha* could rely on seven contingents of troops (*odjak*) six of which were instituted by Selim I, while a seventh contingent was added under Sulaimān I, composed of Mamlūks. Their nominal strength was 20,000 men in all. They were not commanded by the *Pasha*, but by their own commander, who belonged to the *odjak* of the Janissaries and resided in the citadel of Cairo. Afterwards these troops behaved more and more independently and were even able to depose *Pashas* whom they did not like, until, in the xviiith century, this military force became the instrument of some all-influential Mamlūk beys. Important matters of administration were treated by a great *Diwān* or State Council, which only met in extraordinary cases and in which the high functionaries were represented, as well as the military chiefs and the high religious dignitaries. Local and special government functions were exercised by twelve *Sandjak* Beys; these represented at the same time the feudal aristocracy; from the beginning however, the ties that linked them to particular provinces seem to have been rather loose, for among them are mentioned the *Kiāya* of the

Pasha, the *Daftardār*, the *Amir al-Hadjj* and the *Amir al-Khazna*, the three first of whom were also members of the great *Diwān*. The other Beys were commanders at Suez, Damietta and Alexandria, and governors of the five big provinces in the Nile delta. Besides these twelve Beys there were twelve other Beys with similar functions. The real provincial administration was exercised by a class of functionaries called *Kāshif*. Their chief task was the collection of the revenues. They may be considered as a kind of governor; some of the great Beys themselves were also *Kāshif* in their districts or had different *Kāshifs* under them. Vansleb mentions 36 *kāshifliks*. As to the revenues, they were collected in various ways, the local customs in different parts of Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt varying considerably. The most common form was the farming out of revenues (*iltizām*); the *multazims* had different kinds of right of possession on the lands, which were hereditary. They collected the revenue, in taxes or in kind, from the fellāhs, generally through the village notables called *Shaiikh al-Balad*. In the tax-collecting there were further employed, a host of subordinate technical and financial functionaries, many of whom were Copts. Some *Kāshifs* were at the same time *multazims*. This system of administration showed the close relation between administration and land-owning, which has always been characteristic of Egyptian conditions [cf. EGYPT]. It was the continuation of the system which had prevailed under the Mamlūk Sultāns (regulation by Kā'it Bay) and was regulated again in the *Kānūn-nāme-i Miṣr* of Sulaimān I (cf. J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i. 101—142); here a special stress is laid on the rights and obligations of the *Kāshifs*.

In Cairo a large chancery, the chief of which was the *Rūznāmedji*, had to collect these taxes and to keep the registers; the revenues collected were reserved partly for the pay of the troops and works of public utility such as irrigation, building of bridges and dikes, etc. and partly for the yearly tribute to the Sultan, which was in the beginning 800,000 ducats and afterwards lowered to 600,000 and later to 400,000 ducats. In the xviiith century the paying of tribute practically fell into disuse.

Besides the land-tax, there existed a great number of other taxes, under different denominations; they were collected more or less arbitrarily, and, as in course of time, the anarchy in the government assumed greater proportions, they pressed ever heavier on the population. The rural population had as much to suffer from the exactions of their Mamlūk administrators and proprietors as from the raids of Arab tribes, which the government was unable to control.

The history of Egypt during this period is a not very interesting succession of domestic intrigues, struggles and revolts. Until the beginning of the xviiith century the Pashas could more or less maintain their authority, but they were replaced too often to have a lasting influence. No less than 117 Pashas governed Egypt until the arrival of the French (a complete list of them is given in Thureiyā, *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iv. 835 sqq.). Many of them tried to make their short stay as profitable for themselves as possible, and several of them had to pay their cupidity with their lives after their return to Constantinople. In the xviiith

century the real power in the country was exercised by the great Beys in Cairo, who had the troops in their hand and tolerated only those Pashas who did not interfere with their affairs. By this time the two most powerful positions in the country were those of the commander of Cairo, called the *Shaiikh al-Balad* and of the *Amir al-Hadjj*. Some of the *Shaiikh al-Balads* are reputed as good rulers, especially Ismā'il Bey, who held that office from 1707 to 1724. But the changes of power were always of a violent kind and prevented the forming of a dynasty; Ismā'il's *shaiikh al-baladship* itself had been preceded by a curious struggle between the two rival parties of the *Dih* 'l-Fikāriya and the *Kāsimiya*, which had lasted for three months outside Cairo. In 1747 the Porte tried for the first time to reestablish its authority by ordering the governor Rāghib Pasha to exterminate the Mamlūk Beys; this attempt failed, however, completely and the disorders continued until the appearance of the young Mamlūk 'Alī Bey [q. v.] who made himself for a short time independent *Shaiikh al-Balad* and ruler of Egypt, for the years 1770—1771. By this time the Porte began to take more serious measures to retain its hold on Egypt, but the regime of the Mamlūk Beys did not end until a foreign power, France, temporarily occupied Egypt [cf. KHEDIVE].

Under such a regime the conditions of living of the population could not be flourishing. It was not so much the position of Egypt as an Ottoman province that caused the suffering of the population, as the lack of a strong central power. European travellers like Vansleb and Lucas point to the fact that Egypt was, in the xviiith century a rich country and that by the practical stopping of the payment of tribute, all the money remained in the country itself. But the riches remained only in the possession of the ruling minority, while the rural population was oppressed very hardly. The bad organisation caused, moreover, from time to time terrible famines, while, about the middle of the xviiith century, began a series of ravaging epidemics of plague. Since the last period of the Mamlūk Sultans the country had lost, moreover, a rich source of revenue by the change of the trade-route to India. The transit trade was now restricted to inner African products and coffee and aromatics from Arabia, while the exportation of Egyptian products such as corn, cotton and sugar was limited. The timber that the country needed had to be imported from Turkey. Moreover, the trade with Christian countries often experienced serious hindrances from the arbitrary measures of the local authorities. At the same time the local industries declined rapidly; one of the causes may have been the transportation of a large number of skilled craftsmen to Constantinople by Salīm I; the once flourishing guild organisation was paralysed by this measure (cf. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913, p. 81 and al-Djabarti, i. 20).

The decline of Egypt's economic strength, on the other hand, made Egypt a relatively quiet possession for the Porte. Only in the very beginning of Ottoman rule, in 1524, a Turkish governor, Ahmad Pasha, tried to take the title of sultan of Egypt, but afterwards no attempts to recover independence were made until the time of 'Alī Bey. Then, however, the political needs of the European colonial powers

made Egypt appear again as an important stage on the way to India and opened new possibilities of a more independent development, which were to be realised in the sixteenth century. In the meantime the possession of Egypt had been useful to Turkey in many respects; the Porte could always count on an Egyptian contingent of troops in its wars and the country itself was a base of action for the military operations in Syria, the Hijāz and Yaman. The reconquest of Yaman under Selim II was carefully prepared in Cairo. As soon as the tendency to independence appeared, however, as under 'Alī Bey, the Turkish hold on Syria and Arabia was immediately endangered seriously.

The predominant position of Egypt in Islām was not seriously affected by the Ottoman occupation. Al-Azhar [q.v.] remained one of the most important centres of Islāmic learning; the Turkish Pashas and other dignitaries showed their acknowledgement of this fact by gifts and by the execution of restorations to the building, as they did occasionally for other religious institutions in the country. Though Islāmic science continued to flourish, Egypt did not produce many prominent figures in this period. In the domain of *fiqh* the most important figure was al-Ramlī (q.v.; d. 1596), the commentator of al-Nawawī, further the mystic al-Sha'rānī (q.v.; d. 1565), and, as representative of Arabic philology, 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī (q.v.; d. 1682). In popular mysticism the veneration of Aḥmad al-Badawī [q.v.] by the Aḥmadiya held a large place.

The period of Ottoman domination in Egypt is not wholly without interest from the point of view of architecture and art. Several governors, beginning with Khā'irbek have constructed mosques; these mosques show a kind of transition from the Mamlūk to the Ottoman architectural style. There are also in Cairo several mosques founded by the Mamlūk Beys, like the mosque of Abū Dhahab, the traitor of 'Alī Bey, constructed in 1773. Some beautiful palaces have likewise been built by the Mamlūks, but only few of them are still extant (cf. on this subject: Mme R. L. Devonshire, *L'Egypte musulmane et les fondateurs de ses monuments*, Paris 1926, p. 115 sqq.).

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MA'MÜN, 'ABU 'L-ABBĀS 'ABD ALLĀH [B. HĀRŪN], 'Abbāsīd caliph, born in Rabī I 170 (Sept. 786), son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and a Persian slave named Marādīl. After a desperate struggle, which ended in the assassination of the Caliph al-Amin [q.v.] in Muḥarram 198 (Sept. 813), the latter's brother al-Ma'mūn ascended the throne; it was six years, however, before he could make his entry into Baghdād. On account of his sympathy for things Persian, which was stimulated by the vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl [q.v.] the Caliph was not

at all popular with the Arabs. An 'Alid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, usually called Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, therefore set up as a pretender to the throne in Kūfa in Djumādā II 199 (Jan.-Feb. 815) and was supported by a former adherent of al-Ma'mūn, Abu 'l-Sarāyā. The rebels had some success at first but Ibn Ṭabāṭabā died suddenly and when the general Harthama b. A'yan [q. v.] advanced against him, Abu 'l-Sarāyā had to take to flight. Soon afterwards he was taken prisoner and put to death (Rabi' 200 = Oct. 815). In the meanwhile the movement had spread, but the 'Alids made themselves so hated that Harthama's troops were able to restore order everywhere without difficulty. The victorious Harthama, however, was shamefully rewarded for his services. After he had occupied Merw, the suspicious Caliph had him thrown into prison where he soon died (Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 200 = June 816). This increased the general discontent. While al-Ma'mūn remained for the time in Merw, the people of Baghdād rebelled and placed al-Manṣūr, a son of the Caliph al-Mahdī, at the head of the movement. When in Ramaḍān 201 (March 817) al-Ma'mūn designated an 'Alid, 'Alī al-Riḍā [q. v.], as heir apparent and assumed the green of the 'Alids instead of the black of the 'Abbāsids, the people of the capital elected Ibrāhīm, another son of al-Mahdī, Caliph (Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 201 = July 817). Then there were troubles in Egypt and in Āḍharbāidjān, the people were stirred up by the Khurramī Bābak [q. v.] who terrorised the northern provinces for nearly 20 years. In these circumstances al-Ma'mūn had finally to leave Merw and go to the 'Irāk (202 = 817). But when the Arabs murdered the vizier al-Faḍl who was particularly hostile to them, and 'Alī al-Riḍā died suddenly, and in addition, the governor of Wāsiṭ, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, the vizier's brother went mad, or at least was treated as such, the people of Baghdād had really no longer reason to support Ibrāhīm and in Ṣafar 204 (Aug. 819) al-Ma'mūn entered the capital and the 'Alid colours were exchanged for the 'Abbāsīd. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was then restored to his governorship, and a few years later the Caliph married his daughter Būrān [q. v.]. As soon as the Caliph had left Khurāsān a rebellion broke out there among the Ḥarūris. At the end of 205 (June of 820) or beginning of 206, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain [q. v.] was appointed governor of Khurāsān. He proved in every way fitted for his difficult post but carried his independence so far that in 207 (822) he renounced his fealty to the Caliph. Although he died the following day, the Caliph did not dare to deprive his sons of Ṭāhir's governorship, and in this way the dynasty of the Ṭāhirids was founded in Khurāsān. In 210 (825-826) 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [q. v.] after defeating Naṣr b. Shabath went by the Caliph's orders to Egypt. Here the Yamanis, who were loyal to al-Ma'mūn, had begun to fight with the Ḳaisis who sided with al-Amin, and the struggle lasted till the latter's death. A more peaceful period ensued, but soon new troubles broke out, and with the arrival of the Spanish Muslims banished by the Caliph al-Ḥakam I [q. v.] the situation became still more complicated. The latter seized the town of al-Iskandariya, but when 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir arrived in Egypt the native rebels had to submit, and the Spanish intruders retired to Crete. When 'Abd Allāh was appointed governor of Khurāsān,

the Caliph made his brother, afterwards the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, governor of Egypt. But in 214 (829) the Egyptians rose again against his deputy so that al-Mu'taṣim had to go himself to Egypt to bring the rebels to terms. Two years afterwards the people of Lower Egypt again rebelled against al-Mu'taṣim's officers. The Copts defended themselves with desperate vigour until the Caliph himself arrived with fresh troops and ruthlessly put down all resistance. Towards the end of the reign of al-Ma'mūn, the old struggle with the Byzantines broke out again. The cause is unknown but probably Bābak was being supported by the Emperor Theophilos. In any case the Caliph in Muḥarram 215 (March 830) took the field against the Byzantines accompanied by his son al-'Abbās [q. v.]. In the next two years campaigns were conducted by al-Ma'mūn in person; as usual the fortune of war varied, but the Muslims succeeded in taking the fortress of Lu'lu'a after a long siege, whereupon Theophilos wanted to make peace. But his offer was refused by al-Ma'mūn and in 218 (833) he again invaded Byzantine territory but died in Radjab (August) of the same year in Budendūn not far from Tarsus, after having had al-Mu'taṣim proclaimed as his successor.

In spite of all political troubles al-Ma'mūn found time to devote his attention to religious problems and to the cause of learning. His rationalistic tendencies made him join the Mu'tazilis, whose most prominent representative then was the Ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Abū Du'ād [q. v.]. Urged on by him, the Caliph went so far as in Rabi' I 212 (June 827) to publicly proclaim the dogma of the creation of the Ḳur'ān and therefore to raise the Mu'tazila to be the State religion. While he persecuted the orthodox and catechised them severely about the soundness of their belief in the Mu'tazila, he treated the 'Alids with the greatest consideration. In his reign poetry and learning reached their golden age. It was then that lived men like Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturi, each of whom collected a *Ḥamāsa*, the historian al-Wāḳidī, the traditionist al-Bukḥārī and the jurist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. The Caliph also took a special interest in philosophy and the exact sciences. In Baghdād he built an astronomical observatory with a fine library, and the medical school in Djundai Sābūr [q. v.] was an object of his special care. Scientific works by Greek physicians and natural philosophers had previously been translated into Arabic through the Syriac, but under al-Ma'mūn there was a great revival of activity in this branch of learning.

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p. 477 sqq.; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate*, p. 103, 195, 237, 306—310; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, see Index; Browne, *An abridged translation of the history of Ṭabaristān* by Ibn Isfandiyyār, passim; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 299 sqq.; ii. 345, 363, 368. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MA'MÜN, honorific *laqab* of the principal sovereign of the dynasty of Berber origin of the Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn, who founded a kingdom with Toledo as its capital on the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova in the first quarter of the eleventh century [cf. the article DHU 'L-NÜN].

Al-Ma'mün, whose full name was Yahyā b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amir b. Muṭarrif b. Dhi 'l-Nūn, succeeded his father, Ismā'il al-Zāfir, on the latter's death in 429 (1037) and spent his long reign in incessant warfare with all his Muslim neighbours, the dynasties of Saragossa, Valencia, Badajoz, Seville and Cordova.

The beginning of his reign was mainly occupied by a struggle with the powerful king of Saragossa, Sulaimān b. Hud al-Musta'in, who disputed the possession of Guadalajara (Wādī 'l-Ḥijāra) with him and took this town. Al-Ma'mün set out against him but was defeated and had to retire to Talavera in which he was besieged. He was then reduced to seek an alliance with and to own the suzerainty of the king of Leon and Castile, Ferdinand I. In spite of the help of the Christian king he could not bring his enemy Ibn Hūd to terms. Al-Ma'mün then turned for help to the king of Seville al-Mu'taḍid b. 'Abbād and to obtain it had to declare himself the vassal of the pseudo-caliph Hishām II. Ibn 'Abbād then fighting the Aftasids of Badajoz [q. v.] did not give al-Ma'mün the help for which he hoped and Ibn Hūd becoming bolder, laid waste the country of Toledo and forced its inhabitants to submit to him. He would undoubtedly have deprived al-Ma'mün of his kingdom if he had not died in 438 (1046).

The rest of al-Ma'mün's reign was spent in a struggle with the Aftasid prince of Badajoz, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muza'ffar, and hostilities between the two dynasties continued for several years with varying success. In 457 (1065) al-Ma'mün seized Valencia. The king of Valencia, al-Manṣūr 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Abī 'Amir, had died at the end of 452 (1060—1061) and his young son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muza'ffar had succeeded him but his lands aroused the cupidity of Ferdinand I who besieged him. Under the pretext of assisting him, al-Ma'mün came to 'Abd al-Malik in Valencia and soon deprived him of his throne.

A few years before his death, al-Ma'mün was asked by the Berber lord of Carmona, al-'Izz b. Ishāk al-Burzālī, to come to his assistance against the attacks of the 'Abbādid king of Seville al-Mu'taḍid on his little kingdom. Al-Ma'mün occupied Carmona and as a result of negotiations with al-Mu'taḍid, he abandoned this town to him in return for a promise of his assistance in taking Cordova, then ruled by a prince of the family of the Djahwarids. Once more the 'Abbādid failed him at the last moment. On his death his son and successor al-Mu'tamid [q. v.] took up al-Ma'mün's plan on his own account, seized Cordova in 461 (1068) and left his son 'Abbād there as governor. But a few years later in 467 (1075), al-Ma'mün with the help of a Cordovan of low birth, Ibn 'Ukāsha, was able to hatch a plot

which made him master of Cordova. Six months later, al-Ma'mün was poisoned on the 11th Dhu 'l-Kāda 467 (June 28, 1075) either at the instigation of al-Mu'tamid, king of Seville, or of Ibn 'Ukāsha. His son Yahyā al-Qādir succeeded him. A few years later, Alfonso VI took Toledo.

The long reign of al-Ma'mün is quite characteristic of the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* of the Iberian Peninsula. He certainly increased his dominions but his conquests were ephemeral and he was one of the first to have no scruples about an alliance with the Christian princes of Castile and Leon in order to fight other Muslim rulers of al-Andalus. He even afforded hospitality at his court for nine months to Alfonso VI when the latter was deposed by his brother Sancho of Castile.

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AL-MA'MÜN, ABU 'L-'ALĀ' IDRIS B. YĀ'QUB AL-MANṢŪR B. YŪSUF B. 'ABD AL-MU'MIN B. 'ALĪ, ninth sovereign of the Almohad dynasty, born in 581 (1185—1186) in Malaga, of the marriage of his father with the Spanish princess Ṣafiya, daughter of the amīr Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Mardaniṣh (Martinez). The Arab historians pay high tributes to the good qualities of this prince who was very well read, equally well versed in profane and religious learning. At a time when the Almohad dynasty was much troubled by the strife stirred up by pretenders, he was able by his energy to postpone for several years its final collapse.

At first al-Ma'mün served in Spain as the lieutenant of his brother Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-'Ādil then on the throne. The latter had soon to leave the Peninsula and return to Morocco without having been able to subdue the rebel leader Abū Muḥammad al-Baiyāsī supported by Ferdinand III of Castile, but he was soon betrayed by his own men in his own land and assassinated in 624 (1127). This murder was followed by the almost simultaneous proclamations of al-Ma'mün and another Almohad pretender, nephew of the preceding, Yahyā b. al-Nāṣir b. al-Manṣūr, who took the honorific *laqab* of al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh. On his accession and without leaving Spain, al-Ma'mün was soon able to make himself recognised in the greater part of his empire and to get rid of the rebel al-Baiyāsī. But almost immediately a rebellion broke out in the east of al-Andalus, in which Muḥammad b. Yūsuf of the powerful family of the Banū Hūd was proclaimed caliph in the town of Murcia. At the same time the prestige of Yahyā al-Mu'taṣim increased in Morocco and his partisans became more and more numerous. Feeling himself powerless in Spain and forced to turn his eyes towards Africa al-Ma'mün was forced to seek an alliance with the king of Castile. The latter agreed to support al-Ma'mün under very harsh terms, including the surrender of ten Muslim strongholds of the *frontera* and the building of a church and the granting of freedom of worship in Marrākush. In return, al-Ma'mün received a body of 12,000 Christian mercenaries with whom he at once went to the Maghrib. He was soon able to enter Marrākush in triumph, after having

defeated the army of al-Mu'taṣim in 627 (1230).

Enraged at the defection of the Almohad Makhzen so devoted to his predecessors, al-Ma'mün took a decision at Marrākush, that was quite unprecedented in the annals of the dynasty. He stigmatised the memory of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, denied him "impeccability" (*iṣma*) and had a large number of Almohad *shāikhs* executed whom he suspected of having betrayed him. The rest of the reign of al-Ma'mün was spent in trying to put down several rebellions in the Maghrib; but he did not succeed in bringing his rival to terms for the latter was able to take and plunder Marrākush. On hearing this, al-Ma'mün, then busy with the siege of Ceuta, hurried off to the capital at once but fell ill and died on the way in the valley of the Wādī l-'Abd at the end of Dhū l-Hijja 629 (Oct. 1232).

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MA'MÜNIS, name of a dynasty.

In the ivth (xth) century Djurdjāniya, to the north of modern Khīva, was a dependency of Bukhārā and was ruled by a line of princes called the Ma'mūnis. Nothing is mentioned about them by the Oriental historians till 382 (992) when Ma'mün b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, ruler of Djurdjāniya, is said to have assisted Amir Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr the Sāmānid in his exile during the temporary occupation of Bukhārā by Bughrā Khān, ruler of Kāshghar. In 385 (995) Ma'mün attacked Abū 'Abd Allāh, ruler of Khwārizm, in order to punish him for his treachery to Abū 'Alī Simdjūrī, took him prisoner and annexed Khwārizm. Ma'mün was assassinated in 387 (997). His son Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī succeeded to the throne, and married a sister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Abū l-Ḥasan died about 399 (1008—1009) and was succeeded by his brother Abū l-'Abbās Ma'mün. Abū l-'Abbās married his brother's widow, the sister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Shortly after this he gave offence to his army by doing homage to Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The commanders of the army organised a rebellion against him, put him to death on Shawwāl 15, 407 (March 16, 1017) and raised one of his sons to the throne. On hearing this, Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched to Khwārizm to avenge the death of his brother-in-law, defeated the rebels at Hazārasp on Ṣafar 5, 408 (July 3, 1017), and executed the leaders of the insurrection. All the scions of the royal house were taken prisoners and sent to Khurāsān. The kingdom of Khwārizm was annexed and placed under the command of Altūntāsh with the title of Khwārizmshāh. But after the return of Sulṭān Maḥmūd to Ghazna, Abū Ishāk, father-in-law of Abū l-'Abbās Ma'mün, tried to establish himself in Khwārizm but he was defeated by Altūntāsh.

The rulers of this dynasty were famous patrons of learning, and it was at the court of Abū l-'Abbās Ma'mün that Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī, the astronomer, Abū 'Alī b. Sīnā and Abū l-Khair b. Khammār, the physicians, and Abū Naṣr b. 'Arrāk, the mathematician, flourished.

This dynasty has been confused by the *Ta'rikh-i Gusiḍa* and *Ta'rikh-i Djahān Arā* of Qāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī, with the Farighūnis who were the rulers of Djurdjānān.

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MA'MÜRET AL-'AZİZ, the name given to the new town of Mezre, built beside Kharpūt [q. v.] in honour of Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Aziz. In time the name became applied to the new wilāyet formed in 1879 around Kharpūt-Mezre; this consisted of three sandjaks: al-'Aziz, Khozāt and Maṭiyya. As a result of the administrative reforms of 1340 (1921) each of these sandjaks became an independent wilāyet but later modifications were made. According to the official annual of 1925—1926, the wilāyet of Ma'müret al-'Aziz has an area of 11,299 sq. km. or 12,428,900 dönüms, of which 3,124,596 are arable. It contains 6 kāḍās: the central kāḍā, Pālū, Kharpūt, Kebān, 'Arabkir, Kemāliye (this new name replaces the historical one of Egin).

The annual of 1926—1927 records an even more radical reorganisation. The area of the wilāyet of al-'Aziz is given as 17,268 sq. km. with 1,562,296 dönüms of arable land. The wilāyet which lost the western kāḍās ('Arabkir and Egin) has been extended on N. and E. It has 11 kāḍās subdivided into 32 *nāhiyas* with names little known and difficult to transliterate:

1. the kāḍā al-'Aziz, with the *nāhiye*: Khān-kendi, Mullā-kendi, İcme, Khusafiyā (?), Erenler (Äyüwus), Bālī-Bey, Kharpūt, Cöngüşh, Sarnī (Dishidi).
 2. Kebān, with only one *nāhiye*: Tahir.
 3. Bāskil: Mushār-Huyuk, İzolī (Kömür-khān), Karabekān (Meriwān), Seywān.
 4. Pālū: Gök-dere (and Bulanfk) Okhī (and Lower Bulanfk), Kara-çor.
 5. Khozāt (Dersim): Balfkān (Elghāzi), Kermili, Amutka, Sin, Dere-Aghzunik.
 6. Çemish-gezek: Waskowān, Bash-Wartenik, Kermili, Waskerū (Pāshāweng), Čarsandjak, Shawak (Albisher = Awi-sheker ?).
 7. Māzgerd: Pakh, Tereshmek, Mukhandī (Mučundī ?).
 8. Čabaḳçur: Perkhenguk (Kamrān).
- The kāḍās without *nāhiye* are:
9. Owadjfk.
 10. Gendj-merkez (Dārhiñi).
 11. Ma'den.

Number of the kāḍā.	Number of villages.	Number of inhabitants.
1	241	52,700
2	78	22,494
3	?	16,117
4	333	17,496
5	127	12,000
6	?	?
7	180	13,000
8	104	12,000
9	87	6,180
10	?	5,649
11	?	11,476

The wilāyet (without Cemish-gezek) has therefore 171,631 inhabitants. The events of the war and the suppression of the Kurd rising in 1925 must have had far-reaching effects on the ethnical aspect of this territory. Before the war the population was mixed: Kurd, Armenian and "Zaza" (a people speaking an Iranian dialect, q. v.).

Bibliography: cf. the fundamental article *KHARPÜT, Türkiye Dîmîhrîyeti Devlet Sâlnâmesi*, 1925—1926, p. 836—841; do., 1926—1927, p. 694. (V. MINORSKY)

MA'N B. AWS, an early Muḥammadan poet of the tribe of the Banū Muzaina. His period can be established with some accuracy. From the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* we know that he composed a panegyric on 'Omar I and a lampoon on 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair for his lack of hospitality; the latter is preserved in the *Aghānī* as is the beginning of the former. The panegyric survives also in the *Diwān*, where it is dedicated to 'Omar's son 'Aṣim. The *Aghānī* further records that Ma'n lived to the beginning of the *fitna* between 'Abd Allāh and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, i. e. to 64 (684). The poet must therefore have been born about the beginning of the Muslim era. The *Aghānī* further gives details of his private life and the *Diwān* also gives similar information. He had an estate in Arabia and made journeys to Syria and the 'Irāk. One of his wives came from Syria. He also took part in the wars of his tribes. In his old age he became blind.

Up till recently all that we knew of Ma'n's poems were the fragments preserved in the *Aghānī* and elsewhere. P. Schwarz however discovered in the Escorial an incomplete manuscript of the *Diwān* with a commentary, the work of al-Qālī [q. v.] which he published in 1903 with a short introduction and translation of the notices in the *Aghānī*. H. Reckendorf supplemented this. In 1927 Kamāl Muṣṭafā published an edition in Cairo. It lacks some poems given by Schwarz; on the other hand it has two fragments not given by him. The introduction is in part a literal translation of Schwarz, who is mentioned by name. It is not clear from it on what the edition is based. It seems however to be based simply on Schwarz's edition without new manuscripts and, compared with it, only shows corruptions of the text, omissions and additions from other sources.

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(M. PLESSNER)

MA'N B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ŠUMĀDĪH AL-TUḌJIBĪ ABU 'L-AḤWAŠ or ABU YAḤYĀ, founder of a dynasty in the little principality of Almeria, in Eastern Spain in the middle of the xth century A. D. The principality had been founded in 1025 by the two 'Āmirid "Slavs" Khairān and Zuhair. On the latter's death in 1037, their overlord 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī 'Āmir, king of Valencia, declared it his property and in 1041 placed his brother-in-law Ma'n b. Šumādīh as governor there. The latter belonged to a noble family of Arab origin; his father had been one of the generals of the celebrated Ḥādīb al-Manšūr [q. v.] and was governor of the town of Huesca. Ma'n remained

loyal to the king of Valencia for nearly four years, then cast off his allegiance and declared himself independent. He reigned at Almeria for a few years longer and died in Ramaḍān 443 (Jan. 1052).

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MA'N B. ZĀ'IDA, ABU 'L-WALĪD AL-ŠHAIBĀNĪ, a Muslim general and governor. In the Omayyad period Ma'n was in the service of the governor of the 'Irāk, Yazīd b. 'Omar b. Hubaira, and took part in the fighting against the 'Alid rebel 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and the general of the 'Abbāsids Kaḥṭaba b. Šhabīb as well as against his son al-Ḥasan. He thus gained the enmity of al-Manšūr and after the murder of Ibn Hubaira had to go into hiding to escape the vengeance of the 'Abbāsids. But when the Rawandīs [q. v.] went to al-Hāshimīya (probably in 141 = 758—759) and tried to storm the palace of the caliph, because he had had their ringleaders arrested, Ma'n came out of his retirement, drove back the rebels with his men and rescued al-Manšūr, who at once pardoned him and gave him the governorship of the Yaman. Here he favoured his fellow tribesmen, the Banū Rabi'a, while the Yamanīs were treated with the greatest severity. He was transferred to Sidjīstān, according to the usual date, in 151 (768—769) and his son Zā'ida followed him as governor of the Yaman. Soon afterwards, probably the next year, Ma'n was murdered in Bust by some Khāridjīs, who had gained an entrance to his house by pretending they were workmen doing repairs. 151 and 158 are given for the year of his death, in addition to 152.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MA'N (BANŪ), Emirs of the Lebanon. Their political history begins with the Turkish conquest of Syria. We do not know if they were of Arab origin like the Banū Boḥtor, or Kurds like the Djunblāt, or Maghribi like the 'Abd al-Šamad, the Talhūk etc., who came to the Lebanon in the retinue of the Fātimids. When, in the xviii century, the biographer Muhibbī (*Khuṭaṣat al-Aṭhar fī 'A'yān al-Karn al-ḥādī 'aṣḥar*, iii. 266) was collecting the records of the family of the Banū Ma'n, he found they were not agreed about the genealogy of their ancestors. But he is certain that they had long been in possession of the emirate of Šūf (Southern Lebanon). He is certain that they did not belong to the princely family of the Lebanon Tanūkh. It is none the less surprising that in the monograph, which he devotes to the latter family (*Ta'rikh Bairūt*, ed. Cheikho) Šāliḥ b. Yahyā deliberately passes over the Banū Ma'n.

The Ma'n seem to have early adopted the teaching of the Druses. This step secured them the sympathies of the Druses of the Lebanon and

of the Wādī 'l-Taim at the foot of Hermon. In the latter district they were allied with the *Shihāb* emirs. Enfeebled by the struggles with the 'Alam al-Dīn — their relations and also their secular rivals — the Banū Tanūkh, themselves divided into *Ḳaisīs* and *Yamanīs*, underwent the fate of such exhausted organisms and ended by breaking up. The Ma'nids were only waiting the opportunity to seize their political heritage. This was given by the Ottoman conquest of Syria.

On the eve of the battle of Dābiḳ (1516) between the Turks and the Mamlūks of Egypt they divided in time to which side victory would incline and wiser than the Tanūkh declared for the Turks. Their chief at that time was the emir Fakhr al-Dīn I. He was one of the first of the Syrian chiefs to hasten to Damascus to congratulate Selīm I on his victory. Favourably impressed by his protestations of devotion, the Sultān sent him back to the Lebanon with enhanced prestige and authority at the expense of the Tanūkh. In this accession of power, the Ma'nid emir was much assisted by Ghazālī, a traitor to the Mamlūk cause, to whose fortunes he had decided to link that of his family. We do not know how he escaped the catastrophe that overwhelmed (Jan. 1521) his protector Ghazālī, who in the end played traitor to the Turks also.

In 1544 the emir Ḳurḳmās succeeded his father Fakhr al-Dīn and in 1585 there took place at Djūn 'Akkār the plundering of the caravan which was taking to Constantinople the taxes collected in Egypt and Syria. The Ottomans accused the Ma'n of complicity and of having sheltered the criminals. Their troops invaded the Lebanon. The emir Ḳurḳmās shut himself up in the inaccessible rock of *Shāḳif Tīrūn* near *Djizzin* (Southern Lebanon) and died there of chagrin or poison (1585).

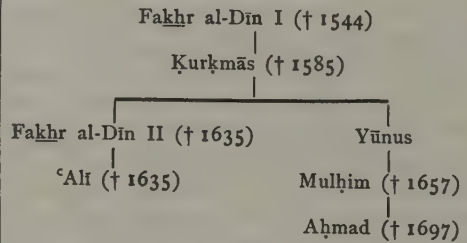
The most remarkable of the Ma'nids was undoubtedly the son and successor of Ḳurḳmās, called Fakhr al-Dīn (1585—1635), like his grandfather. The partisans of the cause of independence in the Lebanon regarded him as a precursor and have never ceased to invoke the example of his efforts for his country. For an account of his career see the article on him (ii., p. 45). The conquests beyond the Lebanon and his relations with European powers brought down upon him the vengeance of the Porte. He had to go into exile in Italy and leave to 'Alī, the eldest and most gifted of his sons along with his own brother Yūnus, the administration of the Lebanon (1613). On a promise to dismantle the chief fortresses of the Lebanon the Porte recognised 'Alī and even, after five years of exile, allowed his father Fakhr al-Dīn to return to the Lebanon. His son 'Alī displayed no enthusiasm at his return (1618). The new conquests of his father soon began to disturb the Porte, who resolved to make an end of the troublesome Ma'nid vassal. Surprised by superior forces in the Wādī 'l-Taim his son 'Alī fell fighting bravely and Fakhr al-Dīn was taken to Constantinople and put to death (1635).

The Central and Southern Lebanon, "the Mountain of the Druses" as it was officially called, was then handed to the family of the 'Alam al-Dīn, whose ambitions had never ceased from the beginning of the rise of the Banū Tanūkh, to thwart the efforts of all the rulers of the Lebanon. One of their first acts was to exterminate the last scions of the Tanūkh. This crime facilitated the rise to

power of the *Shihāb*. Their excesses and the regret for the Ma'nids soon made the 'Alam al-Dīn unpopular. After their expulsion from the Lebanon the Ma'nid emir Muḥim followed; his son Aḥmad succeeded in regaining a precarious authority under the jealous supervision of the Turkish *Pashas*. The more distinguished of the two emirs was Muḥim, son of the emir Yūnus and nephew of the great Fakhr al-Dīn. He ruled for about 20 years. Both continued the liberal traditions of their illustrious ancestor. Like him they protected the colonies of Christian agriculturists whom he had invited from northern Lebanon and for whom he had built churches and monasteries.

Aḥmad, grand-nephew of Fakhr al-Dīn II, died in 1697 without leaving male heirs and the family of the Ma'nids thus became extinct. Turkey could no longer have any illusions about the rebellious nature of the Lebanese and their impatience under a foreign yoke. To assume the direct government of the Lebanon was not attractive to the Porte and would have forced it to undertake its conquest. The grave political crisis through which Turkey was then passing prevented a new expedition being undertaken, the risks of which were very well known. On the other hand the rule of the 'Alam al-Dīn with official support had not given satisfactory results. On promise of the payment of an annual tribute, the notables of the Lebanon were authorised to form a general assembly at *Sumḳāniya* (province of *Shūf*) to elect a governor to inherit the legacy of the Banū Ma'n. Their choice fell upon the *Shihāb* emirs, allies and relatives of the old emirs.

MA'NID EMIRS



Bibliography: see that of the article FAKHR AL-DĪN and the notices of xviith century individuals scattered through Muḥibbī's biographical work quoted above; among them i. 381—387; iii. 266 sqq., 299—303; iv. 396, 409, 426—427; Ḥaidar *Shihāb*, *Tārīkh*, Cairo 1900, p. 709—717, 722—725, 731—741; Tannūs *Shidyak*, *Tārīkh al-A'yān fī Djabal Lubnān*, Bairūt 1859, p. 247—345; Ristelhueber, *Les traditions françaises au Liban*, Paris 1918, p. 18—21; H. Lammens, *La Syrie, précis historique*, Bairūt 1921, ii. 57, 66—94. (H. LAMMENS)

MA'NĀ (A.) means in the old language sense, significance and is so used as a grammatical term. In philosophical language the use of the word varies from the most general to the most particular so that it is impossible to give a general translation for it. It occurs in quite untechnical connections as "thought", "what is meant" or simply "thing" etc. but also has the special meaning of "conception" or as the *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, ed. by Sprenger, has it "an image of the intelligence (*ṣūra dhīhniya*) in so far as a word corresponds to it, i. e. in so far as

it is meant by a word". Horten has investigated the special meaning of the word in metaphysics (*Was bedeutet معنى als philosophischer Terminus?*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxiv. 391 sqq.). According to him, *ma'nā* is an "incorporeal reality" not merely a subjective conception. In this use it is regularly contrasted to *ṣifa*.

The plural *ma'ānī* is the name of a branch of study, namely, rhetorical style.

Bibliography: in the article; cf. also the dictionaries and *Tāshköprüzāde, Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* s. v. *ʿIlm al-Ma'ānī*. (M. PLESSNER)

MANĀF is the name of an early-Arabian idol which was venerated by *Quraish* and *Hudhail*, as may be concluded from the fact that among these clans the name 'Abd Manāf "servant of Manāf" occurred. It is said that one of Muḥammad's ancestors — the pedigree being Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf — received this name, because his mother consecrated him to Manāf, who was then the chief deity of Makka.

Whether this last statement be true or not, it does not restore to life a deity whose individuality remains to us as dim as that of all its companions. Ibn al-Kalbī knows nothing of its whereabouts, except that menstruating women were bound to keep themselves at a distance from it.

The name does not occur either in the *Qur'ān* or in classical *ḥadīth*. It derives from a root *n-w-f*, which in several Semitic languages conveys the meaning of "being elevated".

Bibliography: al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1091 sq.; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 56 sq. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MANĀKIB (A.), plural of *manāka*, means the merits and doings of a miraculous nature of celebrated holy persons of Islām, heads of schools, saints and founders of *ṭarīqa*. Other terms like *karamāt*, *faḍā'il* are used with the same meaning but less frequently. We have the titles or manuscripts of several works on eastern *manākib*. Ḥādjīdī Khalifa gives a long list of them. Among the most notable may be mentioned the *manākib* of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, of al-Shāfi' and of Abū Ḥanifa.

The literature of the *manākib* assumed a special development in Morocco from the end of the middle ages. The majority of the *ṣaḥīḥs* who played a part in the great renaissance of Islām in this country at that time had one or more monographs devoted to their *manākib* after their deaths.

For a more detailed study of the place occupied by the genre of *manākib* in the Arabic literature of Morocco cf. my *Historiens des Chorfa, Essai sur la littérature historique et géographique au Maroc du XVIème au XXème siècle*, Paris 1922, p. 44—54 and 220 sqq. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MANĀRA, tower, minaret.

Material, structure and adornment. The use of brick or stone for manāras depended on the material generally used for building in the country in question. The manāras in Spain were therefore of stone so far as one can judge from those still extant, in the African Maghrib mainly of brick, in Cairo of stone, in Arabia, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia and Mesopotamia of both, in the 'Irāk, Persia and Afghānistān of brick and in India of both. In Persia there are isolated exceptions, like the manāra in Kerāt, a structure of

stone and lime with an outer covering of tiles; indeed stone and lime were very often used for the foundations and bases without affecting the character of the edifices themselves in brick. Of considerable importance from the artistic point of view is the outer covering of a layer of tiles in Persia and the 'Irāk, from the variations and patterns of which the manāras receive their decorative exteriors; by alternating horizontal and vertical layers (*hāsārbaḥ*, bonding), by alternating reliefs and depressions, ornamental areas are formed from which strips of ornament or script arise formed of tiles specially prepared for the purpose. The Turkestān and Timūrid manāras are decorated with coloured glaze. In the post-Timūrid period also the glaze continually appears, especially in the pair of minarets which now commonly flank the entrance to a mosque (Tabriz, Mashhad, etc.). It is in the Guldests, the balconies round the top, that the art of working decoratively in brick reaches its height. Here the necessary basis for the balcony was formed by brackets arranged in layers or rows of cells (stalactite-like cornices, *muḥarnas*).

Object and Significance. The term *manāra* or *minār* is applied to all Muslim towers. They were used not only for religious purposes as places from which to call to prayer and to mark mosques but also, as before the Muslim conquest, for profane purposes as watch- and signal-towers. The tower on the top of a hill at Kerāt in Khorāsān (cf. below) is from its isolated commanding position intended as a signal-tower or column of victory and it shows that these towers were built in the Muslim period exactly like the manāras of mosques. In form and style these erections, serving different purposes, form one category, into which they also fall objectively from having the same name. There are a number of early references to such manāras, which were intended to be indicators for caravans and watch-towers (cf. Diez, *Persien, Islam. Bk. in Khurāsān*, p. 59). Such towers were however found all over the Asiatic plains and through China to the Pacific Ocean. Of course very few of them were works of art. There are a number of exceptions in the contemporary names for such towers, like that of Maḥmūd of Ghazna which is called an *amāh* in an inscription (see below). One of the minarets of the muṣallā in Herāt is called simply *imarat* in the inscription (cf. Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, p. 59). The *stambhas* or *tāts* erected by king Aśoka in India between 250—232 B.C. may be claimed as precursors of the minarets of eastern Islām; although actually pillars of much smaller size than a mināra, many of them already show the same division into a polygonal and a cylindrical section. Their object was also half religious and half monumental in character. They in turn came from the Indo-Aryan columns of wood which were put up from the earliest times as symbols of the deity. The Indo-Buddhist stambha of brick in Kābul of uncertain date is a connecting link between these and the earliest Muslim memorial towers in Ghazna (see below).

Shape. From this similarity just mentioned, it is evident that the manāras follow the traditional shape of the towers of the country in question. In the Mediterranean lands, as H. Thiersch has shown, it was the lighthouses and in Syria the watch-towers, dwelling- and church-towers that

were the predecessors in form of the manāras. The malwiya's of Sāmarrā and the manāra of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo again go back to old Oriental models. In Persia and Sijḍjān also, Nestorian church towers may have given the early manāras their square and polygonal shape (cf. Diez, *Persien, Isl. Bk. in Khurāsān*, p. 75); but in the rivalry of shapes in the eastern empire the slender cylindrical manāra, which is often also called *mil*, won. It was the victory of the monumental building without windows over the western dwelling-tower with windows. Their earliest precursors were, as already mentioned, the Indian lāts. The observatory towers built by Sultāns Maḥmūd and Ma'sūd III in Ghazna were built as memorials of victories like the Indian *Djayastambhas*. Their shape was suggested by India but remodelled by the spirit of Muslim Persia and given a character of their own (cf. Diez, *op. cit.*, p. 76 and 151 sqq.). The best monumental evidence of Indian inspiration is the Kutb Minār [q.v.] in Dehli (beg. of viith = xiiith century; cf. M. v. Berchem, in Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkm.*, p. 109 sqq.). The fact that the Persians called them *mil* points to their ancestry, the primitive poles and pillars used as indicators. To such poles, which can still be found at the present day at saints' tombs, revered by the common people in the country districts of Persia, may perhaps be traced the square and octagonal decorative shafts of the city and mosque iwāns, found in pairs in Persian towns with Turkish inhabitants and in Asia Minor. Although they are frequently in the shape of minarets and have a gallery, their object is as a rule merely decorative. Both groups of manāras, the square and the round, are hollow towers with a staircase winding up inside opening out on the gallery. In the old Persian minarets of brick, these galleries or *guldests* have been completely destroyed as they were made of wood. We must imagine them to have stood on cornices of cells with carved wooden railings, rafters and roofs such as may be seen everywhere in the surviving mināras at popular places of pilgrimage like Karbalā, Kum and Mashhad. A comparison with the galleries in the towers of the wooden churches of Eastern Europe (e.g. in Transylvania) points to the descent of the minaret galleries from wooden buildings of an everyday character.

Form and Significance of the manāras. In spite of the similarity of purpose there is a marked difference, indeed contrast, between the minarets of eastern and western Islām. The square and polygonal minarets of the Maghrib, Egypt and Syria are still essentially buildings for habitation; the cylindrical manāras of the eastern lands are on the other hand distinctly monumental buildings, pillars symbolic of the deity. The angular minarets of the west are divided into stories by mouldings and have windows for communication with the outer world; they are usually heavy on a broad base, while in contrast the cylindrical minarets of the east incorporate the symbol of the absolute which has this form, the unique, the abstract, the irresistible ascension to the deity without transitions or stopping places. The minarets of the west remain individual towers, of which hardly two are alike; in the east of the vith (xith) century the cylindrical form was already established as the absolute and only one, never to be altered nor made capable of ascension, as the only possible

form of manāra. The minarets of the west thus remain ex-watch-, church- or lighthouse-towers without bells or lights, decorative survivals of a culture foreign to their nature; those of the east on the other hand were etherealised and became spiritual manāras. The Cairo minarets were an interesting sport in their shape; the Persian and Turkish on the other hand a confession of faith in monumental form. They soar up to the heavens with unimpeded vigour. The silhouette of their tiled decoration rises upwards on close inspection till finally the eye of the beholder is held by the marked effects of light and shade on the guldest. The form of the guldest however is chosen with an idea of magical effect. The spire rests on a gallery of cells, the secret of the construction of which the spectator cannot easily grasp and the decorative gallery of wooden rafters and railings glitters with bright colours above it. A coat of glaze and the gilt top reflect far and wide a magic reflection like the glazed domes.

Shape and development of the manāra in different countries.—Syria is the original home of the square manāra, which there took over the old native form for watch-towers, dwelling-towers or grave-towers and the church-tower which succeeded them. Islām at first used the existing pre-Islāmic towers as minarets, on to which mosques were frequently built, when old churches which already had towers were not taken over and adapted (cf. Brünnow in Thiersch, *Pharos*, p. 101). The oldest minarets of this kind are in Hawrān, the land of stone building *καρ' ἐξοχόν*, which contained many old undecaying stone-towers (Bosra, manāra of the mosque of 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, inscription of the time of the Caliph 'Omar, Dār al-Muslim etc.). In Damascus the two southern minarets of the Omayyad mosque begun by Walīd in 86 (705 [?]) belonged to the old church of St. John, while the northern minaret was a completely new building of Walīd's. This is therefore the oldest independent Muslim manāra. The manāras of the Omayyad mosque became models not only for Syria but through the Omayyad migration to Spain (Cordova) for the Maghrib also. Wherever we later find in Syria the Egyptian tower-form, there is always definite Egyptian influence present and as a rule they are Mamlūk foundations. It is still hardly possible to compile a chronological list of Syrian manāras (cf. Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 99—110 and the illustrations).

Palestine. In this country on the borders of Egypt, the influence of the latter country made itself felt. The octagonal manāra on a square base predominates. The manāra of the chief mosque in Ghazza shows an octagon diminishing in width by successive stages, while the minaret of the mosque of al-Hāshim there has the same diameter throughout and is only divided into four stories with windows by large mouldings. The smaller mosques have short squat octagonal towers. The manāra of 'Alī Bakka in Hebron is half rectangular and half octagonal with a high mihrāb-like niche in the lower story. The octagonal tower is found as far as Jerusalem, where it meets with the northern Syrian square towers. The latter is again found at Ḥaram al-Sharīf and in the mosque of Sidna 'Omar beside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and along the coast in Jaffa, Ḥaifa, Sidon, Tyre and Bairūt, and in the interior in Tiberias, Ṣafed, Nāblus, etc. On the other hand

the manāra in Ramla of the viith (xiiith) century is unique with its buttresses and pointed arched niches and dwarf pillars and columns. Thiersch takes it to be a copy of the most celebrated Christian tower of the country, the bell-tower of the Holy Sepulchre built in 1160—1180 in Jerusalem, of which only the base is still standing; (cf. Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 119 *sqq.* and the pictures there).

Egypt. The oldest manāra in Egypt is the tower of the Djāmi' b. Ṭūlūn. Like the Malwiya of Sāmarrā, this minaret stands outside the mosque and resembles them in form also, although it differs in its material which is limestone. The first storey is a square tower with a window with horseshoe arches, the second is cylindrical and an outer staircase leads up around them. The two upper octagonal stories are later in date, having been erected by the Mamlūk Sulṭān Lādjin. Nothing final can be said about this manāra, apparently erected by a foreign architect and combining a number of foreign influences. The manāras next to it in time are the five towers of hewn stone of the mosque of Ḥakīm with their covering of tiles of a later date; they must be contemporary with the mosque, which was built in 393—404 (1002—1013), and were covered by Baibars II and given new spires (703 = 1303—1304). They are of different shapes. The northern tower is cylindrical on a square base, the southern has a square lower half and four octagonal upper stories, each narrower than the one below it, the first of which has four semi-cylindrical cornices in the corners. The decoration in relief on the stone has analogies in the gateway of the same date (pictures in Diez, *K. d. isl. Völk.* 1, p. 58; 2, p. 54). Of these two towers the southern one may be considered the ancestor of the minarets of Cairo. Its square-octagonal form, usually crowned by a cylindrical storey, survives. The further development is limited to the proportions, which aim at greater elegance and slenderness, and the breaking up of the surface with niches and muḳarnat cornices. Towards the end of the second Mamlūk period, say under Ka'it Bey, it reached its culmination. The minaret of the mosque at his tomb was never to be surpassed in grace and wealth of ornament. A list of the most important minarets of Cairo between 1000—1356 A. D. is given by Thiersch with many illustrations.

Arabia. As in Palestine, in Arabia there was no native type of manāra and indeed Arabia never developed any sacral architecture with a character of its own. The minaret of the mosque of Walid in Medīna may have been Syrian in form. The manāras at present standing in Medīna belong to the sixth restoration of the mosque by Ka'it Bey in 888 (1483). They are slender minarets of the Mamlūk type with octagonal and cylindrical stories. The seven manāras in Mecca, the sanctuary of which was ten times restored, only show modern forms of tower, frequently influenced by the slender Turkish form (cf. Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 123). Two slender round minarets of the ixth (xvth) century still flank the ruined mosque on the island of Bahrain (cf. Diez, *Jahrb. d. as. Kunst*, 1925, ii. 2).

Maghrib. The oldest *ṣawma'a*, as the manāras of the Maghrib are called, in Africa is in Ǧairawān, the massive three storied tower of the mosque of Sidī 'Oḳba of 105 (724). The two upper receding stories with blind niches are probably of later

date than the unadorned upper storey with loop-holes on three sides and three windows only on the side that looks on the court. The cistern in the basement and the measurements of this tower which are exactly half those of the Pharos, suggested to Thiersch that it was an imitation of the Pharos. Another *ṣawma'a*, also of the iind (viiith) century was the minaret of the Djāmi' al-Zitūna in Tunis before its restoration in the xixth century. Old pictures of it show a plain square lower storey with a narrower octagonal upper storey and the platform on top enclosed by a breast-high parapet with a pillared gallery. Of this probably only the lower part is old, while the second storey and the parapet date from the restoration of 1653 (pictures in *K. d. O.*, ix.; Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst*, vi.). Egyptian influence, in so far as such existed, extended to Tunis. West of Tunis begins the Spanish sphere of influence, the model for which was the *ṣawma'a* in Cordova built by 'Abd al-Rahmān III in 339—340 (951) and destroyed in 1593. A description of it is given by Idrisi (c. 548 = 1154). According to him, the minaret of Cordova was a high quadrangular tower, square in plan, the sides of which were richly adorned with inscriptions in relief. The upper section terminated in two rows of blind arcades probably like those still to be seen in the mosque of Cordova and on other minarets of the Maghrib. On the platform was a second, probably also square, storey with four doors and upon the dome which crowned it shone three balls of gold and two of silver and lily leaves (cf. Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 127). This minaret however had a predecessor in a more modest tower built by 'Abd al-Rahmān I, the model of which according to Marçais (*Rev. Afr.*, 1906) was Walid's minarets in Damascus. The second, imposing and splendid, minaret at Cordova seems to have served as a model for the *ṣawma'as* of Seville and Morocco. At the same time we must consider the claims of the minaret of the Ka'a Banī Ḥammād built in 393 (1001), the only tower that survives of the Fātimid period, which was half destroyed by the Almohads in 1152 (cf. Saladin, *Bull. arch.*, 1904, p. 243 *sqq.*). It is a high square tower of hewn stone, smooth on three sides and embellished on the courtyard side only with shallow blind niches and balcony doors in three layers above one another (pictures in Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, xviii.; Saladin, *Manuel*, p. 217; Marçais, *Manuel* and *op. cit.*). This tower already shows the scheme of decoration of the Giralda and allied towers, namely the vertical combination of two windows or doors of the middle axis above one another by flanking double high shallow niches. The almost contemporary Giralda in Seville of about 1190 A. D., the so-called Tower of Ḥasan in Rabat and the Ḳuṭubiya in Marrākush are allied to it, the two latter of the end of the vith (xith) century (pictures in Thiersch, Kühnel, Marçais), all square with narrower square top stories, of which only that of the Ḳuṭubiya still survives. These towers already show the system of decorating the surface now becoming typical in the later Maghribi manāras, the network of geometrical patterns in high relief and the beautiful windows with horseshoe and toothed arches and muḳarnat niches. In the other towers of Morocco, in Fez, Tetuan, Tangier, etc., are more modern minarets. The characteristic type of Algeria is best seen in the numerous minarets in Tlemcen, mainly of the xiiith—xivth

century. They continue the form, characterized above, only the geometrical decoration in relief gains the upper hand and the windows disappear; their appearance is not quite so solid. On the other hand, the huge minaret of the great mosque of Maṣṣūra is highly thought of in Morocco for its size as well as its decoration, because it was built by a Moroccan Marinid (701-702 = 1302). The square tower therefore dominates the whole of the west. It is only later in the xvth century that we find the octagonal tower appearing in Tunis, which Saladin attributes to Ḥanaflī influence.

The 'Irāq and D̲j̲azīra give a picture of development similar to that of Persia and the lands east of Persia. The oldest manāras still standing, the two malwiyas in Sāmarrā of the iith (ixth) century, have remained the only examples of spiral towers but they are significant monuments of the early Muslim Arab variation of Babylonian architecture (the spiral as motif!). These genuinely Arab buildings were followed by a reaction towards the Mediterranean style with square and octagonal towers and with the coming of the Turkish peoples and Saldjūk rule the cylindrical minaret, usually on a polygonal base. The following list is given by Herzfeld (*Arch. Reise*, ii. 229): Raḳqa, mosque extra muros, rectangular tower of the ivth (xth) or vth (xith) century; Raḳqa, intra muros, a round tower, Nūr al-Dīn 561 (1166); Abū Huraira, round; Bālis, octagonal, 589 (1193) to 615 (1218); Irbil, round on octagonal base 586-630 (1190-1232); Sindjār, round on polygonal base 598 (1201); Baghdād, Sūḳ al-Ḡhazl, round on a base (?) (630 = 1232); Mōṣul, minaret of the great mosque, round on a cubical base; Mōṣul, minaret of the Ka'ā, round on a cubical base; Mōṣul, Manāra al-Mak-sūra; Ta'ūk, round shaft on a polygonal base. In addition there is the unique octagonal minaret built of small broken stones with a covering of plaster, on the island of 'Ana in the Euphrates of the vth (xith) century (Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 319, and Pl. 137) and the bulk of the later minarets from the viith (xivth) century onwards, which repeat this type.

Persia. The oldest manāras of Irān and the countries adjoining on east and north, Afghānistān, Sidjistan and Turkestan seem to have been usually octagonal, as the ruin of the manāra, possibly of the iith (ixth) century in Zaranj, Nād 'Alī, Sidjistan (now 25-30 feet, originally twice as high; cf. G. P. Tate, *Seistan*, Calcutta 1910, p. 202 and Plate) shows. The models for these earliest manāras may have been the watch-towers found all over the Asiatic steppes, hence the blind window and the great diameter. Octagonal manāras still exist in Amrān, Sidjistan (vth-viith century?); octagonal with cylindrical upper storey are the two observatory towers of Ḡhazna of about 410 (1019-1020) and 495 (1101-1102) (the original height was estimated at about 140 feet; the inscriptions on the two towers only say that their erection was ordered by Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd respectively, both with full titles; cf. Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, p. 162 sqq.). Counterparts to these towers in two parts are the manāras in Sirwān, east of Herāt (c. 100 feet high) and Kerāt in eastern Khurāsān (c. 80 feet high), with octagonal bases and cylindrical shaft, both of the vth (xith)-viith (xiith) centuries. Cylindrical manāras of the vth-viith (xiith-xiith) centuries still survive in Persia and the lands east of it in Sangbast, Firūzābād, Kāsim-

ābād (Sidjistan), Khosrugird (Sabzawar) of the year 505 (1111), Damghān, (2) Bastām, Sawa, Semnān, Tabas, Kunya Urgendj (old K̲h̲iwa), Termes on the Amū Daryā, Bukhārā, Manār-i Kalyān 542 (1147-1148), Kāshān, Mestoryān (Turkoman steppe north of the Atrek, 2 towers) and Iṣfahān (4) (cf. the list in Diez, *Persien, Isl. Bk. in Churāsān*, b. 168-169). In the Timūrid period with the general flourishing of architecture the manāras are given a further last increase in their embellishment, a few examples of which are still to be seen in the Timūrid ruins in Herāt. Here we still have the ruins of nine polygonal-cylindrical manāras the socles of which are usually of slabs of white marble with inscriptions in relief, the shafts to the top covered with glazed mosaics of fabulous beauty which in their delicacy recall the work of the carver in ivory (cf. Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, p. 58 sqq. and illustrations, p. 157 sqq.). To this Timūrid group also belong the manāras in Samarkand mostly in ruins and the minarets of the Masjdīd-i Shāh in Mashhad built by the amīr Malik Shāh and the two minarets now destroyed of the Blue Mosque in Tabriz, built in the time of Djahān Shāh (841-872 = 1437-1467). The last mentioned minarets belong to the group of double towers found all over Persia and Turkestan which either flank the doors or stand at the corners of the wall of a mosque or are built on the top of the doors. These double towers which become more and more common after the Saldjūk and Mongol invasions never of course attained the height of the single manāras just described and their importance lies mainly in their decoration.

Asia Minor and Turkey. Among the Saldjūks and Ottomans the manāra lost the character and individuality which it revealed among most other peoples, at least in the early period. Apart from isolated exceptions like the very interesting fluted minaret at Adalia (pictures in Lanckoronski, and Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 149), the minarets are henceforth subordinated in the general architectonic scheme to the main building, either placed as a pair at the gate or as a single tower built into the wall of the mosque. It is true that these arrangements are found also in Persia, which was filled with Turkish tribes, but there was constant change there, while in Asia Minor a certain style soon became predominant which culminated in the absolute uniformity of the Ottoman minarets. The early minarets of Asia Minor of the xiiith century usually have their surfaces broken up into round and smooth areas which give them a certain charm, especially when this plastic ornamentation is combined with the painting of frescoes and with relief (Laranda Masjdīd and Indje Minareli, Konia, Giök Medrese, Siwās, etc.). The Ottomans heightened the minaret which they had taken over from the Saldjūks, made it still more slender and gave it a long conical spire which has become typical. According to the importance of the mosque, it was given one tower on the front or flanked with two or even 4 or six minarets (the Mosque of Sulṭān Aḥmad, Constantinople) and these were given one, two or three galleries.

India. In India there is only a single old manāra of importance: the Kuṭb Minār (q. v. and the illustrations) in Old Delhi built by order of Aibek Kuṭb al-Dīn and completed by Iltutmish (diameter 45 feet and height 240 feet). The three lower stories of this, the highest and finest ma-

nāra in the Muslim world, are built of red sandstone, the two upper, which have been restored, of white marble with layers of sandstone. The pavilion which once crowned the top fell down in 1803 during an earthquake and was put up again on the ground. The exterior is of angular and round flutings and ornamented with inscriptions from the *Qurʾān*. There is no reason to doubt that the numerous mosques of the Pathan dynasties also had minarets but most of them seem to be destroyed and so far as I am aware no one has yet studied the subject. Isolated surviving manāras like the detached slender round minaret of the Lat-ki-Masjd in *Hiṣār* show however that they were usual (cf. *Arch. Surv. India, Annual Report*, Pt. I, 1913—1914, Pl. 1). But their occurrence in India was confined to particular areas. The mosques of *Djawnpur*, *Sirkej*, *Manda*, *Kulbargah* and other places usually of the xivth—xvth century have no minarets. On the other hand they are characteristic of the xvth—xvth century mosques in *Aḥmadābād*, built in pairs flanking the doors or at the corners of the surrounding wall, as in the Mongol mosques of Persia. In shape, the towers of *Aḥmadābād* are quite Indian with well marked outlines, many mouldings outside and three to six galleries. In the Moghul empire again the smooth round or faceted minaret of Persian origin again became predominant but was hinduised by the pavilion placed on the top and by other alterations.

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MANĀT, an old Arabian goddess. Her character can only be deduced from her name, which may safely be connected as a plural (for *manawāt*) with the Aramaic *menātā*, plur. *menāwātā*, portion, lot, Hebrew *mānā*, plur. *mānōt* and also with the god of fate *menī*, ls. lxx. 11 (cf. lxx.). In Arabic we have corresponding to it, *manīya*, plur. *manāya*, "the allotted, fate, especially of death". She was therefore a goddess of fate, especially of death. Her main sanctuary was a black stone among the Hudhails in Kudaid, not far from Mecca on the road to Medina near a hill called Mushallal. She was however worshipped by many Arab tribes, primarily by the Aws and *Khazradj* in *Yathrib*. In Mecca she was very popular along with the goddess al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā [q. v.]; the three (according to the *Qurʾān*) were regarded as Allāh's daughters, and in a weak moment Muḥammad declared their worship permitted (cf. *Sūra* liii. 19 *sqq.*). The obscure expression "Manāt, the third, the other" is probably due simply to the rhyme. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, she was the oldest deity, whose worship gave rise to that of the others, because names compounded with Manāt occur earlier than other theophoric names. Another view is found in the poem of Ibn Hishām, p. 145, where "the two daughters of ʿUzzā" are Manāt and al-Lāt. As an independent deity we find her in the Nabataean inscriptions of al-Hidjr, where מנרת (the Aramaic plural form; cf. above) is often found along with *Dushāra* and others. Manāt is connected in a peculiar way by some writers with the great *ḥadīdj* [q. v.], for we are told that several tribes including the Aws and *Khazradj* assumed the *iḥrām* at the sanctuary of Manāt and on the conclusion of the rites cut their hair there and dropped the *iḥrām* [q. v.]. Wellhausen sees in this an erroneous confusion of an independent pilgrimage to Manāt with the great *ḥadīdj*, as later writers acknowledge none but the latter; it is however possible that some such confusion may really have taken place in pagan times.

That Manāt was also a domestic deity is evident from the story in Ibn Hishām, p. 350 (cf. *Wakīdī*, ed. Wellhausen, p. 350). The destruction of the

great sanctuary in Kudaid after the capture of Mecca is attributed by some to Abū Sufyān, by others to 'Alī, according to Wākidi, *op. cit.*, Ibn Sa'd, iii/ii. 15, 25, to the Awsī Sa'd b. Zaid.

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MANĀZGERD. [See MALĀZGERD.]

AL-MANĀZIL (A.), pl. of *al-manzil*, more fully *manāzil al-ḥamar*, the stations of the moon. Just as for the sun the zodiacal circle is divided into 12 stations each of 30°, which it traverses in the course of a year, so the course of the moon is connected with 28 groups of stars, each of which corresponds to one day of its course, so that on an average each is an arc of 13° apart. The settings of the sun at these stations, Arabic *naw*, pl. *anwā*, are of decisive importance for the beginning and forecasting of the phenomena of the weather and the fertility or otherwise of a year which depends on them, i.e. for the peasant's calendar. As regards the testimony of the Arab poets, the reader may be referred to the verses given by al-Ḳazwīnī. M. Steinschneider in particular has published very thorough investigations of the importance of the stations of the moon among the Hindus and Arabs from Arabic, Hebrew and late Latin sources. The Arabic names of the stations and the constellations belonging to them are as follows:

1. *al-Sharātān*, "the two signs", also *al-Ashrūt*; the Horns of the Ram (β γ Arietis).
2. *al-Buṭāin*, "the little paunch"; the paunch of the Ram (ε δ ρ Arietis).
3. *al-Thuraiyā*, "the Pleiades" [q. v.].
4. *al-Dabarān*, "the Aldebaran" (α Tauri) with the Hyades.
5. *al-Haḳ'a*, three small stars on the head of Orion.
6. *al-Han'a*, the stars *al-Zirr* and *al-Maisān* (γ ξ Geminorum).
7. *al-Dhirā'*, "the Lion's Paw"; Castor and Pollux (α β Geminorum).
8. *al-Nathra*, "the nostril" of the Lion or fence with asses (in Cancer).
9. *al-Ṭarf*, i.e. *Ṭarf al-Asad*, "the eye" of the Lion (ξ Cancrī λ Leonis).
10. *al-Djabha*, i.e. *Djabhat al-Asad*, "the forehead" of the Lion (ζ γ η λ Leonis).
11. *al-Zubra*, i.e. *Zubrat al-Asad*, "the mane" of the Lion (δ δ Leonis).
12. *al-Ṣarfa*, "the weathercock" (β Leonis).
13. *al-Sawwā*, "the barkers" or Dogs (β γ γ δ ε Virg.).
14. *al-Simāk*, "the prominent", more accurately *al-Simāk al-a'zal*, the unarmed S. (α Virg. = Spica; cf. *E. I.*, iii. 456).
15. *al-Ghafr*, "the cover" (φ ι x Virginis).
16. *al-Zubāna*, i.e. *Zubānat al-Akrab*, "the pincers" of the Scorpion (α β Librae).
17. *al-Iklīl*, "the crown", i.e. the head of the Scorpion, the three stars (β δ π Librae).
18. *al-Ḳalb*, "the heart" of the Scorpion, the Antares (α Scorpi.).

19. *al-Shawla*, "the tail" or sting of the Scorpion (λ υ Scorpi.).

20. *al-Na'ā'im*, "the ostriches", 8 stars in Sagittarius (γ δ ε η σ φ τ ζ Sagitt.).

21. *al-Balda*, "the town", an area in Sag. without stars.

22. *Sa'd al-Dhābiḥ*, "the luck of the slayer" or sacrificers (α β Capric.).

23. *Sa'd Bulā'*, "the luck of the devourer" (μ ν Aquar.).

24. *Sa'd al-Su'ūd*, "the greatest luck" (β ξ Aquar.).

25. *Sa'd al-Akhbiya*, "the luck of the tents" (γ ζ η Aquar.).

26. *al-Fargh al-arwal*, "the fore socket" on the pail (α β Pegasi).

27. *al-Fargh al-thānī*, "the hinder socket" on the pail (γ Peg. α Androm.).

28. *Baṭn al-Hūt*, "the fish-belly", a number of stars in the form of a fish (β Androm. the brightest).

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MANBIDJ (Bambyke, Hierapolis), an ancient city in northern Syria, two days' journey or 10 farsakh N.E. of Halab, about 3 farsakhs from the Euphrates. It lay in a fertile plain, and had a double wall built by the Greeks. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, there was a very fine church there, built of wood (*B. G. A.*, vi. 161 sq.). Ps. Dionysios (ed. Chabot, p. 47, 68) mentions a church of the Virgin and another of St. Thomas in Manbidj. There were no buildings in the neighbourhood of the town (Nāṣir-i Khuraw, ed. Schefer, p. 31); Abu 'l-Fidā' mentions the many canals, fruit- and particularly mulberry-trees there, the latter for the silkworm culture. As K. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, x. 1057 sqq.) has shown, the name Βάμβυξ for the silkworm can hardly be connected with "Bambyke", the old name of Manbidj; on the other hand, the Levantine trade-name *bombassino*, *bombagio*, common in the middle ages for raw cotton, seems to be derived from Manbidj; it is perhaps also concealed in the name of the ancient Phrygian Hierapolis, Pambuk-Ḳal'esi (as early as Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, i. 148: Mabbug in Phrygia). The Arabs called the robes made in Manbidj, *manbidjāniya* (Lammens, *Fāṭima*, Rome 1912, p. 71).

Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm gives the following account of its origin: Khuraw [I] built it, when he conquered Syria (in reality the town in 540 A.D. ransomed itself from a threatened siege by paying tribute), built a fire-temple there and made a certain Yazdānyār of the family of Ardashir b. Bābak its governor. According to other authorities, Manbih was the name of the fire-temple, from which the town took its name (Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Ta'rikh Halab*, ed. Sarkis, Bairut 1909, p. 227). Maḥbūb (Agapios) b. Ḳustāṭīn of Manbidj says in his history of the world written

in the tenth century, at the end of the history of the patriarchs (ed. Vasiliev, *Patrol. Orient.*, v. [1910], p. 664): "in the year 31 after the birth of Levi, the son of Jacob, queen Samrîn built a great sanctuary for the worship of the idol *K-y-w-s* in a town on the banks of the Euphrates (?), installed 70 priests and called the town Hieropolis (Mahbûb:

أبرولوبيس; Ibn al-Shihna, p. 227: أبرولوبيس, var. أبرولوبوس), i. e. the City of the Priests; this was the town *Manbidj al-'Atika*". For *K-y-w-s Kaiwân* should be read; on the coins of Hieropolis this deity seems also to be depicted (Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Galatia, Cappadoc. and Syria* [Brit. Mus.], 1899, p. liii.), and the Armenian Epiphanius (ed. Finck, p. 12) says: "Erapôlis consists of 3 towns: it is called Μανβέτιν; in it is the idol *Kaynana*"; with Preuschen (*Götting. Gel. Anz.*, clxvii. [1905], ii., p. 837, note 3) we should here also read *Kaywan*.

In reality Manbidj seems to have already been known to the Assyrians (as Nappigi or Nampigi in Salmanassar, *Karkh-Monolith*, rev. 35; Johns, *Assyr. Bibl.*, xvii. 11, 82; cf. also Bambuki on the cuneiform tablet *Brit. Mus. K 180*, in Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, No. 773; Cheyne's *Encycl. Bibl.*, s. v. *Carchemish*). If the name is of Semitic origin, it perhaps goes back to a Syriac word *mambog*, "spring" (Nöldeke, *Nachr. G.G.W.*, 1876, p. 5—8). The Greeks knew as the name of the town besides Hierapolis (on coins always Hieropolis) also the native form of Βαμβύκη (rarely Βανβύκη: *Papyr. Oxyrh.*, xi. [1915], p. 197, col. v., l. 100); in the common proper name Μαμβογαίος etc., Nabataean Mambogitā, the name of the town is concealed (for references see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*, suppl. vol., iv., p. 733). The town which at first was included in Kyrrhestikē and afterwards was made, probably by Constantius, the capital of the Syrian Euphratesia, played an important part in ancient times as the centre of the worship of Atargatis. Bardaisān was brought up here by a heathen priest Anūdūzbar and his son Kuduz. After the triumph of Christianity, the pagan cult was supplanted by the worship of holy relics, which also brought numbers of the faithful to Bambyke (Procopius of Gaza, *Panegy.*, ch. 18, in Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, lxxxvii., iii., col. 2817). From the third century onwards the town is frequently mentioned as a place for the concentration of troops for campaigns against the east or for the defence of Syria. In the Byzantine period it was a great centre of the Monophysites, according to whose tradition Justinian married Theodora in Hierapolis; she is said to have belonged to the neighbourhood of the town (Michael Syrus, ii. 189). After the end of the Byzantine period, it was for a considerable period a stronghold of the Maronites (Michael Syrus, ii. 412, 511).

In the year 16 Abū 'Ubaida went to Ḥalab al-Sādjūr and sent 'Iyād b. Ghānim on to Manbidj. The inhabitants capitulated under the same conditions as the people of Antioch; when Abū 'Ubaida reached the town, the agreement was ratified (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 150; al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 161; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Bairūt, p. 228; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii., p. 792, § 281, p. 794, § 284, p. 797, § 290, p. 816, § 325). Manbidj seems to have enjoyed a certain degree of independence down to the time of Yazid I; the inhabitants of the town, for example, asked

'Umar for permission to trade within the caliphate (Lammens, *M. F. O. B.*, vi. 437, note 1). The vicinity of the town was settled by Yamanī tribes (Michael Syrus, iii. 47), notably the Banī Taghlib (Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 445, note 1). Yazid, when he created the *djund* of Kinnasrīn threw Manbidj into this military province (al-Balādhuri, p. 132; Lammens, p. 437 *sqq.*). Hārūn al-Rashīd separated it again, made it the capital of the frontier district of the 'Awāsim [q. v.] in 786 and appointed 'Abd al-Malik b. Šālīh b. 'Alī as wālī there in 173, to whom the town owed many buildings (al-Balādhuri, *loc. cit.*). In 131 (748) it was severely damaged by an earthquake, in which the church of the Jacobites collapsed during mass and buried many of the worshippers in its ruins (Pseudo-Dionysios, transl. Chabot, p. 42; Michael Syrus, ii. 510; Beathgen, *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgent.*, viii./iii., 1884, p. 126). The brother of the caliph al-Mu'tašim, al-'Abbās, who had taken part in the mutiny led by the general 'Udjaif b. 'Anbasa, was tortured to death by Ḥaidar b. Kāwus, the Afshīn of Ušrūšana, at Manbidj in 223 (838) (Ṭabarī, iii. 1265; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vi. 349; Michael Syrus, iii. 101; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalif.*, ii. 320). The conquest of Syria by Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn in 264 (877—878) brought Manbidj also under Egyptian suzerainty (Ibn al-Shihna, p. 228). In the account of the εἰκὼν ἀχειροποίητος of Edessa, said to have been compiled by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos, a miracle is mentioned that took place in the time of Christ at the κάστρον Ἱεραιπόλεως, ὃ τῇ μὲν Σαρακηνῶν φωνῇ Μανβίχ λέγεται, τῇ δὲ τῶν Σύρων Μαβούκ (*De imag. Edess.*, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, cxiii., col. 432; better in von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, in *Texte u. Unters. z. altchristl. Lit.*, xviii., 51**). Abgar's envoy, who was spending the night in a brickworks near Manbidj on his way back from Jerusalem hid there among the bricks the sacred handkerchief with the portrait of Christ. Terrified by the bright light like that of fire, the heathen inhabitants of the neighbourhood hurried next morning to the brickworks and found there a brick with a miraculous copy of the portrait, which they carefully preserved in their city.

The Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla, soon after the capture of Manbidj in 947, made his cousin, the poet Abū Firās, governor of Manbidj (Dvořák, *Abū Firās*, p. 75). When the Domestikos Nicephoros Phocas invaded Syria in 962, Abū Firās, who happened to be hunting outside the town, was taken prisoner by the strategos Būdrus (Theodoros?, Petros?), a nephew of the emperor, and taken first to Kharshana and then to Constantinople (Dvořák, 98 *sq.*; Weil, iii. 17) where he wrote poems full of longing for Manbidj and his mother there (Dvořák, p. 300, 302, 323 *sq.*). In 966 when emperor, Nicephoros encamped before Manbidj and made the people of the town produce the sacred brick (*al-Kirmīda*, i. e. κεραμίδιον) but did them no other injury (Yahyā al-Antākī, *Cod. Parisin. Bibl. Nat.*, anc. fond ar. No. 131 A, fol. 96a; the translation by Freytag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 212, has been corrected by Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv., 1883, p. 07—08, note d). The Byzantine writers who apparently did not know that Μάμπιτζε was the Arabic name of Hierapolis and sought to locate it in Palestine or near Hims, wrongly make Nicephoros take Manbidj in 968 and carry off the brick and some hairs from the head of John the Baptist (which was only done

by his successor) (Leo Diaconos, Bonn, iv. 10, p. 71; John Skylitzes, ii. 364; Zonaras, xvi. 25, p. 503; Glykas, Bonn, p. 569 etc.) but this statement cannot be reconciled either with the route given for his campaign of 968 (cf. v. Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 1; Schlumberger, *Niceph. Phocas*, p. 704—706, note 5), nor with the bounds of his conquests given by Kamāl al-Dīn (in Freytag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 232). It was his successor John Tzimiskes, who first took the fortress (φρούριον) of Manbij in 974, and found there Christ's sandals and some still bloody hairs of John the Baptist, which he brought as relics to Byzantium (Leo Diaconos, x. 4, p. 165).

In the year 1025 the Mirdāsīd Šālih took the town (J. J. Müller, *Historia Merdasidarum ex Halebensibus Cemalettini annalibus excerpta*, Bonn 1819; Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 68). By the treaties between Mahmūd and 'Aṭiya [cf. HALAB, ii., p. 345^a] Manbij passed in 456—457 to 'Aṭiya (Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 56 sq.). In 472 (1079—1080) Tādī al-Dawla Tutuṣh occupied the town (Müller, p. 88). The emperor Romanus IV Diogenes took it on his Syrian campaign in 1068 and strengthened the defences of the citadel (John Skylitzes, Bonn, ii. 673, 675, 685; Michael Attaliates, Bonn, p. 108 sq., 111, 116; Zonaras, xviii. 11, 26, Bonn, iii. 691; Michael Syrus, iii. 168; Matthēos of Uḥay, transl. Dulaurier, p. 162; Weil, iii. 112; Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 63 sq., where it is wrongly stated that Manbij remained Greek for 70 years). It was not till 479 (1086) that Malik-šāh deprived the Greeks of Manbij and al-Ruhā², and gave the rule over Ḥalab, Ḥamā, Manbij and al-Lādhiḳiya to Aḳ-Sonḳor (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 98; Weil, iii. 131).

In 504 (1110—1111) the Franks conquered Manbij, occupied and plundered the town and advanced as far as Bālis which they burned (Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 88; Weil, iii. 193; according to Michael Syrus, iii. 215, probably wrongly, in the year 502). But they lost Manbij again in the same year (504) (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Muslem.*, ed. Reiske, iii. 370). Baldwin II in 513 (1119) invaded the lands east of Ḥalab as far as Manbij and al-Nukra, and Joscelyn, in the following year, on the pretext that one of his followers had been imprisoned in Manbij and that no compensation had been given to him for it, plundered the lands of al-Nukra and al-Aḥaṣṣ (*Recueil hist. or. crois.*, iii. 623, 625). When Nūr al-Dawla Balag enticed the amir of Manbij, Ḥassān al-Ba'albakki, within his power and then imprisoned him in Pālū, Ḥassān's brother 'Isā seized the citadel of Manbij, which Balag then attacked with siege artillery (1124). 'Isā then appealed for help to Joscelyn and had him proclaimed lord of Manbij, but Joscelyn suffered a severe defeat before the walls of the town. On the next day, however, Balag was mortally wounded by an arrow shot by an unknown hand (according to Kamāl al-Dīn, by 'Isā himself; according to Matthēos of Edessa, by a sun-worshipper). In 518 (1124) Ḥassān was liberated and returned to Manbij (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 436; Michael Syrus, iii. 211; Matthēos of Edessa, transl. Dulaurier, p. 311 sq.; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 161 sq.). The Crusaders never again took the town after the brief occupation in 504. Although we know of Frankish archbishops of the town (cf. William of Tyre, xiii. 11; xv. 14; xvii. 17) one of whom, Franco, took part in the Council of An-

tioc of Nov. 30, 1139 (Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 223), we also know that they did not reside in Manbij itself but in Dulūk (Doliche) (Michael Syrus, iii. 191). In the old French text of William of Tyre, the archbishopric is called *Geraple* (ed. Paris, i. 489; ii. 68, 167), a name which has often been identified with the modern *Djerābulus* (*Djerābis*) (Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie*, Paris 1883, p. 315; cf. also Bischof, in *Ausland*, 1873, p. 136). This equation must however be rejected on phonetic grounds (Hogarth, *Annals of Archaeol. and Anthropol.*, Liverpool, ii. [1909], p. 166, note) as well as historical (*Djerābulus* = Syr. *Agropos*, Εἰρωπος).

The Atābeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī in 521 (1127—1128) seized the towns of Manbij and Ḥiṣn Bizā'a and entered Ḥalab on the 17th Djumādā II, 522 (*Recueil hist. or. crois.*, i. 17, 380; ii. 69). The emperor John II Comnenos on his campaign against Zangī (1142) only captured Bizā'a (Πιζά), while he passed by Manbij (τὸ Βέμβερζ) because, as Niketas (Bonn, p. 37) disparagingly remarks, it was considered easy to take and lay in the hollow of a valley (ὅς ἐνακατῶνιστον κρήν κ' ἀπὶ πεδίου κείμενον ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν), a statement, which in view of the lack of success at the sieges of Ḥalab and Šaizar hardly seems credible. Anna Comnena mentions (Bonn, i. 331) a certain Βεμβερζιώτης (i. e. al-Manbijī), τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης λαχῶν, as in the Byzantine service; but the Byzantines never occupied the town itself after the eleventh century.

An amir Ḥassān of Manbij, probably a descendant of the same name of the Ḥassān already mentioned, distinguished himself frequently in the fighting against the Crusaders, especially by the capture of Tell Bāshir on July 8, 1151 (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, iii. 526 sq.; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 197, 268, note 3, 281). He was succeeded by his son Ghāzī (Kamāl al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 543). He rebelled against Nūr al-Dīn from whom he had received Manbij as a fief. Nūr al-Dīn sent troops to Manbij, deposed Ghāzī and made his brother Kuṭb al-Dīn 'Ināl (in Kamāl al-Dīn: Niyāl) his successor (*R. O. L.*, iii. 543; *Recueil hist. or. crois.*, ii. 241). After ruling for eleven years, this well beloved amir, who had built a Ḥanafī school in Manbij (*R. O. L.*, iii. 544), was deposed in 572 (1176—1177) by Saladin (*Recueil*, i. 46 sq.; ii. 241; iv. 132; Michael Syrus, iii. 366). According to a note in Kamāl al-Dīn (*R. O. L.*, iv. 147), in the same year (572) Ghars al-Dīn Kīlīdī set out with his followers to Manbij against al-Duwaik to whom Malik al-Nāṣir had granted the town as a fief; but this al-Duwaik is otherwise quite unknown. Taḳī al-Dīn 'Umar of Ḥamā, a nephew of Malik al-Nāṣir who was in Manbij in 577, wished to bar 'Izz al-Dīn's way to Ḥalab; when he failed in this, he retired to Ḥamā, but was not allowed to enter it by the inhabitants (*R. O. L.*, iv. 156). 'Imād al-Dīn attacked Manbij in 578 (1182—1183) and laid waste the country round it (*R. O. L.*, iv. 162). Saladin made his brother Malik al-'Adīl governor of Manbij and he went there in Ramaḍān 579 (1183—1184) (*Rec. or. hist. crois.*, iv. 249). He seems to have spent most of his time in camp, for in 582 (1186—1187) the sultān gave Manbij to Taḳī al-Dīn along with other towns (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Musl.*, iv. 72). Among the leaders, whom Saladin sent in 1190 against the Germans who after Frederick's death were trying to reach 'Akkā, was Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Taḳī al-Dīn of Manbij (*Recueil*

hist. or. crois., iii. 165). Saladin's third son Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī in 589 (1193) was allotted Ḥārim, Tell Bāshir, Manbidj, A'zāz and other fortresses (*Recueil*, II/i. 76; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 658). In 591 (1195) the latter set out from Ḳinnasrin to Ḳarā Ḥiṣār in order to besiege Manbidj which then belonged to al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Ḥamā but on receiving disquieting news hastened to Damascus (*R. O. L.*, iv. 209). Saif al-Dīn Tuḡhril al-Zāhiri defeated a division of the army from Ḥamā, which attacked Manbidj in 595 (1199), took many prisoners and brought them to Malik al-Zāhir, who however released them again (*R. O. L.*, iv. 218). The lord of Ḥamā in 596 (1200), at the request of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, gave ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Muḳaddam the towns of Manbidj, Fāmiya and Kafartāb in compensation for Bārin (Weil, iii. 434, note 4). When the latter died in Fāmiya, Manbidj was to go to his brother Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Malik whom however Malik al-Zāhir in 597 deprived of his rule over Manbidj and Ḳalʿat Naḍīm and carried off a prisoner with him; he offered the two towns to al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Ḥamā, who once previously in 588 (1192—1193) had refused Manbidj (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 298), if he would assist him against Malik al-ʿĀdil, which however he declined to do (Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 685). Al-Zāhir thereupon destroyed the citadel of Manbidj lest it should fall into an enemy's hands and gave the town, now deprived of its defences, in 597 (1201) to al-Ḥaḍḡḡjāf as a fief (*R. O. L.*, iv. 222) and in the following year to ʿImād al-Dīn b. Saif al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Maṣṭūb (Abu ʿl-Fidāʾ, *op. cit.*, iv. 195). But very soon afterwards, al-Zāhir had again to send the amir of Ḥalab, Mubārīz al-Dīn Aḳḍjā, to the siege of Manbidj: the latter however withdrew on the approach of Malik al-Fāʿīz, son of Malik al-ʿĀdil. Malik al-Fāʿīz entered Manbidj, rebuilt the citadel and fortified it. He then returned to his father al-ʿĀdil in Nābulus, while the Ḥalab troops avoided an encounter (*R. O. L.*, iv. 223). Soon afterwards the Ḥalab army again marched on Manbidj but was recalled by Malik al-Zāhir, who was besieging Damascus. A little later, al-Zāhir himself set out against Manbidj to avenge himself on the inhabitants who had taken the side of al-Fāʿīz; but he was appeased by his amirs, pardoned the town which submitted to him and gave it as a fief in 598 (1202) to Ibn al-Maṣṭūb (*R. O. L.*, iv. 224). The Saldjūk Kaiḳaʿūs in 615 (1218—1219) went to Manbidj, which opened its gates to him, placed one of his officers, Sārim al-Dīn al-Manbidjī, as governor there and repaired the walls of the town; but when al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf approached, he left the town again and suffered heavy losses in his retreat (*Recueil. hist. or. crois.*, II/i. 146; Kamāl al-Dīn, in *R. O. L.*, vi. 57; Abu ʿl-Fidāʾ, *Ann. Musl.*, iv. 266). When the Sulṭān of Ḥalab, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, concluded an alliance with the Sulṭān of Rūm for their mutual defence against the raids of the Turkomans, he sent the ḳāḍī of Manbidj, Awhād al-Dīn, as a confidential envoy to him (*R. O. L.*, v. 94). Al-Malik al-Mughīth of Ḥarrān fled in 635 (1237—1238) before the Ḳh̲w̲ārizmians to Manbidj to seek protection with his aunt (*R. O. L.*, v. 103). When the Ḳh̲w̲ārizmians three years later invaded Syria, a Ḥalab army met them but suffered an annihilating defeat on the Nahr al-Dhahab (*R. O. L.*, vi. 3). Thereupon the Ḳh̲w̲ārizmians advanced

on Manbidj, the inhabitants of which retired behind its walls and barricaded the place where the walls were no longer standing. The town was stormed on the 21st Rabīʿ II 638, numerous inhabitants put to death, the houses destroyed and rich booty taken; the enemy even entered the mosque where many women had taken refuge and violated them (*R. O. L.*, vi. 6). After the Ḳh̲w̲ārizmians had been driven back, al-Malik al-Manṣūr re-entered Manbidj (*R. O. L.*, vi. 17). In the treaty between Sulṭān Ḳalāʿūn and Leo of Armenia of the 1st Rabīʿ II 684 (June 6, 1285), Manbidj is mentioned among the Egyptian towns (Maḳrīzī, ed. Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, II/i. 168; transl., p. 205).

According to Ibn al-Shihna (Bairūt 1909, p. 228), Manbidj which previously, excluding its 8 suburbs, had paid annually 510,000 dirhams to the Sulṭān's Dīwān, was destroyed by the Tatars (who invaded Syria several times between the end of 699 [1299] and 702 [1302]); perhaps there is here a confusion with the Ḳh̲w̲ārizmians. According to Abu ʿl-Fidāʾ, the fortifications and the town were for the most part in ruins in his time; Ḳhalīl al-Zāhiri does not mention it at all.

After the Russo-Turkish War (1879) Circassians were settled in Manbidj: since that date the few remains of antiquity noticed by earlier travellers have almost completely disappeared.

The ruins of *Bumbudj*, as the name of the place is now pronounced by the natives with a marked echo of the ancient Bambyke (Euting in M. Hartmann, *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.*, Berlin, xxix. 525; Littmann, *Amer. Archaeol. Exped. to Syria*, iii. 171, note 3), have been visited by Maundrell (1699), Pococke (1737), Drummond (1747), Sachau (1879), Cumont (1907) and Hogarth (1908). The old town walls, surrounded by a broad ditch which were several times restored in the middle ages, still survive almost in their entirety (Ainsworth, *A personal narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, i., 1888, p. 238).

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Ṣubḥ al-Aḥḥā, ed. Cairo, iv. 127; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Serkis, Bairūt 1909, p. 191 f.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 500 sq.; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 107; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 92; Hitzig, *Drei Städte in Syrien*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, viii, 1854, p. 211 sqq.; Nöldeke in *Nachr. G. G. W.*, 1876, p. 5—8; Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, Oxford 1740, p. 153 [8, London 1810, p. 204]; Pococke, *Description of the East*, II/i., London 1745, p. 166; Drummond, *Travels through different cities of... Asia...*, London 1754, p. 209, 289; Chesney, *Expedition for the survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, i. 510; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 146—152; Hogarth, *Annals of Archaeol. and Anthropol.*, ii., Liverpool 1909, p. 183—196; Chabot in *J.A.*, ser. ix., vol. xvi., 1900, p. 277; Cumont, *Revue de l'histoire des relig.*, lxii. 1910, p. 119—122; do., *Études Syriennes*, Paris 1917, p. 23—26 and Index, p. 358; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 474 sq., 518. — On the ancient town cf. my article *Hierapolis in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, R. E.*, Suppl.-Bd. iv., col. 733—742. (E. HONIGMANN)

MAND (?), a people whom the Arabs found in Sind. Only the outline of the name is certain *مند* = *MYD (Mid, Maid), *MND (Mand, Mund). In the reign of Mu'āwīya (41—60), Rashīd b. 'Amr lost his life on an expedition against the Mand (Balādhuri, p. 433). During the governorship of al-Ḥaǧǧīdī, some Mand from Daibul [q.v.] seized on the high seas the Muslim women who were being repatriated by the king of the Rubis islands (Djazīrat al-Yāḳūt); this act of piracy served the Arabs as a pretext to send an expedition against Daibul (*ibid.*, p. 435). After 95 (714) Muḥammad b. Kaṣīm concluded a treaty of peace with the people of Surast (?) who were "Mand, pirates of the sea" (*yāḳḩ'ūna fī 'l-baḩr*, *ibid.*, p. 440; the name of this place recalls Surāshtra = Kāthiawār. In the reign of al-Mu'taṣim (218—227), 'Amrān b. Mūsā attacked the Mand, of whom he slew 3,000 and built a dyke (canal?) of the Mand (*sakr al-Mand*) probably to disturb their irrigation. Then with the Zuṭṭ whom he had conquered 'Amrān resumed the campaign against the Mand; a canal (*nahr*) was dug from the sea and the lagoon (*baṭiḩa*) of the Mand inundated with salt-water (*ibid.*, p. 445). In the same period Muḥammad b. Faḍl, commander of the fort of Sandān (Dāmān to the south of Sūrat?; cf. Elliot, i. 402), undertook a naval expedition against the Mand with a fleet of 70 ships (*ibid.*, p. 446).

Of the geographers, Ibn Khurādādhbih (p. 56, 62) is the first to mention the Maid (?) who were four days' journey from the Indus (to the east) and who were robbers. Mas'ūdī (*Murūǧī*, i. 378), who visited India after the year 300 says that the country of Maṣṣūra is continually at war with the Mand of Sind and other peoples; cf. also Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 55. Iṣṭakhri, p. 176 (= Ibn Hawḳal, p. 231) mentions the Budha and the Mand among the infidel peoples of Sind. The latter lived on the banks of the Indus (*shuṭūf al-Mihrān*) from Multān to the sea, and occupied

pasturages in the desert which stretched between the Indus and Kāmuhul. According to Idrīsī (548 = 1154), transl. Jaubert, i. 163, the Mand dwelt on the borders of the desert of Sind. They pastured their flocks up to the borders of Māmāhal (Kāmuhul?). They were numerous and owned many horses and camels; their raids extended as far as Dūr (read Rōr; cf. LULI) and sometimes even to Makrān. This last detail is curious for it indicates an extension of the Mand towards Persia, but the text is not certain: perhaps we should read Multān. After this the name Mand disappears from Muslim literature.

The town of "Kāmuhul", the site of which is important to fix the limit of the habitations of the Mand, is sometimes located in Hind (Iṣṭakhri, p. 176), sometimes between Sind and Hind (Idrīsī). The form of the name is uncertain (Fāmhal, Māmāhal, Ambhal). Elliot, i. 363, identified it with Anhalwāra; cf. al-Bīrūnī, p. 100. This last town (Anhilwāra, Nahrwāra, founded in 746 A.D.) is identical with the modern Pātan (on the Saraswatī in northern Baroda; cf. *Imp. Gazett. of India*, 1908, vol. xx.; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 290, places "Māmhal" at Umarkot). In any case Kāmuhul must mark the limit of the pasturages of the Mand to the S.E. of al-Manṣūra (= Ḥaidarābād, on the Indus; cf. Elliot, i. 370).

Among the Muslim sources a special place is occupied by the *Mudǧmil al-Tawārīkh*, written in Persian in 520 (1126). This work gives extracts from a book which was composed first in an Indian language, then translated into Arabic by Abū Ṣāliḩ b. Shu'aib b. Dǧāmi (in 417 = 1028) and finally translated from Arabic into Persian by Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī, librarian in Dǧurdǧān. This source which is a very inaccurate resumé of the *Māhābhārata*, begins with a chapter on the *Maid and the Zuṭṭ, two peoples in the land of Sind, descendants of Cham (Ḥām), son of Noah. The Maid had conquered the Zuṭṭ, who withdrew to the banks of the river Pahn (or Baḩr?) and from there attacked the Maid by water. Finally tired of fighting, the two peoples agreed to approach king Daḩūshān b. Daḩrān (Duryodhana, son of Dhrtarāshtra) to ask him to appoint a king over them. Daḩūshān sent them his sister Dusal (Duḩḩālā), married to Bǧndrt (Jayadratha) who became a powerful king. At the request of Dusal, Daḩūshān sent 30,000 Brahmans to people Sind. One part of the country was given to the Zuṭṭ, who were given as a ruler Dǧndrt (Yudhishtira, eldest son of Dhrtarāshtra). The Maid (Maidiyan) also were given a special area; cf. Reinaud, *Fragments arabes et persanes relatifs à l'Inde*, 1845, p. 2—3, 25—27.

Here we have an attempt to connect the history of the Maid and Zuṭṭ with Indian tradition by quoting a passage in the *Māhābhārata* which says that Duḩḩālā was given in marriage to Jayadratha, "king of the lands watered by the Indus" (transl. Fauche, Paris 1863, i. 290, śloka 2742). Indian tradition however contains nothing definite of value about the Mand. In the *Bṛhat-Samhita*, transl. Kern, *J. R. A. S.*, 1871, p. 81—86 which is one of the sources for the enumeration of the peoples of India in al-Bīrūnī (ed. Sachau, p. 150—157, transl. i. 299—303), we find a Māṇḍavya people (located in the centre, north or northwest of India). The derivation of the Arabic Mand from some such name may be suspected (cf. the name of the

modern town on the coast of Kāthiāwār: Māndvi). On the other hand in Central India alongside of the Māṇḍavya the Medha are mentioned (al-Bīrūnī: *Maidha*, the final *a* being only indicated by means of *a fatḥa*).

The question of the Maid/Mand has been discussed by Elliot and A. Cunningham; the former (*Hist. of India* [1867], i. 519—531) says that the Meds still exist on the borders of Sind and Jodhpūr, as well as to the west in the little harbours of Makrān (the clans of Gazbur, Hormāri, Djallar-zā'i, Čelmar-zā'i). The name *Med has even undergone a phonetic change to Mer (which we find in the mountains of Ārāwālī and in Kāthiāwār). Elliot also thinks it possible that the Meds or one of their branches bore the name Mand of which traces can be found in place-names (Mand-ar, Mand-hro, etc.). Cunningham in his *Report 1863—1864* connected the Zuṭṭ and the "Mayd or Mand" with the Iatī and Mandrueni whom Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vi., ch. xviii.) mentions near the Oxus and calls the "Med or Mer" the first Indo-Scythic invaders of the Panjāb. In *The Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, p. 290—294, Cunningham finds a variant of the name Mand in the name of the town *Muvayāpa* of the *Periplus mar. Erythr.* (cf. Ptolemy, vii/1., § 63: *Muvayāpa* to the east of Indo-Scythia), which would be "the town of the Scythians, Min" = Manḥabārī (Mandjābari) of the Arabs = Thatha, etc.

The question of the Mand evidently deserves a new special study. Was there only one, or two peoples *Maid and *Mand? The statements of the Muslim authors seem to refer to a single people. The toponymy of the land south of the Indus reveals the presence of an old element *Mand*; cf. Ptolemy, vii/1., § 7: Mandagara. When its origins have been studied, it will be interesting to compare its possible connection with the oldest name of the Aryans, *Manda*, found in the cuneiform inscriptions of the third millenium B. C. according to E. Forrer, *Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches*, Z.D.M.G., lxxvi., 1922, p. 247. According to E. Meyer, *Die Volksstämme Kleinasiens*, *Sitzb. A. W. Berlin*, 1925, p. 244—261 (cf. do., *Gesch. d. Altertums* 2, vol. ii., sect. i., p. 35, note 3), the name "Manda" meant the Scythians who in the seventh century B. C. had invaded nearer Asia and was sometimes transferred to the Medes alongside of whom the Scythians were settled. A diametrically opposite process would be to compare *MND with the name of the Muṇḍā language (of the Mon-Khmer family); cf. in this connection: Przyluski, *Un ancien peuple du Penjab*, *Les Udumbara*, *J.A.*, 1920, N^o. 1, p. 53, where a theory is advanced according to which, before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans the valley of the Indus was peopled by "Austro-Asiatics" from the Himalayan zone to the sea. The influence of the Austro-Asiatic substratum, i. e. languages of the Muṇḍā type, would also explain the preservation in Sanskrit of the aspirated sonants.

(V. MINORSKY)

MĀND (Münd, Mund), the longest river in Fārs (*Nushat al-Kulūb*: 50 farsakhs; E. C. Ross: over 300 miles in length).

The name. As a rule in Persia, sections of a river are called after the districts through which they flow. Mānd is the name of the last stretch near its mouth. The name seems to appear for the first time in the *Fārs-nāma* (before 510 = 1116) but only in the composite Māndistān (cf. below).

The old name of the river is usually transcribed in Arabic characters Sakkān (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 120; Ibn Ḥawqāl, p. 191; Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, i. 401) but the orthography varies: *Thakān*, *Fārs-nāma*, G. M. S., p. 152; *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 134; *Zak-kān* or *Žakkān*, *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 217; *Sitāragān*, *Djikhān-numā*, p. 247; cf. also *Šaiḥkān* in *Hasan Fasā'i*.

The identification of the Sakkān with the Σιταγός mentioned in the *Periplus* of Nearchus (Arrian, *Indica*, xxxviii. 8) is generally recognised. The identity of Sitakos with the Sitioganus (Sitiogagus) mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 26 is also usually admitted (Weissbach 1927), but Herzfeld (1907) relying on the existence of another river, the *Shādhkān* (= Sitioganus?), has suggested doubts about the identification of the Sitakos with the Sitioganus. Now, according to Iṣṭakhrī, p. 119, the *Shādhkān* flows into the Persian Gulf at Dasht al-Dastakān (north of Būshīr?). This *Shādhkān* must be identified with the river *Shāpūr*. The *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, p. 163, mentions Rūdbāl-i Sittadjān ("the banks of the S.") as a station on the road from *Shīrāz* to Tawwadj. From this fact and especially from the name, Sittadjān seems to be applied to the left bank tributary of the *Shāpūr*. Pliny, who follows Onesicritus, adds that by the Sitioganus one reaches Pasargades in 7 days (*quo Pasargades septimo die navigatur*). Whatever be the identity of the Sitioganus, the exaggeration in this statement is evident (especially in the direction of the sea to Pasargades) and the waters of Pasargades (Mashad-i Murghāb) do not flow into the Persian Gulf. But there is nothing to prove the absolute impossibility of using the Sakkān as a subsidiary means of transport in the season of floods (the winter). According to Arrian, Nearchus found at the mouth of the Sitakos large quantities of corn which Alexander had brought there for the army. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 99 places the Sakkān among the rivers of Fārs which are navigable at need (*al-anhār al-kibār allatī taḥmilū al-sufuna idhā udjriyat fi-hā*).

Another question is the phonetical identity of the names Sitakos (Sitioganus?) and Sakkān. According to C. F. Andreas, Σιταγός is a nominative restored from a supposed genitive *Σιταγών (Sitakān); Sitiogan-us is a mistake for Sittagan-us; lastly the peculiarity of the Arabic script could explain the change of Sittakān to Sakkān. Here we may add that *Hasan Fasā'i* gives one of the stretches of the river the strangely written form *Šaiḥkān* (< *Stkān?). Iṣṭakhrī however derives the name of the river from that of the village of Sakk (*Nushat al-Kulūb*: Zakān) in the district of Karzīn considerably below the *Šaiḥkān* stretch of the river.

To sum up the identification of the Sitakos with the Sitioganus does not seem sufficiently established.

The course of the river. The Sakkān (Mānd) describes a great curve. At first it runs in the direction N.W.-S.E., to the northern base of the Kuh-i Marra-yi Shīkaft, which separates it from the valley of the river *Shāpūr*. It follows this direction (c. 100 miles) to the end of Āsmāngird mountains around which it makes a bend and turns south (70 miles). It then meets the parallel ranges which run along the Persian Gulf and continues its winding course to the sea in a westerly direction (140 miles).

The Sakkān (Mānd) and its tributaries drain and irrigate a considerable area. Iṣṭakhrī says that

its waters contribute the largest share to the fertility of Fārs (*akhtar-i imāratin*).

The sources of the river (Kān-i Zard, Čihil-čashma and Surkh-rag) rise in the mountains of Kūh-i Nār and Kūh-i Marrayi-Shikaft in the N.W. and W. of Shirāz. These streams unite before Khān-i Zinyān in the district of Māšarm on the great Shirāz-Kāzrūn-Būshir road. Ištakhri, p. 120, places the sources of the Sakkān near the village of Shādhfari(?) in the district of Ruwaidjān(?). In the same author, p. 130, Khān al-Asad on the Sakkān corresponds to the modern Khān-i Zinyān. The *Fārs-nāma* (and the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*) places the sources of the Sakkān near the village of Čatrūya(?). Under the Turkish name of Kara-aghāč, i.e. "[the river of] the elm", the combined streams flow through the districts of Māšarm (= Kūh-i Marra-yi Shikaft), Siyākh (Ištakhri, p. 120: Siyāh) and Kawār. In this last district, Rivadaneyra, iii. 81, going from Shirāz to Firūzābād crossed the river by a "substantial bridge". It is in the district of Kawār that Ḥasan Fasā'i gives the river the name of Saihkān. In Kawār (Ḥasan Fasā'i) there used to be the barrage of Band-i Bahman, where by a subterranean channel (*kanāt*) part of the water was led into reservoirs (*čāh*) and then to the fields. In the bulūk of Khafr (Ištakhri, p. 105: Khabr), which must be distinguished from the district of the same name in the kūra of Ištakhri, the river turns south. Aucher-Eloy, who crossed the river on the road from Firūzābād to Djarrūn (Djahrum) calls it "Tengui Tachka" (= Tang-i Kashkai?) and speaks of its "beautiful valley". Rivadaneyra continuing his journey from Firūzābād to Dārāb crossed the river by a ford between the villages of Tadwān and "Assun-Dscherd" (Āsmāngird?). He also admires the pleasant and flourishing aspect of Khafr. Below the latter, the river enters the bulūk of Šimkān where, near the village of Sarkāl, it receives on its left bank, the brackish (*shūr*) river of Djahrum, and then flows through the ravine of Kāzrīn, and waters the bulūk of Kīr-wa-Kāzrīn. Abbott coming from Fasā crossed the river by a ford between 'Alī-ābād and Lifardjān (cf. the name of the ramm of Kurds in Fārs al-Liwāldjān, Ištakhri, p. 113), where it was 100 yards wide and the water rose up to the horse's belly. Farther down below the ford, Stack, going from Kīr to Kāriyān crossed the river, here 60 yards broad, by the bridge of 'Arūs, built in a zig-zag and in two stories ("the queerest structure in the way of a bridge"). Near the village of Nīm-dih, the river enters the bulūk of Afzar. After having wound round the fort of Qal'a-yi Shahriyār the river receives (near the place called Čam-i Kabkāb) the name of Bāz and then irrigates the bulūk of Khundj (cf. Ibn Battūta, ii. 241: Khundj-bāl = Khundj + Bāl). In the district of Diz-gāh of the bulūk of Galla-dār the river has two tributaries: near the village of Gabrī, the Dār al-Mizān, and two farsakhs lower, that of Dihram. The Dār al-Mizān comes from the left (east) side of the bulūk of Asīr. The Dihram much more important comes from the right side after watering the historic district of Firūzābād (the ancient Gūr, capital of Ardashīr-Khurra; cf. the details in Le Strange, p. 256). Ištakhri, p. 121 makes this tributary come from Dārdjān (of Siyāh) and water first Khunafghān and then Gūr [in place of the name of the river Tirza, Ištakhri, p. 99, 121, one should probably read Burāza; cf. the *Fārs-nāma*, p. 151,

Nuzhat al-Kulūb, p. 117—118: Ḥakīm Burāza was the sage who dried up the Lake of Gūr].

After Diz-gāh, the river enters the district of Sanā-wa-Shumba of the bulūk of Dashti, and near the village of Bāghān receives on the right bank the river Čaniz which comes from the district of Tasudj-i Dashti. Finally near the village of Dū-mānlū the river enters the coast district of Māndistān and receives the name of Mānd. It flows into the sea near the village of Ziyārat, halfway between the old harbours of Nađjīram (to the north) and Sirāf (to the south).

Māndistān. The district forms part of the bulūk of Dashti (which is to be distinguished from Daštistān to the north of Dashti up to Būshir). Dashti (36 × 18 farsakhs) is composed of 4 districts: 1. Bardistān, the part of the coast in which is the port of Daiyir. 2. Māndistān on the coast to the north of Bardistān and the two banks of the river Mānd. 3. Sanā and Shumba on the river above Māndistān. 4. Tasudj-i Dashti, a very narrow valley (11 × 1/2 farsakhs), watered by the Čaniz and separating Sanā and Shumba from the bulūk Arba'a (on the lower course of the river of Firūzābād).

The whole of the bulūk belongs to the torrid zone (*garmasir*) of Fārs. Māndistān (12 × 5 farsakhs) includes lands so flat that the current of the river is imperceptible and the water cannot be used for irrigation. Agriculture (wheat, barley, palm-trees) is dependent on the winter floods. The district has 40 villages. The capital of the district and of the bulūk is Kākī. There used to be two rival families in Māndistān: the Shaikh-i-yān and the Ḥādjdiyān. During the disturbances under Afghān rule (1722—1729) the Ḥādjdi Ra'is Djamāl exterminated the Shaikh-i-yān and founded a little dynasty of hereditary governors who were able to annex the district of Bardistān through matrimonial alliances. One of his descendants, Muḥammad Khān (d. at Būshir in 1299 = 1881), was noted as a poet under the pen-name of Dashti.

Ḥasan Fasā'i explains the name Māndistān by a popular etymology: "the place where the water flows slowly (*wāmānda*)". Names in -stān are common in Fārs (Lāristān, Bardistān) but even if such a formation was possible in a river-name, the element Mānd would still be a puzzle. It is curious that Ḥasan Fasā'i sometimes writes it Mānd (read *Mūnd*) and sometimes Mund (read: *Mōnd*). It might be suggested as a pure hypothesis that there is a connection with the people MND (cf. MAND), of which there might have been a colony in Māndistān.

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Mand, or Kara Aghatch, Proc. R.G.S., v., 1883, December, p. 712—716 with a map (the article reproduces the learned note by C. F. Andreas); Stolze, Persopolis, Bericht über meine Aufnahmen, Verh. d. Gesell. f. Erdk., Berlin, x., 1883, p. 251—276; Tomaschek, Topogr. Erläuterung d. Küstenfahrt Nearchs, Sitzb. A. W. Wien, 1890, cxxi., N^o. viii., p. 58—61; Schwarz, Iran, i., 1896, p. 8; Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 1905, p. 252, 255; Herzfeld, Pasargadae, Inaugural-Dissertation, 1907, p. 9—10 (with a sketch based on Hasan Fasa'i).

(V. MINORSKY)

MANDINGO, a people of the Western Sūdān whose country of origin was on the Upper Niger stretching from Bamako to Siguiri inclusive. This region includes the gold-bearing district of Boure, Bute, or Bito as well as the provinces of Lower Faleme and of Bambuk which also produce gold. At the present time the Mandingoes have spread into the mountainous country in which the two branches of the Senegal arise; they occupy Sangaran, Gangaran, Bambuk, and the valley of the Gambia to the South while to the North they extend as far as the Western Sahara. In the xth century, they colonised a part of the modern Mauretania and, according to the Arab authors of this period, who mention them under the name of *Gangara* (sing. *Gangari*) or *Wangara* — a word which seems to be a corruption of the name of their country of origin: Gangaran, Gwangan or Gbangan — they were to be met with in Hodh. In our time the first of these names has been kept by the Moors and the Sarakole, the second by the Songhoy, the Pul of Massina and the Hausa.

The country of these natives is called according to the different dialects: Manding, Mandi, Mani, Mandeng, Maneng, Mande, Mane. The inhabitants are called by the names of Mandinka, Maninka, Maninga, Mandenka, Manenka or Manenga in the dialects of the Centre and of the East and Mandinko or Mandingo, in those of the North, South and West. This last form in use in the British possessions of Gambia and Sierra Leone has been adopted by the English while the French keep the form Manding or Mandingue.

The name of the country corrupted by the Pul has become in the language of these natives Māli, Malli, Malli, Melli, and that of the inhabitants has become Mallinke or Malinke. This last word has now come to stand for the South-Western portion of this people or for their dialect.

Ethnography. The Mandingo group constitutes a well marked ethnological group, but it does not form an organised people under one rule. Three chief divisions can be distinguished, and these can again be subdivided into many sections. They are the Malinke, the Bambara, or Banmana, and the Diula or Giula.

A Sudanese historian of the xvth century, Maḥmūd Kōtī, who wrote the *Ta'rikh al-Fatāḥ* in Arabic, distinguished in his time between the Malinke and the Wangara, regarding the former as warriors and the latter as merchants and traders. The Malinke are the least advanced of the Mandingoes from the social point of view, many of them remaining faithful to the matriarchal system and are still cultivators of the soil, hunters and gold-diggers.

An attempt has been made to derive their name

from that of the hippopotamus: *mali* or *meri*, and thus "malinka" would signify the "people of the hippopotamus!" This explanation is erroneous, the suffix "*ka*", signifying the nationality, can only be joined to the name of a country or of a tribe and never to that of an animal. It is possible however, that the name of the country which was the cradle of their race, could come from *ma*, mother, and *deng* or *ding*, child; this word then would signify "child of the mother", in allusion to the descent by the female line which is customary amongst them.

The Bambara inhabit the valleys of the Niger and of the Bani as far as Lake Debo, they are numerous in the Sahel. They are more advanced agriculturists than the Malinke and they recognize descent by the male line. An attempt has been wrongly made to derive their name from that of the crocodile: *bamba* or *bama*. Some authors, on the other hand, have held that their name signifies "refusal to obey a master" (*ban*: refusal, *ma*: master, *na*: towards). This explanation, although it could be accepted linguistically, must, according to M. Delafosse, be rejected. He prefers that of "renunciation of the mother" (*ban*: refusal or renunciation; *ba* or *ma*: mother; *na* or *ra*: to).

The Diula or Giula inhabiting some fairly important centres are chiefly merchants and traders. They are met with in small colonies, settled amongst the indigenous peoples to the East of Bani as far as the Upper Volta and the Gold Coast. Having been converted at an early date to Muḥammadanism, they have remained fervent Muslims and there are amongst them quite a large number of learned men.

Their name is said to signify "from the foundation, from the stock" (*diu*). According to their own account, it was given to them because their ancestors belonged to families of noble birth.

At the basis of Mandingo society is an extended family (*gba* or *gwa*) comprising all the living descendants of an ancestor, sufficiently near in place and in time for all the ties of relationship not to have been forgotten. In general this extended family covers four generations: the patriarch, his brothers and cousins, their children, the children and grand-children of the latter, and an equal number of generations of slaves. Persons of the same generation placed on the same level are called by the same name: father, brother, son, without distinguishing the fathers from the uncles, the brothers from the cousins, the sons from the nephews, all are collectively sharers in the family property, which they have helped to acquire and to augment by their labours. This family property consists of crops, of animals, arms, surplus utensils and clothing, as well as treasure in gold, silver or cowries gathered together by the founder of the family. It is administered by the patriarch who cannot dispose of it without the consent of the majority of the other members. Each of those, man or woman, possesses in addition a private store of which he has the free use.

The chief exercises a political, domestic and religious authority. In this capacity he is charged with making sacrifices and offerings to their ancestors and to the patron deities of the family. A number of families observing the same religious prohibitions and bearing the same name (*diamu*) form a clan; the members, who form a clan are of the same origin, but so far removed by birth

that it is impossible to trace their descent back to a common origin.

The chief Mandingo clans are those of Keyta, Kante, Taraore, the Dembele, the Konate, the Kulubali, the Kuruma, the Diara, the Samake, the Mareko, the Kamara, the Bakayoko etc. None of them is either organised or under a single ruler.

There exists between persons of different clans a particular tie called *senakuya*, without doubt the remains of an ancient phratry which obliges them to assist one another and to exchange presents on certain occasions; the same persons can also quarrel among themselves or fight with one another without involving any serious consequences.

The organisation which is lacking in the clan and in the tribe shows itself on the contrary in each inhabited centre in the form of the hierarchical brotherhoods, which combine all the young people and the men of the same age who have together submitted to circumcision and to the tests of successive initiation. The first is that of *ntomo*, grouping together the boys from the ages of 7 to 14 years, then there come the so-called secret societies, such as those of the *komo* or of the *nama* which consist of politico-religious groups within the village.

The village or *dugu* is the administrative unit, the union of a number of villages and the lands which surround it forming a district or *kafo*; a number of districts constitute a province or a kingdom, *diamana*, at the head of which there was in former times the *Mansa* or *Massa*. The latter was surrounded by different ministers and assisted by a treasurer.

Although Muhammadanism has long penetrated amongst the noble families of the Mandingo, the greater portion of the population has remained faithful to the worship of natural forces and of protecting deities, *dugu la siri*, *gnena* and *boli*. The great religious festivals are the agrarian feasts and the most important correspond to the periods of seed-time and harvest.

The Language. The Mandingoes properly speaking are in number about 2,800,000 of whom 77,000 are in Senegal; 1,000,000 in French Sūdān; 200,000 in the Upper Volta; 2,500 in Nigeria; 290,000 on the Ivory Coast; 550,000 in Fench Guinea; more than 680,000 live in Gambia, Sierra Leone, Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Liberia. In addition to these natives, whose mother tongue is Mandingo, more than 2,000,000 other people speak this idiom; for this reason it is often spoken of as a language that is still spreading.

The Mandingo belongs to the African Negro language and more especially to the group which M. Delafosse calls Nigero-Senegalese; D. Westermann: Mandingo, and A. Drexel: Nko-Nke; it is closely allied to Susu. Foreign idioms seem to have had little influence, although it has borrowed certain abstract and religious terms from the Arabic; from Phoenician or Punic it has borrowed expressions relative to horsemanship and cotton; from Berber about a dozen words, and finally during the space of the last fifty years it has further borrowed from several European languages.

The roots are monosyllabic or dissyllabic and many of them can be traced to an ancient African Negro origin. For example: *faʾa*, the action of killing or being dead, seems to come from a root *faʾ* or *faḡ*; cf. in Susu *faʾa*; Hausa: *fawa*; Mossi: *fare*; Fang: *war*; Pul: *war (de)*; Musgu: *fada*;

Congo: *fwa*; Swahili: *fa* and *wa*; Ancient Egyptian: *feḫ*. The nominal class does not exist in this language.

Mandingo uses derivative suffixes which are used to form distinct substantives used as substantives only; for example: *ka*, *nka*, or *nga*, the suffix for nationality: *Mandenka*; *la* or *ra*, the instrumental suffix: *tege*, to cut; *tege-la*, the instrument for cutting, axe. It employs also adjective suffixes; for example: *ma* or *mā* indicating the possession of the thing mentioned: *gyi*, water; *gyi-ma*, "full of water"; *tā* indicating on the contrary the lack of the thing expressed: *gyi n-tā*, "without water". Certain suffixes, joined to a simple or derived root, indicate the possession of a quality or of a state; for example: *ya-suru*, "short, little"; *suru-ya*, "shortness" and also "to shorten or to approach". Suffixes also exist, indicating determination or relationship.

The Mandingo conjugation employs prefixes denoting the perfect, the aorist, the injunctive. Certain auxiliary prefixes serve to indicate time. It has a considerable number of verbal forms, affirmative as well as negative.

This language does not possess any trace of a system of syntax of agreement; the relations between one element of a sentence and another are entirely determined by the respective position of the two elements and their grammatical function is often determined only by the place which they occupy in the sentence.

In the syntax of this language, the complement of a noun, pronoun or verb always precedes the noun, pronoun or verb in question; the adjective qualifying or determining a noun always follows this noun; the noun of number always the noun of the thing numbered; an adverb modifying a word follows it. The order of the words in the sentence is subject, prefix or auxiliary of conjugation, direct complement of the verb, verb root or derivative, indirect complement of the verb, adverb modifying the statement.

Mandingo is divided into a fairly large number of dialects revealing differences more or less marked. We distinguish the Bambara or Bamana dialects, the Diula dialects and lastly the Malinke dialects, which are themselves divided into the Malinke of the East, of the North (sometimes Khassonke), of the West and of the South.

History. The wide diffusion of this language is due to certain historical circumstances, and to the rise of the Mandingo hegemony which extended over almost all the Western Sūdān from the year 1250 to 1500.

According to local tradition, the Mandingo sovereigns bore the title of *Mansa* or *Massa*; they belonged to the Keyta and married into that of the *Konde* or *Kone*. In the beginning, they owed their influence to their knowledge of sorcery and magical practices and little by little they emerged from obscurity. Ibn Khaldūn has transmitted to us the name of the first of them, Baramendana, who about the year 1050, was converted to Islām, in order to obtain, according to al-Bakrī, the end of a drought, which was cruelly trying the country of Mande; thereafter he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Native tradition has kept the name of two of the descendants of this prince, Hamana and Dyigui-Bilali. The son of the latter, Mūsā, called Allakoy, reigned from the year 1200 to 1218. Four times he made a pilgrimage to Mecca,

and he extended the power of his dynasty. On the other hand, his son Nare Famaga (1218–1230) suffered a great reverse and was defeated by his neighbour, the king of Sôsô, Sumanguru Kante, who annexed Mandingo in 1224 and put to death eleven out of the twelve sons of the conquered monarch. The last son, Sîn Diata or Mari Diata (1230–1255), who was weak and delicate suddenly recovered his health and strength after touching his father's sceptre. Little by little he got together a powerful army, with the help of which he conquered a part of Futa Djalon, the country situated between the Niger and Bani, in the region of Kita and that of Beledugu. In 1235 he attacked his enemy Sumanguru Kante and defeated him at Kirina, not far from the Niger. After having subdued shortly afterwards the whole of the Sôsô, he advanced in 1240 as far as the celebrated city of Ghâna which he plundered. During the following years, Sun Diata took possession of Gangaran and of the gold-bearing district of Bambuk, without neglecting the good administration of his lands in which he encouraged agriculture and extended the cultivation of the cotton plant. Towards the year 1240 he abandoned the ancient capital of the Mandingoes, Djeriba, and transferred it to Niani, wrongly called Mali or Melli by the Arab historians. He died in 1255 in the vicinity of this town. One of his sons succeeded Sun Diata, whose name only is handed down to us, namely Mansa Ule or the Red King (1255–1270). After him reigned the princes Wâlî, Khalifa and Abu Bakari between the years 1270 and 1285 about whom we possess no information. After the death of the latter, the power passed into the hands of a slave of the Keyta called Sakura or Sabakura, who kept it from the year 1285 to 1300. Then the Keyta regained the throne and under Gan, Mamadu, and Abu Bakari they held it from 1300 to 1307. At the end of this undistinguished period, Kankan Mussa, also called Gongo Mūsā (1307–1332), the son of the last of these sovereigns, seems to have raised to its zenith the power of his dynasty. We owe to Ibn Khaldūn some details about his person and the events of his reign. He was an ascetic prince and full of piety, and he made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1325 and on his return he brought back with him to the Sūdān, al-Mamer, a descendant of the founder of the dynasty of the Almohads, as well as the Arab poet al-Sāhili. When he was still in the Sahara, Kankan Mussa learnt that his troops had seized Gao, Tumbuktu, Walata and the kingdom of Songhoy. He decided to visit the first two of these towns, and on the advice of the strangers who accompanied him, he built in each of them a mosque and a palace, thus introducing Arab architecture into the country. When he died in 1322, his authority extended from the valley of the Bani to that of the Faleme, and from the Sahara as far as the thick forest, and he had entered into relations with the Sultān of Fez.

His son and successor Maghan (1332–1336) was not able to keep intact the kingdom bequeathed to him by his father. During the reign of this prince the Mossi pillaged Tumbuktu, and Songhoy cast off the Mandingo yoke.

On his death, Sulaimān (1336–1359), the brother of Kankan Mussa, ascended the throne. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the first care of the new sovereign was to assert his authority in his possessions in

the North. He was not successful in regaining Songhoy, but he established peace and security in his kingdom, which he reorganised. The traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who passed through Mandingo in the year 1351–1352 furnishes us with valuable information on the country, the administration, justice and the court.

Kamba, the son of Sulaimān, succeeded his father but was deposed at the end of a few months by Mari-Diata, the son of Maghan who kept his power until 1374. He died of sleeping sickness and is remembered as a cruel, debauched and extravagant prince.

His successors Mūsā II (1374–1387), Maghan II, Sandigui Maghan III, Mūsā III and Mūsā Ule II reigned until the beginning of the xvth century. From this time onwards exact information ceases, as our authority, the historian Ibn Khaldūn, died in the year 1406.

The decline of the Mandingo empire was hastened during the xvth century by the attacks of the Tuareg, the Songhoy, the Mossi and the king of Tekrur. In the year 1481 Mansa Mamadu feeling himself to be in danger, approached the Turks who were established on the coast of Africa and sought their protection. This move and others similar which followed it influenced the kings John II and John III in sending to the court of the king of the Mandingoes two ambassadors, the one in 1483, the other in 1534, but without lending any military aid.

In the year 1545 the Askia Dā'ūd of Gao came and plundered the Mandingo capital. The Moroccans who had come from Tumbuktu some months before, joined in the year 1591 the enemies who surrounded the kingdom. The period from 1600–1670 marks the last stage of Mandingo power. But two new principalities were formed on its ruins at Segu and in Kaarta.

According to the legend, the Bambara under the guidance of two brothers, Baramangolo and Niangolo, were flying before their enemies. They were on the point of perishing under the blows of their enemies, since a river barred their route when they were saved by a miraculous fish which carried them to the opposite bank. After this miracle they took the name of "Kulu bali", that is to say the men "without boats".

In the middle of the xviith century the descendants of Baramangolo had spread into the valley of the Niger and of the Bani but they paid tribute to the inhabitants of Djenne and to the Moroccans of Tumbuktu; their capital was Segu. Biton Kulubali (1660–1710) liberated them from this tutelage. Having collected a powerful army and fortified Segu, he made war first against the sovereign of the Mandingoes, then seized the right bank of the Niger and finally Massina and even Tumbuktu. He died of tetanus after organising his kingdom and dividing it into sixty districts.

His son Denkoro (1711–1736), a cruel and debauched prince, was assassinated; 'Alî, the brother of Denkoro, only reigned a few days and was deposed by the army of the Tondion or government troops. The period 1736–1750 was troubled by internal disorders, and in the year 1750 the power passed to the family of the Diara, who kept it until 1861. At this time the conquering al-Ḥādjī 'Omar seized Segu and put 'Alî, the last king of the dynasty, to death.

The descendants of Niangolo Kulubali are cal-

led "Massasi", that is to say "royal race". At the end of the xviiith century they occupied all the province of Kaarta itself and they were the rivals of the Bambara of Segu. In the middle of the xviiith century, Massa Bakari succeeded in bringing under his authority Kaarta, Kingui, Bakunu, Guidume and Diafunu. One of his successors, Besse-koro, received the explorer Mungo Park at Guemu in the year 1796. In the year 1854 the last sovereign of the line of the Massasi, called Kandian, was reigning at Niore when al-Ḥādjī 'Omar seized the village and executed all members of the royal family.

After these events the Mandingoes remained divided and until the year 1860 only played a modest part in history. In this year, there arose in the vicinity of Kankan, in the district of Wassulu, Samori Ture, at first the leader of a band and then the sovereign of the province of Bissandugu. This new conqueror, although he was quite illiterate, seized in a short time the whole of Wassulu and took the title of "Almami". Crossing the Niger he extended his warlike expeditions into Sankaran and advanced within 80 miles of Kita, a post recently founded by the French. The latter fought against Samori first from the years 1881 to 1886 and in the next year imposed upon him the treaty of Bissandugu, which he respected for only a few months. From 1888 to 1891 Almami attacked Tieba, the king of Sikasso, without any success; thereafter he resumed hostilities against the French, who at the end of the year 1893 occupied Wassulu. Samori then fled into the Upper Ivory Coast, which he ravaged from the year 1894 to 1897, and he destroyed Kong, Bonduku and Buna. In front of this town, a detachment commanded by Captain Braulot was exterminated in the year 1897 by the warriors of Sarantie Mori, his son and his lieutenant. France thereupon determined to settle with Almami against whom a combined force was sent. It resulted in the capture of Samori and of his army on 29th Sept. 1898 at Guelemu on the Upper Ivory Coast. Samori was deported with his family to Gabon where he died in 1900; he was about 65 years old. Since the disarmament of his warriors, no event of importance has disturbed the peace of Mandingo.

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(H. LABOURET)

MĀNDŪ, a fortress now in ruins, was formerly the capital of Mālwa [q.v.], and stands in 22° 21' N. and 75° 26' E. It has probably been a stronghold from time immemorial, but little is known of its history until the fortifications were erected in their present form by Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī (1392-1405), the first independent Muslim king of Mālwa, and his successors. His son, Hūshang Shāh, made it his capital, and it remained the capital of the kingdom and province of Mālwa throughout the period of Muslim rule, and has stood many sieges. Its streets ran with the blood of 19,000 Rājapūts, slain by Maḥmūd II of Mālwa when he recovered his capital from his rebellious troops.

Of the ten gates of the fortress (two on the south, two on the west, one on the east, and five on the north), the Tārāpūr Gate was built by Dilāvar Khān, the Djāhāngirpūra Gate by the emperor Djāhāngir, and the 'Ālamgir Gate by an officer of the emperor Awrangzib in A.D. 1668. The Bhagwānī Gate was built in 1517 in the reign of Maḥmūd Khaldjī II, and the Songarh Gate is an old gate rebuilt early in the nineteenth century by Maina Bai, the great Rānī of Dhār. The Lawānī, Rāmpol, Dihlī, and Bhangī Gates are old, but bear no inscriptions. The last has

its name from the legend that a sweeper was buried alive on the completion of the gateway. The Gāfī or Carriage Gate bears no inscription and its age is unknown.

The principal buildings in the fortress are the mosques of Dilāvar Khān (1405), Malik Mughthī (1432), and Hūshang (1454), the last being one of the finest specimens of Pathān architecture in India; the Hindola Maḥall with the Nahār Djharokha, the Taweli and Djahāz Maḥalls, the palaces of Nāṣir al-Dīn (1509) and Čishti Khān, the Campa Bāoli or Well, Rūpmatī's pavilion, the tombs of Hūshang Shāh and Daryā Khān, the Hāthī-khāna (actually a tomb), and the Tower of Victory of Maḥmūd Khaldjī I. These buildings are now carefully conserved by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India.

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(T. W. HAIG)

MANDŪB. [See SHARĪFĀ.]

MANF, or, according to Abu 'l-Fidā' (p. 116), Minf, the ancient Egyptian capital Memphis, on the left bank of the Nile, not far from Cairo, is well known in Arabic literature as a very old town. The geographers cite, among the *kūra's* of Egypt, that of Manf and Wasīm (cf. e.g. Ibn Khordādhbih, p. 81), but the town was already ruined in Muḥammadan times (al-Yā'qūbī, *Kit. al-Buldān*, p. 331) — by 'Amr b. al-Ās, according to Abu 'l-Fidā' (*loc. cit.*) — and was no more than a village in the time of Ibn Ḥawqāl (p. 106).

Most Arab writers speak of the ancient traditions connected with Manf, often together with 'Ain Shams [q. v.]. It is said to have been the first town inhabited in Egypt after the Flood, founded by Baiṣar b. Hām b. Nūh (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 9) or Miṣrāyim b. Baiṣar (al-Makrizī, ed. Wiet, i. 73); the name is said to mean thirty (*māfa*, sc. the Coptic *maab*), because the first inhabitants were thirty in number. Further it is said to have been the town, where the Qur'anic stories of Mūsā and Yūsuf took place (Yāqūt, iv. 667), namely the Madinat Fir'awn, which possessed 70 gates and from which flowed the four great rivers of the earth (Ibn Khordādhbih, p. 81). The temple (*barbī*) of Manf was built under the queen Dalūka by herself or by the sorceress called *al-adjūsa*, and had magical properties. Manf had also a tradition as a Christian town; the ruins of the monastery Dair Hirmīs are still to be seen, and the Arab authors know of some churches in the place (e.g. Kanīsat al-Uṣkuf; cf. Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*), which reminded them of the ancient enormous prosperity of the town.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

MĀNGIR, the general name for copper coin under the early Ottomans, corresponding to *altun* (gold) and *aḳçe* (silver). As a particular denomination it was a copper coin struck in the reign of Sulaimān II during a period of financial stress. In 1099 (1687) it was resolved to issue

temporarily a token coinage in copper to be withdrawn from currency when the finances of the state improved. 800 māngirs were struck to the oke of copper and put into currency as half aspers. When the situation did not improve, the value was raised to one asper; the remedy proved worse than the disease for very soon the country was flooded with copper coins and gold and silver driven out of circulation.

Māngir is also the name given to imitations of sequins in brass or other cheap metal worn as ornaments.

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MANGĪSHLAK, a mountainous peninsula on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, first mentioned under the Persian name Siyāh-Kōh ("Black Mountain"; cf. *B. G. A.*, i. 218); the same name was given to the hills west of the Sea of Aral (*op. cit.*, vii. 92; see ĀMŪ-DARYĀ). According to Iṣṭakhri (*op. cit.*, i. 219), the peninsula used to be uninhabited; it was only shortly before his time (or that of his predecessor al-Balkhī) that Turks, who had quarrelled with the Ghuzz [q. v.], i. e. with their own kin, had come there and found springs and pastures for their flocks. Ships which were wrecked on the cliffs of the peninsula used to be plundered by these Turks. Muḳaddasī (or Maḳdisī) mentions the mountain of Binkishlah as marking the frontier between the land of the Khazars and Djurdjān [q. v.] (cf. *B. G. A.*, iii. 355).

In the form Mankīshlāgh (vocalised Mankashlāgh by Yāqūt) the name first appears in documents of the viith (xiith) century (W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 34, 44 and 79) and in Yāqūt (iv. 670). According to Yāqūt, this name was borne by a strong fortress near the sea between Khwārizm [q. v.], Saḳsin [q. v.] and the land of the Rūs. The peninsula was evidently no longer, as it had once been, a place held in terror not only for its natural conditions but also for its inhabitants; via Mangīshlak there ran, as later almost into modern times, an important trade route from the Volga territory to Khwārizm; goods were unloaded in the bay near Cape Tüb-Karagan and taken to Khwārizm by caravans. Before its conquest between 1127—1128 and 1138 by the Khwārizmshah Atsız [q. v.], Mangīshlak was a separate and practically independent principality on the frontiers of the Muslim world (it was of course regarded as within the empire of the Saldjūks; q. v.). As the verse quoted shows, the conquest resulted in the destruction of the town. No permanent settlement is again mentioned on the peninsula until its occupation by the Russians, in spite of its importance for commerce.

For the last few centuries (perhaps even earlier) the peninsula has been inhabited by Turkomans. Towards the beginning of the xth (xvith) century these were the Salur [q. v.]; on the coast lived the "inner Salur" (*iḡi Salur*), on the road from Khwārizm to the coast (about 500 miles; it took 20 days to traverse) lived "the outer (*tashki*) Salur" (*Zap.*, xv. 208). Abu 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 267) gives the Ersari for the Salur; towards the end of this century, this tribe was almost completely driven out by the Mangīt [q. v.] i. e. by the Nogai; later we find the Kalmucks [q. v.]

conquering here. On their rule in Mangiśhlak, cf. Abu 'l-Ghāzi, p. 316; the name of the peninsula is written by Abu 'l-Ghāzi (see Index), Mānkiśhlāk, Mānkiśhlāk and Mānkiśhlāk. In addition to the regular traffic by sea with Astrakhan [q. v.], frequently mentioned in Russian sources, there was also a connection with Shīrwān mentioned by Abu'l-Ghāzi (p. 257 and 273) and other sources. Three Turkoman tribes, the Čawdur, the Igdir and the Soınadji, were deported by the Kalmucks under Ayuka (1670—1724), according to others as early as the reign of Puntuk-Mončak (1667—70) from Mangiśhlak to the northern part of the Caucasus, but a section of the Čawdur continued to dwell in Mangiśhlak. When, under Russian rule, the land of the Turkomans was organised as the "Trans-Caspian territory" (*Zakaspiyskaya oblast'*), the "district of Mangiśhlak" was included in it; the capital was the little settlement founded in 1839 as "Novo-Petrovskoye-ukrepleniye" and known from 1859 as "Fort Aleksandrowsk" (now: Fort Urickogo). In the sixteenth century the Turkomans were gradually driven out of Mangiśhlak by the Kazak [cf. KIRGIZ]; therefore after the Revolution the district of Mangiśhlak was separated from the land of the Turkomans and now belongs to the republic of Kazakıstān.

After the western shore of the Caspian Sea had passed under Russian rule, it was recognised that the Gulf of Balkhān [q. v.] formed a better gateway to Central Asia than Mangiśhlak. In 1819 the ambassador Murawjew proposed to the Khān of Khīwa, Muḥammad Raḥim, that the caravan route from the Caspian Sea to Khīwa should no longer start from Mangiśhlak but from the port of Krasnowodsk on the Gulf of Balkhān. The Khān replied: "It is true, the road via Mangiśhlak is much longer than the road via Krasnowodsk but the people in Mangiśhlak are my subjects, whereas the Yomut as far as Astarābād belong for the most part to the Kādjār" [q. v.] (N. Murawjew, *Puteshestviye v Turkmeniyu i Khivu*, Moscow 1822, p. 134). It was only after Russian rule was firmly established in Central Asia that this question could be settled in favour of the Gulf of Balkhān. Since Krasnowodsk became the starting point for the Central Asiatic railway, Mangiśhlak has lost any importance it had in favour of the Gulf of Balkhān. According to the census of 1897, the population of Krasnowodsk was 6,322 and of Fort Aleksandrowsk only 895.

Bibliography: given in the article.

Descriptions of the district of Mangiśhlak will be found in all works on Turkestan, e.g. V. Masal'skiy, *Turkestan'skiy Krai*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 621 sq. (W. BARTHOLD)

MANGĪT, the name of a tribe and a people. In the time of Čingiz-Khān [q. v.] the word Mangĭt appears as the name of a Mongol people in Raḥīd al-Dīn (*Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obsch.*, vii. 205 sq.: Mangkūt). From the Mongol period onwards the name Mangĭt (written Mangkit, Manghūt, Mānghit, Mankit, Manghit and Manghit) like many other Mongol names (Naiman, Kūngrat etc.) appears as the tribal name of Turkish or Turkicised peoples. According to the *Zafarnāma* (Ind. ed., i. 277) the Mangĭt were a tribe (*ūimāḡ*) of the Golden Horde, which produced the celebrated Emīr Idegü (in Russian sources Yedigey), the contemporary and opponent of Timūr and Tokhtamīsh. The people called Nogai in Rus-

sian sources is always called Mangĭt by Abu 'l-Ghāzi (see Index) and other Oriental sources of the same period. Now Nogai alone is used as the name of the people. The statement that the Mangĭt tribe makes up about 90% of them wants more careful investigation (M. Tinfshpaev, *Materiali k istorii Kirgiz-Kasakskogo naroda*, Tashkent 1925, p. 28); the name Mangĭt is said to be also found as the name of a family among the Yakuts. In the *Baḥr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (MS. Ind. Off., N^o 575, f. 35a) the tribe (*ulūs*) of the Mangĭt and the tribe (*il*) of the Kūngrat are mentioned as the two most important branches of the Özbegs. The Mangĭt tribe was of some political importance for the political life of Bukhārā and Khwārizm. In the fighting with other tribes the Mangĭts of Bukhārā were supported by their brethren in Khīwa and vice versa but it was only in Bukhārā that they became supreme. On the dynasty of the Mangĭt see the article BUKHĀRĀ (there written Manġit); the dynasty was overthrown in the revolution of 1920. In Khīwa the Mangĭts combined with the Nukūz to form a double tribe (the other double tribes were the Uigur-Naiman, Kitai-Kīpčak and Kīyat-Kūngrat).

The place called Mangĭt on modern maps was only founded in Rādjāb 1215 (Nov.—Dec. 1800) by members of the tribe who had been driven by the Turkoman Yomut to the east (History of Khīwa, MS. of the Asiatic Museum, p. 590 supra, f. 75b).

At the present day the Mangĭts number 99,200 in Bukhārā (of whom 44,000 are in Bukhārā itself and 31,000 in Ҷarshī; q. v.) and only 10,300 in Khīwa.

Bibliography: Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1885, p. 349 sqq. (among the Özbeg); 546, 554 and 557 (among the Nogai); Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*², Leipzig 1893, i. 227; Aristow, *Zamietki ob etničeskom sostave tyurkskikh plemen*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 149 sqq.; *Materiali po rayonirovaniyu Srednei Azii. Territoriya i naseleniye Bukhārā i Khorezma*, Tashkent 1926. Čast' I, Bukhārā, p. 185 sqq.; Čast' II, Khorezm, p. 98. (W. BARTHOLD)

MANGU. [See MÖNGKE.]

MANGŪ-TIMUR, so on his coins, Mongol Mōngke-Timur, as in the article BERKE, [q. v.], written Mīngkā (e.g. Raḥīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 109), in the Russian annals Mengutimer and Mengutemer, Khān of the Golden Horde (1266—1280), grandson of the Khān Bātū [q. v.], son of Tūḡūkan. According to Egyptian sources, the death of his predecessor Berke took place in 665 (Oct. 1266—Sept. 1267); in Šafar 666 (Oct.—Nov. 1267) an embassy left Cairo which was to bring the new Khān an expression of sympathy and congratulations from Sulṭān Baibars I [q. v.]. In 667 (Sept. 1268—Aug. 1269) an embassy from the Khān arrived in Egypt. The exchange of embassies was maintained throughout the whole of the Khān's reign. When in 670 (1271—1272) an embassy on the way to Egypt was captured by a Frankish ship from Marseilles, the ambassadors and all their goods had to be released on the Sulṭān's demand. When in 680 (April 1281—1282) an Egyptian embassy left for the Golden Horde nothing was yet known of the death of the Khān. Only later did they learn that he was no more, having died in Rabi' I 679 in the district of Aḡlūḡiyā (apparently nowhere else mentioned);

his death is said to have been caused by the unskilful removal of a boil on the neck. In Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Blochet, p. 142) the date of Mangū-Timur's death is given as 681 (Apr. 1282–March 1283); there are coins of his brother and successor Tūdā-Mangū struck in this year.

The Egyptian government tried to induce the Khān to resume the war on the Persian Mongols begun by his predecessor Berke; but soon after his accession Mangū-Timur concluded peace with Abākā and never again attacked Persia. Rashīd al-Dīn by an oversight attributes to Mangū-Timur the campaign against Arghūn of the year 689 = 1290 (in Blochet's edition in p. 140, we have *sab' for tis'*); d'Ohsson (*Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 42) and Barthold (article ARGHŪN) have been misled by this.

On Mangū-Timur's participation in events in Central Asia down to the Kūrultāi of 667 (1269) (sending an army of 50,000 men under Berkedjār, a brother of Bātū and Berke) see the article BURĀK-KHĀN. Accounts of this are found in the still unprinted parts of the *Ḍjāmī' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn (reign of Abākā, cf. d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, iii. 428). The alliance between Mangū-Timur and Kaidū, whom he was then supporting, is also mentioned later; when in 1277 two sons of the emperor Kubilai Khān were taken prisoners in the war with Kaidū, the latter had the princes sent to the court of Mangū-Timur, from which they were later sent back to their father (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 8; d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, ii. 452 sq.).

Russian rulers appealed to Mangū-Timur for support as they had done to his predecessors and successors. Lev of Galicz received assistance from him against the Lithuanians but the Tatar auxiliaries proved a great burden not only to his enemies but also to their protégés. In 1277, a Russian army was fighting in the Caucasus against the Alans under the Khān's orders. From Mangū-Timur dates the earliest extant edict of a Khān of the Golden Horde on the privileges of the Greek orthodox clergy; it is dated in the year of the Hare (probably 1267). The bishop of Sarāi, Theognostes, was sent by Mangū-Timur as an ambassador to Constantinople.

In contrast to the last two decades of the xiiith century the Golden Horde under Mangū-Timur was a great power, free from internal troubles. Coins were still struck only in the old commercial city of Bulghār [q. v.] but, unlike those of his predecessors, in his own name not in that of the Great Khān. On his coins, the seal of the Golden Horde appears for the first time.

Bibliography: (so far as not already given): Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 125 sqq.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, Pesth 1840, p. 248 sqq. — The Egyptian references in W. Tiesenhhausen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordž*, part i., St-Petersburg 1884. (W. BARTHOLD) **MANI.** [See ZINDIČ.]

MANI is the name given in Ottoman Turkish to popular songs in quatrains. The name is a corruption of the Arabic word *ma'nā*, meaning "thought, idea", and is by no means found throughout the whole area where Ottoman Turkish is spoken. In many districts isolated quatrains, like songs of several verses, are simply called *türkü*. Songs in quatrains are known among almost all Turkish peoples: they must therefore be considered

to have been known to the original Turkish stock.

The rhythm of the mani is, as in Turkish popular poetry generally, sometimes purely syllabic (a definite number of syllables without a fixed caesura), and sometimes depends on the accented syllables (with a fixed caesura and therefore with the order of weak and strong syllables to some degree fixed). The lines show as a rule 7 syllables (4-3, 3-4, rarely 2-3-2). Quatrains with all four lines alike are rare, the third line usually differs from the others (3-4, 3-4, 4-3, 3-4, or 4-3, 4-3, 3-4, 4-3 and so on). The original arrangement of the rhyme in Turkish quatrains is *abcb* (two lines rhyming) which clearly shows the quatrain was originally a distich. In the Ottoman mani we have a development of this form also, with three rhyming lines (*aba*). The rhyme however which connects the second and fourth lines is often fuller and more distinct than that which connects the first and second lines. Alliteration, which is highly developed among many Turks, especially in the north, is only found sporadically in the mani; it is found both as line alliteration (similarity in the initial letters of the words of a line, e.g. *kara koyun kawurmasl, betime bensime bak*, etc.) and as verse alliteration (similarity of the initial letters of the lines in a verse, e.g. *sarl gülüm yerinde, senin insaf nerende, suı bende yok sew-diyim, sana gönül werende*).

As regards matter, the majority of the mani fall into two distinct parts, an introduction dealing with nature, and a concluding part of a personal character. Originally the two parts must have been very closely connected. It would however be a mistake to find such a connection in all the manis, because the singers very often only improvise new conclusions to ready made introductions taken from older poems, without troubling in the least about the train of thought. The great majority of mani are tinged with eroticism, but we also find satirical ones, also soldiers' and robbers' songs in the form of quatrains. The quatrains composed on the Anatolian brigand Çakydjy have been much admired by European scholars. Isolated, originally independent mani are now often strung together to form ballads of some length. It would therefore be wrong to regard mani and *türkü* as two fundamentally different classes of songs.

The number of mani current among the people is enormous. They are song at all kinds of festivals and ceremonies, and by people over their work in the house in the long winter nights. On *Hedrelez*, St. George's Day (April 23), they are used as oracles by young girls.

Very popular also among the Ottoman Turks are the so-called *djınaslı mani*: punning mani. These are quatrains, the rhymes of which are identical syllables but have each a different meaning.

Bibliography: I. Kunos in the introduction of Ottoman Turkish popular songs, especially in the second volume of the *Osmán-török népköltési gyűjtemény*, Budapest 1889 and in the eighth vol. of the *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, ed. by Radloff, St. Petersburg 1899; G. Jacob, *Türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901, p. 23 sq.; T. Kowalski, *Ze studjów nad formą poezji ludów tureckich*, Kraków 1922, p. 63 sq., 72 sqq. — Collections of mani's are also found in the following works: Kúnos, *Türkische Volkslieder*, W. Z. K. M., iv. (1890),

Chrestomathia Turcica, Budapest 1899; E. Littmann, *Tschakysdchy, ein Räuberhauptmann der Gegenwart*, Berlin 1915; T. Towalski, *Piosenki ludowe anatolskie o rozbójniku Czakydzym, Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, i. 337—355; W. Heffening, *Türkische Volkslieder, in Isl.*, xiii. 236—267; Wl. Gordlewski, *Obrazek osmanskiego narodnego twórcstwa*, Moscow 1916; M. Räsänen, *Eine Sammlung von Mäni-Liedern aus Anatolien*, *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, xli. (1926) (a collection of 290 mani mainly from N. E.-Anatolia); Sa'd al-Din Nüzhet and Mehmed Ferid, *Ḳonya Wilāyeti Khalkiyyāt we-Harthiyyāt*, Ḳonya 1926, p. 155—177 (a collection of 375 mani from the Wilāyet of Ḳonya); *Anadolu Türklerinin Khalk Edebiyatı, I Maniler* (collection of texts with a very full introduction by Köprülü-Zade Mehmed Fu'ad is to be shortly published by the Turkological Institute in Constantinople); cf. also the *Bibl.* to the article TÜRKÜ.

(T KOWALSKI)

AL-MĀNĪ', one of Allāh's names. [See ALLĀH.]

MANISA, MAGHNISA (> Mā'nisa), in Arabic Maghnisiya, capital of the district of Šārūkḫān in western Anatolia.

Maghnisa is two hours' journey distant on the south from the river Gediz or Gedüs (the ancient Hermon; on its course, cf. Tchihatchef, *Asie Mineure*, ii. [1866], p. 232) on the northern slope of Mount Maghnisa-dagh or Yamanlar (the ancient Sipylos) which separates it from Smyrna (the distance between the two towns by the Sabunçi-beli pass is only 20 miles; by railway 40 miles).

In ancient times the town ("Magnesia ad Sipylum") was mainly noted for the victory won in its vicinity by the two Scipios over Antiochus the Great of Syria (190 B. C.). The town was then incorporated in the Roman empire. It flourished until the fifth century as its coins show. Magnesia is also often mentioned in Byzantine history: after the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 John Ducas retired to Magnesia where he held out till 1255.

The Turkoman chief Šārū-Kḫān [q. v.] who had formed a principality for himself on the ruins of the Saldjuk kingdom of Ḳonya, took Magnesia in 1313 and the town was the capital of his dynasty for 78 years. It was in the reign of Šārū-Kḫān that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 312) visited the town where he stayed in a *sāwīya* of the brotherhood of the *fityān*. The town was large and beautiful, rich in gardens and with a plentiful supply of water. On the buildings erected by the Šārū-Kḫān dynasty see the article on them.

After the battle of Angora (805 A. H.) Timūr ordered his grandson Sultān Muḥammad to lay waste (*tākhkan*) the district between Brussa and Magnesia and to take up his winter quarters in the latter town. The author of the *Zafar-nāma*, ii. 466—467, 480, calls it "Maghnī-siyāh in the Sarḫān-eli" [cf. Urudj-beg, p. 32: Šār-kḫān] and comments on the excellence and abundance of its water-supply and the pleasantness of its climate. According to Turkish sources (cf. Urudj, *Tawārikh-i Al-i 'Othmān*, ed. Babinger, p. 34—35; *Āshik-pāshā*, p. 70; Münedj-djim-başı, iii. 33), Timūr restored the fiefs of Anatolia to their old holders (*beyli-beyine*) but by 813 (1410) Sultān Muḥammad I had retaken the region of Šārū-kḫān [q. v.].

Maghnisa became the residence (*Djihān-nümā*, p. 635: *dār al-amān*) of the Ottoman princes but

for a time (1405—1425) its district was within the sphere of influence of the rebel Djüneid (son of the Ottoman governor of al-Aydīn; von Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 271—327). Murād II having abdicated the throne in 1444 chose Maghnisa as his place of retirement. The Hungarian offensive drew him out of it but after the victory of Warna (Nov. 10, 1444) he returned to Magnesia (v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*², i. 351, 357) where the remains of his palace and gardens can still be seen. Murād III (1574—1595) and his wife also contributed to beautifying the town; cf. *Djihān-nümā*, p. 635. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, Oxford 1775, p. 207—209 and 266—268 speaks of the palace and pretty mausoleum of Murād (III?) and of his foundations (*tekye* = college of arwishes, lunatic asylums etc.).

In 1633 in the reign of Murād IV, the governor of Karasi [q. v.] İlyās Pāshā rebelled and laid siege to Magnesia which was taken and plundered for three days. İlyās was taken prisoner and the Sultān in ordering him to be beheaded reproached him with having devastated "the residence of his ancestors" (*l. c.*, iii. 113—114).

In the xviiith century Magnesia became the capital of the powerful family of the Kara 'Othmān-Oghlu whose authority extended from the Maeander to the Propontid. It was not till 1814 that these hereditary chiefs, whose administration is praised by Keppel, *Narrative of a Journey across the Balkans*, London 1831, ii. 294—301, were replaced by a regular Turkish governor.

With the introduction of the system of wilāyets, Maghnisa became the capital of the sandjak of Sarūkḫān in the wilāyet of Aydn (Smyrna). Sāmi-bey, *Āmūs al-'Ālām*, Constantinople 1898, vi. 4348 estimated the population of the town at 36,252 of whom 21,000 were Muslims, 10,400 Greeks, 2000 Armenians etc. Maghnisa which is divided up by streams into 3 quarters had 25 *djāmi'*, 38 mosques, 25 *medreses*, 18 *tekiye* etc. The *kaḍā* of Maghnisa had 4 *nāhiye*: Amlāk, Yont-dagh, Palamut and Belek. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii., 1894, p. 523—534 gives the following as the *nāhiye* of the sandjak: Maghnisa, Soma, Kırk-Aghaç, Ak-Hişar, Kaşaba, Gurdüs, Demirdji, Şalihl, Kule, Ala-shehir, Eshme. After the reform of 1921 Sarūkḫān became a wilāyet with 11 *kaḍās* (the old *nāhiyes*). The population of the new wilāyet is 302,752 souls and of the *kaḍā* Maghnisa, 75,021 souls; cf. the *Türkiye Djemhūriyetiniñ Sāl-nāmesi*, 1926—1927, p. 926—933. In view of the movements of the population the ethnical composition of the sandjak must have undergone profound modifications.

(V. MINORSKY)

MANSHÜR (A.) means literally "spread out" (as in the *Ḳur'ān* xvii. 14 and lii. 3; opposite *maṭwī* "folded"), or not sealed (opposite *makhtūm*) hence means a certificate, an edict, a diploma of appointment, and particularly a patent granting an appanage.

In Egypt in the early Arab period *manshūr* seems to be a name for the passes which the government compelled the *fellāḥin* to have in order to check the flight of colonists from the land, which threatened to become overwhelming (*Djāliya*, cf. above, ii., p. 14^a and 994^a). In any case in the *Führer durch die Ausstellung (Papirus Erzherzog Rainer)*, N^o. 631 (cf. also N^o. 601—602) such a certificate of the year 180 (796) is called a *manshūr* and in Maḳrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ii. 493, we are told

of the period of the financial controller Usāma b. Zaid al-Tanūkhī (104 = 722—723) that Christians who were found without identification papers (*man-shūr*) had to pay 10 dinārs fine (cf. Becker, *Beiträge zur Gesch. Ägyptens*, p. 104). In the texts of such passports themselves (cf. Becker, *Papyr. Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 40, x) however, we have, so far as I can see, not the word *man-shūr* but only *kitāb*.

Man-shūr seems also to have a quite general meaning of pass, when we are told in Kāḷkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-ʿA-shāʿ*, xiii. 142, that it was written on an ʿAbbāsīd grant of a fief dating from the year 373 (983—984) that no one could demand for the holder that he should show a *ḥudūdja* or a *tawḳīʿ* or a *man-shūr*.

The Egyptian Fāṭimids usually called all state documents, appointments, etc. by the general term *sidjill*, but they had also special terms for particular diplomas of appointment, including *man-shūr*.

Thus among the examples of Fāṭimid documents given by Kāḷkashandī, x. 452—466 there are several which in their texts are described as *man-shūrs*. Among these are for example, appointments to the supervision of inheritances (*mushārāfat al-mawārith al-ḥashriya*), of the poll-tax (*mushārāfat al-djawālī*), to a professorship (*taḍrīs*) etc. A grant of an appanage could also be called *man-shūr* at this time, so Kāḷkashandī, xiii. 131 sq. from the lost Fāṭimid *Mawādd al-Bayān* of ʿAlī b. Khalaf and the regulation that the *manāshīr* must not have an address (*unwān*) and that in place of this the head of the Diwān must write the date with his own hand seems to be first found in Ibn al-Ṣairafi, *Kanūn Diwān al-Rasʿil*, p. 113 sq. = Kāḷkashandī, vi. 198.

Under the Aiyūbids also, *man-shūr* had quite a general meaning. Thus in Kāḷkashandī, xi. 49 sq. a “noble marshal” (*naḥīb al-ashraf*) is appointed by a *man-shūr* and in 51 sq. governors (*wulāt*) of different provinces. In the text of it the name *man-shūr* is given to the edict on the equation of taxation and lunar years (*taḥwīl al-sinīn*) which is quoted from the *Mutaḍjaddidāt* of the Qāḍī al-Fāḍil for the year 567 (1171—1172) in Makrīzī, i. 281, ed. Wiet, iv. 292 (cf. also Kāḷkashandī, xiii. 71 sqq.), and according to a further quotation, for the year 584 (Makrīzī, i. 269 = Wiet, iv. 248) the so-called “lord of the new year” (*amīr al-nawrūs*) issued his *manāshīr*.

The term *man-shūr* became limited and specialised in the Mamlūk period, for which we have very full sources. The increasingly complicated system of the administration brought about a minute distinction between and special names for the various diplomas of appointment, edicts, etc. and the term *man-shūr* was henceforth used exclusively of the grants of appanages. These *manāshīr* were always written in Cairo in the chancellory (*aiwān al-inshāʿ*) in the name of the sultān, only in exceptional cases they might be in the name of the *nāʾib kāfil* (see Kāḷkashandī, iv. 16; xiii. 157). According to the very full description in Kāḷkashandī, xiii. 153 sqq. and Makrīzī, ii. 211, the procedure in granting a fief was as follows: if a fief became vacant (*mahlūl*) in a provincial town, e.g. in Damascus, the governor there (*nāʾib*) proposed a new holder and had a document (*rukʿa*, also called *mithāl* or *murabbaʿa*) drawn up about his proposal by the inspector of the army (*nāẓir al-djaish*; cf. Kāḷkashandī, iv. 190; xii. 97) in the military Diwān (*diwān al-djaish*) of his town. This

document was then sent by courier (*barīdī*) or pigeon post (*ʿalā adjnihāt al-ḥamām*) to Cairo to the government (*al-abwāb al-sharīfa*). Here it was received by the postmaster (*dawādār*), later by the private secretary (*kātib al-sirr* = *ṣāhib diwān al-inshāʿ*), who placed it before the sultān in audience (*djulus fi dār al-ʿadl*) for approval, to receive the sultān's signature (*khatt sharīf*) and the note *yuktab* (“let it be written out”; see Kāḷkashandī, iv. 51). The document then went to the Military Diwān in Cairo (*diwān al-djaish*, occasionally also called *diwān al-ikfāʿ*), where it was filed, after what was called the *murabbaʿa* had been made out. The latter was sent to the *diwān al-inshāʿ* and the private secretary, the head of this Diwān, wrote his requisition (*taʿyīn*) for the *inshāʿ* writer concerned and now finally the patent of the appanage (*man-shūr*) proper could be made out in the *diwān al-inshāʿ* in Cairo, while the *murabbaʿa* of the army Diwān remained filed in the *diwān al-inshāʿ* as *shāhid* (proof) (cf. Kāḷkashandī, vi. 201).

Full particulars are given of the formulae used in these *manāshīr* and of their outer form in Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allāh, *al-Taʿrif biʾl-Mustaḥlah al-Sharīf*, p. 88 sq.; Kāḷkashandī, xiii. 153 sqq. and Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l’Égypte*, i/i. 200 sq., note 82. There are many variants of format (*kaʿf*, q.v.) and script according to the military rank of the recipient. Thus *manāshīr* for the *Muḥaddamu ʿl-Uḥūf* were written on *kaʿf al-thulthain*, for the *Umarāʾ al-Ṭabikhānā* on *kaʿf al-nisf*, for the *Umarāʾ al-ʿAsharāt* on *kaʿf al-thulth* and for the *Mamālīk al-sultāniya* and *Muḥaddamu ʿl-Halka* on *kaʿf al-ʿāda*. Many rules were laid down for the wording to be used; the text is to be shorter and less florid than in the other appointments and there are none of the usual rules about service (*waṣāyā*); an original “virgin” (*muṭṭakarāt al-inshāʿ*) is recommended as the finest form of a *man-shūr*. Special formulae are further required for grants of appanages which were concerned with renewal (*taḍjiddāt*), addition (*ziyādāt*) or substitution (*taʿwīḍāt*). A regular signature of the sultān, such as is usual on appointments as confirmation (*mustanad*), is not found on the *manāshīr*; instead of this the sultān writes formulae like: God is my hope (*Allāhu Amālī*), God is my Protector (*Allāhu Walīyī*), God is sufficient for me (*Allāhu Ḥasbī*), To God belongs the rule (*al-Mulku li ʾllāh*), or: God alone has grace (*al-Minna li ʾllāhi waḥdahū*).

Occasionally the *manāshīr* for the highest ranks (*Muḥaddamu ʿl-Uḥūf* and *Muḥaddamu ʿl-Ṭabikhānā*) had a *ṭughra* [q.v.] at the top. The *ṭughras* were prepared by a special official beforehand and gummed on to the finished diplomas. In Kāḷkashandī, viii. 165 sq. the *ṭughras* of Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāʾūn (693—741 with interruptions) and Ashraf Shaʿbān b. Husain (764—778) are reproduced and described; they differ considerably from the better known form of the *ṭughra* of the Ottoman Sultāns. After Ashraf Shaʿbān *ṭughras* were no longer used on the *manāshīr*; these were only used for purposes of display on letters to infidel rulers.

The completed *man-shūr* was then again taken back by a courier from Cairo to the town concerned, e.g. Damascus and handed over to the tenant of the appanage. The inspector of the army there (*nāẓir al-djaish*) however first entered it in his register for he had to keep a roll of the holders of fiefs in his province. Kāḷkashandī, xiii. 167—199 gives examples of *manāshīr* no fewer

than 26 texts, beginning with one drawn up by Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir in the reign of Ḳalā'ūn for the latter's son Naṣīr Muḥammad, which for its remarkable beauty he calls a regular sulṭān al-manāshīr. The other texts are for the above mentioned military ranks, as well as for sons of emirs (*awlad al-umara'*) and for emirs of the Arabs, Turkomans and Kurds.

The term manshūr was also used for patents of appointment in the Ottoman empire, but it does not seem to have been used so definitely or exclusively in this sense; there are however manāshīr for viziers, generals, and governors (*wazāret menshūru*, *mushūriyyet menshūru*, *eyālet menshūru*), and in the treaties of peace made after the Balkan War in 1913, it is still provided that the chief muftis to be appointed in Bulgaria and Greece are to receive their menshūr from the Shaikh al-Islām in Stambul and they have also to put forward for approval the manshūr of the ordinary muftis subordinate to them (cf. e.g. Karl Strupp, *Ausgewählte diplomatische Aktenstücke zur orientalischen Frage*, Gotha 1916, p. 295, 308).

The name manshūr was also applied to the pastoral letters and epistles of the Christian patriarchs and bishops. In conclusion it may be mentioned that manshūr in mathematical language means "prism" (varieties e.g. *M. mā'il* oblique prism, *M. kā'im* straight prism, *M. mutawāzi* 'l-aqlā parallel prism, *M. muntaẓam* regular prism, *M. muthallathī* triangular prism, *M. nāḳis* truncated prism), and that in the language of the Persian poets the nightingales are called "the menshūr-writers of the garden" (*menshūr-newīsān-i bāgh*).

Bibliography: In addition to the passages quoted, cf. Ibn Shīth, *Ma'ālim al-Kitāba*, p. 43; Khālīl al-Zāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, p. 100, 102; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, Index; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Index 1.

(W. BJÖRKMAN)

MANSŪKH. [See NĀSIKH.]

AL-MANŞŪR, ABŪ DJĀ'FAR 'ABD ALLĀH b. MUHAMMAD, the second 'Abbāsīd caliph. His mother was a Berber slave girl called Sallāma, his brother the caliph Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh [q. v.]. In the fighting against the Omayyads he distinguished himself and took part in the siege of Wāsiṭ, which had been fortified by Ibn Hubaira [q. v.], the last important supporter of Marwān. The treacherous murder of Ibn Hubaira, to whom the two 'Abbāsīds had expressly promised a pardon, is however not out of keeping with Abū Djā'far's character. His brother gave him the governorship of Armenia, Adharbāidjān and Mesopotamia, which he administered till his accession. On the way back from the pilgrimage, he learned that Abu 'l-'Abbās had died in Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 136 (June 754) and that he himself had been proclaimed caliph. His uncle 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī [q. v.] wished to dispute the succession but was defeated by Abū Muslim [q. v.]. Soon afterwards the Caliph had the latter put out of the way, which led to a rising in Khorāsān. The leader of this was a Persian named Sunbādī; he advanced far into Media but was defeated between Hamadhān and al-Raiy by the caliph's troops led by Djahwar b. Marrār and soon afterwards slain. When Djahwar also cast off his allegiance to the caliph, the latter sent an army under Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath against him (138 =

755—756). Djahwar was defeated and fled to Adharbāidjān, where he was put to death. About the same time the Khāridjīs rebelled in Mesopotamia under Mulabbad b. Ḥarmala al-Shaibānī who inflicted severe reverses on al-Manşūr's armies, until the rebellion was finally suppressed by Khāzim b. Khuzaima in 138 and Mulabbad slain; in al-Hāshimiya also there was a rising (probably in 141 = 758—759). A body of the so-called Rāwandī [q. v.] who identified the caliph with God himself, went to the capital and when al-Manşūr had some of them arrested, they were forcibly rescued by their friends. But for the valiant Ma'n b. Za'ida [q. v.] it would hardly have been possible for the caliph to dispose of these mad fanatics. A few years later, the 'Alids also rebelled under their leader 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan [q. v.]. In the autumn of 145 (762), a rebellion broke out in al-Medina, and Muḥammad son of 'Abd Allāh was proclaimed caliph there, but in Ramaḍān of the same year (Dec. 762) defeated by the Caliph's nephew 'Isā b. Mūsā. 'Isā then attacked Muḥammad's brother Ibrāhim, who had risen in Baṣra and severely defeated him at Bākhramrā [q. v.] where the latter was slain (Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da 145 = Febr. 763). In Spain the Omayyad 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya had founded an independent kingdom in 138 (756) and in Africa there was fighting for several years with the Berbers and Khāridjīs. It was only after the Abādī Abū Ḥātim [q. v.] had been defeated by the Caliph's troops under Yazīd b. Ḥātim in Rabi' I, 155 (March 772) and killed that order was restored there. Yazīd remained in Ḳairawān as governor till his death in 170 (786—787). In Khorāsān a new rebellion broke out in 149 (766—767) or 150. The leader Ustādhās declared himself a prophet and gathered numerous followers around him but was defeated by Khāzim b. Khuzaima, who wrought a fearful massacre among the rebels.

The frontiers also resounded with the noise of battle. The war against the Byzantines was continued under al-Manşūr, but was confined mainly to raids or the destruction of individual strongholds. Al-Manşūr devoted special attention to protecting the frontier by building fortresses, and the two towns of Malatya (Melitene) and al-Maṣṣīṣa (Mopsuestia) were rebuilt in his reign. Several expeditions were sent against Dailam and Ṭabaristān in the early years of al-Manşūr's reign and after the extinction of the old line of Ispahbads of the Banū Dābūya [q. v.] in Ṭabaristān, this province too received Arab governors. In 147 (764—765) the Khazars invaded Armenia, seized the town of Tiflis and defeated the caliph's troops but retired again. There were also encounters with the people beyond the Oxus and in India; but these were of minor importance. At first al-Manşūr lived at al-Hāshimiya near Kūfa, as did his predecessor; he later decided to build a new capital and in 145 (762) the foundation stone of Baghdad [q. v.] was laid. Khālīd b. Barmak is said to have been his adviser in this matter; he played an important part in other respects in al-Manşūr's reign [cf. BARMECIDES]. Al-Manşūr devoted himself with the greatest energy to his duties as a ruler but troubled little about the means he used and never hesitated to act in the most faithless manner if he could only attain his aim. He was always kept very well informed of everything that went on in the different parts of his wide empire, and devoted special attention to the improvement of the finances of the State in

order to leave his successor a full treasury. He took an active interest in literature and was a brilliant speaker; on the other hand he did not tolerate music and song at his court and in general led a very simple life. His nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [q. v.] had been destined by al-Saffāh to succeed al-Manšūr but was induced by the latter to withdraw his claims on condition that he should succeed after al-Mahdī [q. v.]. Al-Manšūr died in Dhu ʿl-Hijja 158 (Oct. 775) in Biʿr Maimūn, when on the pilgrimage to Mecca and was buried near the holy city [cf. the article AL-MURĪYĀNĪ].

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AL-MANŠÜR BI ʿLLĀH AL-KĀSIM, the name of two Zaidī imāms of the Yemen.

I. AL-KĀSIM B. ʿALĪ AL-ʿAIYĀNĪ (? according to others al-Ilyānī). His genealogy goes back through a certain ʿAbd Allāh and a Muḥammad to al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā (d. 246 = 860), the spiritual founder of Zaidism in the Yemen; he is however not a descendant of the latter's grandson, al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain, the creator of the secular power of the Zaidis in the Yemen. The latter was succeeded in the imāmate by his two sons: the weak Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā and the more capable Aḥmad al-Nāṣir. With his death in the year 322 (934) the imāmate came to an end for a time. Although in 345 (956) al-Kāsim aṭ-Mukhtār, a son of al-Nāṣir, seized the capital Ṣanʿā, he was soon defeated by al-Ḍaḥḥāk, the chief of the tribe of Hamdān, who put Ṣanʿā under the suzerainty of the Ziyādis of Zabīd; the hostile tribe of Khawlān however played it (352 = 963) into the hands of the Yaʿfurid ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaḥṭān. In the midst of this civil strife, a nephew of the defeated Mukhtār, Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir succeeded for a short time in gaining power and being recognised by the Zaidis at least as a *ḍaʿī*. Driven out by the Yaʿfurids, his power became limited to the old Zaidī stronghold of Ṣaʿda in the north. Al-Kāsim b. ʿAlī, with the support of the Banū Hamdān, rose against him, claiming the imāmate with the title al-Kāsim b. Manšūr bi ʿllāh in 389 (999); he occupied Ṣaʿda, forced his way through the Wādī Shuwāba and al-Bawn southwards to the highlands in the N.W. of Ṣanʿā and from there forced the capital to

recognise him. His career however was brief and his power unenduring: for when in 393 (1003) he died, his governor in Ṣanʿā had already gone over to Yūsuf al-Dāʿī. He was however the first since al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, and the fourth in all to be entered — although not by everyone — in the lists as Imām of Yemen (but cf. on the above claimants: Munadjjimbašī, in Sachau, *Ein Verzeichniss muhammedanischer Dynastien*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1923, i. 22).

Only for an equally short time from 401-404 (1010-1013) his son al-Ḥusain al-Mahdī was able to regain his father's office. His early death in battle is noteworthy because it produced a quite un-Zaidī belief in his return and for a period founded a special sect, the "Husainiya" in the name of this concealed imām. Some years later another son of al-Kāsim, Djaʿfar, began a struggle full of vicissitudes with the other ʿAlid claimants to the imāmate, which was complicated by a party grouping of the tribes of the country; about 453 (1061) Ṣanʿā fell to the Ismāʿīlī Sulaiḥids and then to Hamdān chiefs. Only in 545 (1150) Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Mutawakkil, whose genealogy also goes back to al-Nāṣir Aḥmad b. al-Hādī but neither through al-Kāsim al-Mukhtār nor Yūsuf al-Dāʿī, succeeded in restoring the imāmate for a long and brilliant period. For the history of the following centuries, which were full of incidents and individual imāms of importance cf. the article AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH a and b. The family of Yūsuf al-Dāʿī remained victorious in the end. His descendant in the twelfth(? 14th) generation:

II. AL-MANŠÜR AL-KĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD (cf. *supra*, p. 119a), was the founder of the modern Yemen dynasty. At the end of 1005 (1597) he appeared in the field and held his own against five Turkish governors. Not only did he find opponents and people he could not trust among his own Zaidis, who went over to the Turks but among the latter the change of governor frequently led to trouble and even to mutiny: the tribes were an incalculable element; the Turks were often able to call to their help the Ismāʿīlis (Karmāṭians), always hostile to the Zaidis. The lack of equipment was a great hardship to the Imām; for example in one battle he is said to have mustered only 20 rifles against the Turks' 2,400. It is very difficult to get a clear idea of this minor war but the following are the main facts that emerge: After the proclamation of the holy war at Djādid al-Kāra in the northern district of Shām al-Sharḥ at the end of Muḥarram 1006 (Sept. 1597), al-Kāsim conquered the highlands of Ahnūm and Shāhāra, the latter with the fortress of the same name, which had been a bulwark of the Zaidis for 300 years with occasional interruptions; turning to the southeast he established himself in the mountains of Ḥaḍūr al-Shaikh (also called Ḥaḍūr Banū Azd; cf. the article ḤAḌŪR) in the important Thulā [see THULĀ] in the N.W. of Ṣanʿā; his followers rose throughout the land and for a time even cut off the Turkish communications with the sea. But after two years, the collapse began before General Sinān: by the end of 1010 or beginning of 1011 (1602) he had to flee from Shāhāra. But in 1014 (1605) again he rebelled against Sinān in the district of Shāhāra who had been appointed governor this time from Wādīʿa; he also took Ṣaʿda. After Sinān Pasha was recalled, al-Kāsim was able to induce his successor Djaʿfar Pasha to make a truce, which

was observed for about ten years with a few interruptions especially on the arrival of new governors in 1022 and 1025. After renewed fighting a formal peace in 1028 left the imām in possession of the four separate areas: around *Shahāra*, around *Khashab* in the east, around *Ṣa'da* in the north, and lastly in the S.W. of *Ṣan'ā'* around *Haima* [q. v.], the inhabitants were however for the most part not Zaidis but *Shāfi'is*. Al-*Kāsim* died in *Rabī' I* 1029 (Feb. 1620). In the middle of 1038 (beg. of 1629) *Haidar Pasha* had to evacuate *Ṣan'ā'* before his son and successor al-Mu'ayyad *Muhammad*.

Al-*Kāsim* b. *Muhammad* was a conscientious Zaidi; as a youth when a fugitive before the Turks he had studied with many spiritual authorities; he composed numerous appeals for the rebellions; works of a legal and dogmatic nature by him still exist.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

AL-MANŞŪR, the sixth ruler of the *Ḥammādid* dynasty, succeeded his father al-Nāṣir in the year 481 (1088). The latter had witnessed the rise to the height of its power of the dynasty of somewhat artificial development of *Qal'a Banī Ḥammād* [q. v.], a result of the destruction of *Qairawān* by the Arabs. Two years after the accession of al-Manşūr, the Arabs, who had advanced towards the west and who had spread over all the region adjoining the *Qal'a*, began to make existence there difficult. The prince moved his capital from *Qal'a* to *Bougie* which he considered less accessible to the nomads; it should be mentioned that his father al-Nāṣir had already made preparations for the exodus by transforming a little fishing port into a regular town, which he called al-Nāṣiriya and which was to become *Bougie*, while on the other hand, the *Qal'a* was not completely abandoned by al-Manşūr and he even embellished it with a number of palaces. The *Ḥammādid* kingdom had therefore at this time two capitals joined by a royal road.

After taking up his quarters at *Bougie*, al-Manşūr had in the first place to quell the revolt of one of his uncles, *Belbar*, the governor of *Constantine*. He sent against the rebel another *Ḥammādid* Emīr, *Abū Yakkī*. The latter after his victory was given the governorship of *Constantine* but shortly after he in his turn as well as his brother, who had been given the governorship of *Bone*, rebelled. These risings over which al-Manşūr, thanks to his energy,

was triumphant, brought to the side of the rebels of the *Ḥammādid* family the *Zirids* of al-Mahdiyya, who wished to get back some power in *Babary*, the *Almoravids* of the *Maghrib*, who wished to extend towards the East and the Arabs who were always ready to join in the feuds of their powerful neighbours.

Al-Manşūr was, on the other hand, led to oppose the advance of the *Almoravids* who were curiously allied with the traditional opposition of the *Zenāta* [q. v.]. With the probable object of disarming the opposition al-Nāṣir and al-Manşūr had married two sisters of *Mākhūkh*, the chief of the *Banū Wamānū*, at that time the most powerful of the *Zenāta* group. This alliance did not hinder the time-honoured feud from breaking out again. It became more acute when al-Manşūr murdered his wife, the sister of his enemy. The latter then asked for support from the *Almoravids*.

From *Tlemcen*, where they had been installed for more than twenty years, the *Almoravids* had after many attempts, endeavoured to expand towards the East at the expense of their brethren of the same race, the *Ṣanhādja* b. *Ḥammād*. Al-Manşūr had twice reduced them to impotence. It was at this time that the murder of the sister of *Mākhūkh* by al-Manşūr drove the *Wamānū* chief into an alliance with the *Almoravids* of *Tlemcen*. The alliance formed in this way was a great blow to the *Ḥammādid* kingdom. *Algiers* was besieged for two days; *Ashir* was taken.

The fall of the latter fortress, the oldest stronghold of the family, was bitterly resented by al-Manşūr. He got together an army of 20,000 men, composed of the *Ṣanhādja*, the Arabs and even the *Zenāta*; he marched against *Tlemcen*, met the governor *Tāshfin* b. *Tin'amer* to the North-East of the town and put him to flight. *Tlemcen* was not spared even at the supplication of *Tāshfin's* wife, who invoked the ties of relationship uniting them with the *Ṣanhādja* (496 = 1102).

After the defeat of the *Almoravids*, al-Manşūr severely punished the *Zenāta* and the rebel tribes of the *Bougie* district, whom he forced to flee into the mountains of *Kabylia*.

Thus al-Manşūr seems on the eve of his death (498 = 1104) to have thoroughly re-established the power of the *Ḥammādids*. According to a tradition, which is not above suspicion, recorded by *Ibn Khaldūn*, the two capitals owed very important buildings to him: *Bougie*, the Palace of the Star and the Palace of Salvation; the *Qal'a*, the government palace and the *Qaşr al-Manār* the beautiful donjon of which is still in part extant.

Bibliography: *Ibn Khaldūn, Hist. des Berbères*, i. 227—228, transl. de Slane, ii. 51—55; *Ibn al-Athīr*, ed. *Tornberg*, x. 110; transl. *E. Fagnan (Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne)*, p. 488; *E. Mercier, Hist. de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ii. 53—56; *L. de Beylié, La Kalaa des Beni Hamad*, p. 38 sqq., 99 sqq. (doubtful traditions relating to the mosque of *Bougie* which was enlarged by al-Manşūr); *G. Marçais, Manuel d'art musulman*, i. 105, 121—123, 129—130.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

AL-MANŞŪR, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, born in 1549, seventh ruler of the *Ṣa'dian* dynasty of *Morocco*, son of *Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Mahdī* and *Sahāba al-Rahmāniya*. His victories and his wealth earned him the epithets al-Manşūr and al-Dhahabī.

He was still a child when on the accession of his eldest brother 'Abd Allāh (1557) he accompanied into exile his other brothers 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-Mu'min, who went for safety from Sidjilmāsa to Tlemcen. The fugitives were potential claimants to the throne of the Sharifians, by virtue of an agreement concluded in the life-time of their father by which the one to inherit the power was not the Sultān's heir but the eldest of the family. 'Abd al-Mu'min was assassinated at the instigation of his nephew Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh called al-Mutawakkil and Aḥmad retired to Algiers to join 'Abd al-Malik who was already there. He was henceforth always a loyal lieutenant of his brother whose ability he fully realised. The death of 'Abd Allāh in 1574 gave the exiles the opportunity to assert their rights. Pretenders and rebels could always rely on the support of the natural enemies of every reigning sharif: Spain and Turkey. Philip II had remained deaf to the repeated appeals of 'Abd al-Malik, who appealed to the Grand Turk and in 1574 went to Constantinople where his marriage with the daughter of the renegade al-Ḥādīdj Morato assured him of patrons. In Algiers Aḥmad conducted successful negotiations with certain Moroccan notables, mainly in Fās. It was perhaps he who gave the signal when an expedition appeared to have some chances of success. He was at his brother's side when the latter entered Morocco in 1576 with a Turkish army led by Ramaḍān Paṣha and helped him to raise troops in the region of Tlemcen. We do not know exactly what part he played in the battles of al-Rukn and al-Sharāṭ which gave Morocco to 'Abd al-Malik but we know that he was given the task of pursuing the dethroned sultān on his flight to Marrākush.

One of 'Abd al-Malik's first acts was to recognise his brother as his heir. It seems, however, that he did not show the latter as much esteem as affection and he had left in Constantinople, with his wife, his son Ismā'il. But he was bound by his policy. In these circumstances Aḥmad naturally had the vice-royalty of Fās.

He did not stay there long, for he was recalled to save Marrākush from a return of al-Mutawakkil. Taking command of one of the three armies charged with pursuing the vanquished sultān in al-Sūs and the Atlas, he does not seem to have found an opportunity for a decisive military success; he returned to his governorship while Muḥammad was driven to seek refuge behind the walls of Ceuta.

In June 1578, 'Abd al-Malik summoned him with all his forces to Kaṣr al-Kabir (Alcazarquivir, q. v.) to stop the advance of the King of Portugal's army. The latter had foolishly sought to realise the dream of conquering Morocco cherished by John III. When Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh after vainly appealing for help to Philip II, turned to Sebastian, he at once received a favourable reply. A large army with about 20,000 effective fighters left Portugal in June, landed at Tangier, then went to Arzila, which 'Abd al-Karim b. Tuda had just relieved, and proceeded by land towards Larache. The Moroccan forces coming from Marrākush and Fās met them at al-Kaṣr. Aḥmad found his brother seriously ill, poisoned by the kā'ids of his staff, it is said. The battle was fought a few miles from al-Kaṣr on Aug 4. Sebastian's men, absurdly led, having exhausted all their provisions, fought with their backs to the river of the Wādi 'l-Makhāzin. The sharif arranged

his army in a crescent. In about 5 hours the Christians were annihilated by the Moorish cavalry. 'Abd al-Malik died in his litter during the battle, Sebastian was killed or committed suicide and al-Mutawakkil was drowned. That evening, Aḥmad henceforth known as Aḥmad al-Manšūr was proclaimed emperor.

Elegant, cultivated, very learned in religious matters, more a man of the council-chamber than of the camp, he was succeeding a popular and fearless ruler, of exceptional energy, who having acquired a taste for innovations in Turkey had begun to introduce them, perhaps too eagerly, into Morocco. Designated as his successor by 'Abd al-Malik, and benefitting by the great reputation left by his father, Aḥmad al-Manšūr was rapidly able to overcome the difficulties which awaited him, as they did every sovereign of Morocco on his accession: mutinies of the troops, demands from allied tribes and the Zāwiyas, and agitations among the Berbers. While in Spain it was feared that the Christian garrison would be attacked and swept away, al-Manšūr had to hurry to Fās to make himself recognised as ruler there, to put down unrest and behead a few notables. He edified the people by displaying the skin of Muḥammad al-Maṣlūkh stuffed with straw in the regions of al-Sūs and the Atlas, where the influence of the former sultān had survived for a brief space his tenure of the throne.

Aḥmad al-Manšūr very soon sought means of enriching himself. The booty taken in the field of al-Kaṣr, the work done by the prisoners reduced to slavery, the ransoms extorted from the gentlemen gave the sharif and his people enormous sums. The Sultān kept the nobles for himself, 80 were soon brought to him and he set about bargaining about them. In a little time, less than a year, the ransoms had been arranged.

The haste displayed by foreign courts to congratulate the Moor on his triumph was remarkable. Ambassadors thronged to Marrākush, those of Spain and Portugal bringing magnificent gifts. Aḥmad al-Manšūr had the sense to understand that these presents were the most he was likely to get from European action. For its neighbours, Morocco was a weak and troublesome state. The cupidity of its neighbours was its best protection. Many reasons urged the Turks to obtain a footing there: the cupidity of the beglerbegs of Algiers ambitious of extending their powers to the west; the naval basis of Mazagan of al-Ma'mūra and of Larache; the formal promises that had been given by 'Abd al-Malik, when he was begging assistance, and there was always the troublesome question of spiritual supremacy, as the Turkish Sultān did not admit that the Moroccan sharif had an authority in religious matters as great as his. To extricate himself, al-Manšūr played the usual game, following the example of his brother, who had made advances to the kings of Spain, Portugal and France, to the Queen of England and to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; he turned without ceremony from the Grand Turk and threw himself into the arms of Philip II, overwhelming the Catholic King with demonstrations of friendship, of which the most significant was the return without ransom of the body of Sebastian; he was even promised Larache. The quarrel with Turkey was soon to come to a head. 'Alī, Beglerbeg of Algiers, exerted all his influence to get war declared. Aḥmad al-Manšūr

as a last resort had to send in 1581 an embassy laden with presents to Constantinople where the enemies of 'Euldj 'Ali were conducting an effective campaign against the Beglerbeg. The relations between the two Muslims resumed the appearance of cordiality which they usually had. In 1587, the death of 'Euldj 'Ali, the end of the régime of the Beglerbeys and the weakening of Turkish power in Algiers freed Morocco from a threat, which had long weighed heavy upon it. There were still periods of tension: when al-Manşūr ceased to send what he considered gracious gifts and what the Grand Turk received as tribute; when the conquest of the Sūdān seemed to be about to threaten Ottoman interests, spiritual and material; and lastly in the periods of friendship with Spain. But there was never again a real crisis; even in spite of the efforts of Ḥassān who had married 'Abd al-Malik's widow, the Turk did nothing really serious to sustain the claim of Ismā'il.

When al-Manşūr had peace on the Turkish side he showed Philip what negotiation meant: yielding nothing, breaking off nothing, playing enemies off one against the other. It was no longer a question of handing over Larache but of an exchange and the pourparlers dragged along for four years with a decreasing seriousness of purpose. The Duke of Medina-Sidonia, supported by Philip II, to deal with Moroccan affairs was played with by the Moor who was able to reap considerable advantage from his hesitation on several occasions. The Sharif seems to have summed up very skilfully the character of the Catholic king and the needs of his policy. Spain, faced with a crisis at home and abroad, could not think of risking anything important in Africa. It was her interest that Morocco should remain weak, that is to say Moroccan, and especially that it should not fall under the influence of the Turks or of the English. Corsairs sheltered in the Atlantic ports, on the route to India. The garrisons, weak and badly provisioned, were periodically blockaded sometimes threatened, by the natural movements of tribes around them rather than by deliberate hostilities on the part of the Sharif. The policy of the two Philips, one of distrust and fear, tried to limit the evil and to obtain by subtle means a neutrality as little malevolent as possible, by awaiting the favourable moment of the anarchy, which history showed to recur in Morocco with an inexorable regularity. The Spanish court did not attempt to make capital out of the presence in Spain of two pretenders, al-Nāsir and al-Shaikh, the brother and the son of al-Mutawakkil which disturbed al-Manşūr; in 1589, Arzila was evacuated without a quid pro quo. The fear of seeing Moors and Morescoes draw closer to one another kept Spain from unfolding a liberal economic policy, the only one capable of affecting the Sharif in a sensitive part.

The latter by nature very cautious and far-seeing was not inclined to take risks. He had also to reckon with a public opinion, already irritated by the influence wielded by Jews and renegades; anti-foreign feeling definitely increased in the course of the reign; the fact that he had compromised himself with the Christians weakened the prestige of the Sultān, while the wealth and power of the Marabouts and brotherhoods increased to a dangerous decree. The splendour-loving ruler of a covetous people, al-Manşūr did not think of concealing the sympathy he had for traders. With the Grand

Duke, who freely received Moors in Tuscany and did all he could to develop commerce between the two countries, with Elizabeth, with the English, French and Dutch traders, relations were close. Sugar was exported from the South and Morocco also supplied corn in good years, gold from the Sūdān, saltpetre, copper and hides. It imported principally cloth and for al-Manşūr himself, the materials for his buildings. From the Sharifian court there went undefinable envoys, at once ambassadors, spies, procurers of jewels and of women. But contraband especially interested the Sharif, contraband of war and the sale, advantageous for every one, of the cargoes and slaves brought in by the corsairs. The English were the most punctilious contrabandists and the trade with Morocco developed so well that in 1585 the Barbary Company was founded with a monopoly and a regular constitution. But Aḥmad al-Manşūr was not too fond of regular traders. The many Christians settled in Morocco must be considered to have been adventurers. Quasi-prisoners of the Sharif and his people, they were able to realise precarious fortunes, always liable to extortion. In 1585 bankruptcies were numerous in Morocco and the loyal company could not survive. The caprices of the sovereign drove off many other foreign traders.

These economic relations gradually developed into political ones. It was to exercise pressure on Spain that Aḥmad al-Manşūr pretended to submit to the wishes of a combination of Dutch and English. After the destruction of the Armada in 1588, he entered without hesitation into the English camp; he received at his court Don Christoph, son of the Portuguese pretender Don Antonio, and agreed to a loan to Elizabeth. Then he drew back again. The taking of Cadiz in 1596 again influenced his feelings; he spoke of an alliance and made definite offers. Nothing resulted from these demonstrations, except a painful impression left after deception. So long as Elizabeth was alive, relations were friendly, for the two rulers had kindly feelings for one another, but James I, on his accession, at once showed a much less benevolent attitude towards the Sharifian court.

It was in the direction of the Sūdān that Aḥmad al-Manşūr gave reign to his desire for glory and conquest. His troops had had some experience in the Sahara. In 1581, the oases of Tuāt and Tigūrārīn, which had long been free from the Sharifian yoke had been conquered brilliantly. In 1584 an unsuccessful expedition had ended in the disappearance in the desert of a large army which had not even reached Tēghāza. In 1590, having sought a quarrel with the askia Ishāk over the ownership of the salt mines of Tēghāza, al-Manşūr persuaded his Council to go to war; a little army under the Pasha Djawdhār crossed the desert and destroyed the Sūdānese empire. The occupation of the conquered country was nothing but systematic plunder and massacre. The Sharif collected great wealth there; he received the congratulations of the Powers and gained a prestige which still survives; his lieutenants also enriched themselves. With remarkable regularity, almost every year, reinforcements set out for Gago and very often reached it; caravans brought gold, wealth and slaves back to Marrākush. The most famous of the prisoners was the legist Aḥmad Bābā [q. v.] for whom Marrākush was a gilded prison where he taught quite freely. The

Sūdān was drained dry. In 1600 al-Manšūr saw the necessity of reorganising trade there but does not seem to have succeeded.

Morocco was, on the whole, prosperous during his reign. The first Sa'dians had done much for the development of commerce and agriculture. Sugar factories were built up and down the country which were the Sultān's private property but were farmed out by him to Jews and Christians. Trade was active at the ports. The profits from the sale of captives or their labour contributed to make the notables wealthy and through this to the peace of the country. Besides the industrial monopolies, the normal revenue came from the customs dues and the taxes established by Muḥammad al-Mahdī, which al-Manšūr heavily increased. The collection of these taxes provoked murmurs of discontent and served as an excuse for military demonstrations which maintained good order in the country. Al-Manšūr had also a considerable army (he never formed a fleet) composed of excellent troops, Moors from Spain and particularly renegades, a nursery for *kā'id*s and officers of ability and energy. He was rich enough to pay them well. All this contributed to make rebellions few and they were always quickly and harshly suppressed by the Sharif's lieutenants: the rising of the people of Saksāwa, stirred up by Mawlāi Dāwūd, son of 'Abd al-Mu'min in 1581 and the rebellion of the Berbers of Amizmiz in 1597. The throne itself was never seriously threatened except in 1595—1596 when al-Nāṣir came from Spain and landed at Melilla. Starting without resources, for Philip II would do nothing for him, al-Nāṣir nevertheless proved a redoubtable enemy for he gathered round him all those who were dissatisfied with the rule of al-Manšūr and raised troops from the Barānis (Branes), always ready to rebel and who had until lately been vassals of the Turks. He took Tāzā and tried to raise the Rif and the country around Fās. Defeated at al-Rukn on Aug. 3, 1595, he held out till May 1596. Decisively defeated at Taghāt, he was put to death.

Al-Manšūr had rarely need to leave Marrākush and he did not like to do so. His mother had acquired a great reputation for her pious foundations. He himself, six months after his accession, began the building of the palace of al-Badī' which was finished in 1602. Marble for it came from Italy and artists from Spain, and Marrākush became one great workshop. A splendid palace arose, sumptuous pavilions surrounded by beautiful gardens in which stood numerous fountains. Foreigners were fêted there and the Sharif displayed his generosity. Especially on the occasion of religious festivals he displayed great pomp and ceremony. His wealth earned him great fame abroad and it was no doubt to it that he owed most of his glory. At his court the principal posts were held by renegades: Jews who had charge of his finances, Christians who conducted his private trading for him, and the agents of foreign courts. Al-Manšūr was one of the richest and most courted rulers of his time. Spain kept a regular ambassador or a representative permanently at Marrākush; France had a consul there; there was a constant passage of embassies between the Sharif and the Sublime Porte.

The palace of al-Badī' was destroyed by Mawlāy Ismā'il. The mausoleum in it still remains, a very fine specimen of the art of a decadent period.

Towards the end of his life al-Manšūr was thinking of creating a new Marrākush on the model of Fās.

Aḥmad al-Manšūr at first ruled as an autocrat. His orders were clear, his decisions rapid and sometimes, as might be expected, drastic to cruelty. His intimates, the *kā'id*s Ruthe, a Jew, whom we only know from European sources and 'Azzūz, seem to have been his secretaries, like al-Fishtālī, his biographer and poet-laureate whose works have not survived. The Pasha Riḍwān, very powerful at the beginning of the reign, acquired such influence that the Sharif had him beheaded in 1581. In time the notables acquired a great deal of independence and the Sultān hardly dared check their abuse of their power; two factors caused him much anxiety, the anti-foreign and audacious 'Abd al-Karīm b. Tuda and his own son Abū Fāris.

By a concubine, al-Khaizurān, al-Manšūr had two sons, al-Shaikh and Abū Fāris, and by his wife Lalla 'A'isha al-Shabbāniya, Zaidān. His favourite son Abu 'l-Ḥasan was killed in 1594. In 1579 he had designated as his heir al-Shaikh, called al-Ma'mūn who held the vice-royalty of Fās. The remainder of Morocco was divided into governorships under other princes. These were several times rearranged; Abū Fāris, having considered everything, remained at Marrākush near his father to be ready in case of his death. In Fās, al-Ma'mūn, supported by his favourite Muṣṭafā, conducted himself like an independent ruler. He had displayed his gifts of energy, leadership and bravery on the occasion of al-Nāṣir's escapade in 1595; living in great pomp, beloved by his troops, he was undoubtedly a cause of anxiety. His father allowed himself to be led by Abū Fāris. The conflict broke out in 1598. Forced to sacrifice his favourite, thrown into prison and then half pardoned, al-Ma'mūn had to renounce all hope of winning in the struggle against Zaidān who was supported by Abū Fāris. After 1600 he sought support from Spain and Algiers.

Under Aḥmad al-Manšūr, the dynasty attained its zenith. But it is hardly correct to say that the decline of the Sa'dians only dates from the death of the great Sultān. After the conquest of the Sūdān, the anarchy reigning in Algiers, the weakness of Spain in Europe, the death of al-Nāṣir, the conversion to Christianity of another pretender, al-Shaikh, Morocco was rich, seemed powerful and the Sharifian throne stable. Aḥmad al-Manšūr, by not being able to arrange for his own successor, nor even to keep his son in obedience, gave his country the chance to destroy itself. This process began under his own eyes. He had gone to Fās to try to reconcile his children and put through the appointment of Abū Fāris as heir apparent when the plague carried him off in 1603. Civil war broke out over his dead body. He had passed the last few years of his life wandering about living in a tent, shifting his camp every ten days, driven from Marrākush by the plague, which had begun to rage in Morocco in 1598.

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(C. FUNCK-BRENTANO)

AL-MANŠŪR IBN ABĪ 'ĀMIR, a famous ḥādjib of al-Andalus in the tenth century A.H., the Almanzor of the Christian chroniclers of mediaeval Spain; his full name was Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Amir. He belonged to an Arab family which had settled in the Iberian peninsula at an early date: one of his ancestors, 'Abd al-Malik al-Ma'āfirī, had landed there with Tāriq [q. v.] and settled at Torrox in the province of Algeciras where he had founded a family. Al-Manšūr's father, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Abd Allāh, was a jurist noted for his knowledge and piety who died on his way back from the pilgrimage at Tripoli in Barbary at the end of the reign of the Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir (cf. Ibn al-'Abbās, *Takmilat al-Šila*, B.A.H., v.—vi., No. 1251, p. 437—438; al-Maḥḥarī, *Analéctes*, i. 904).

While still quite a young man, Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Āmir conceived great political ambitions: they were to dominate his whole career. After studying in Cordova and holding a minor office with the ḳāḍī of the capital, Muḥammad b. al-Salīm, he entered the service of the Omayyad court in 356 (967) as superintendent of the estates of a princess of Basque origin, Šubḥ, the wife of the Caliph al-Ḥakam II and her son 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who had just been born. Ibn Abī 'Āmir was not long, thanks to his tact and courtesy and ability, in making himself persona grata with this princess and it was without doubt on the intervention of the latter that the young superintendent found himself within two years the holder of the new offices of superintendent of the mint, treasurer and administrator of intestate estates. A few years later in 358 (969), he was appointed ḳāḍī of the district of Seville and Niebla. In 361 (972) the Caliph al-Ḥakam II gave him command of a section of his police corps (*shurṭa*).

All these offices, combined in the person of Ibn Abī 'Āmir assured him a considerable income and soon enabled him to lead a very luxurious life in Cordova. He built himself a palace in the aristocratic quarter of Ruṣāfa and his generosity, courtly disposition and his splendour soon placed him in the forefront of the dignitaries of the Omayyad court. In a few years he had filled the

first part of his programme: to become popular and indispensable, to make numerous friends, ready to support him on the day on which he would begin his attempt on the throne of the caliph.

Ibn Abī 'Āmir very soon realised that it was not sufficient to be popular in Cordova but that he had also to create reliable friends among the generals of the Caliph's armies. The circumstances of the time were peculiarly in his favour. Al-Ḥakam II, following the example of his predecessor 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, had his North African policy and his armies were busy suppressing a Maghribi revolt which had broken out as a result of an expedition of reprisal sent against the petty Idrisid dynast of Tangier, Ḥasan b. Gannūn. The Omayyad troops, under the orders of the general Ḡhālīb, were sent to dethrone all the petty Idrisid rulers of Morocco who were more or less vassals of the Fātimids. This expedition was crowned with success and Ḥasan b. Gannūn was obliged to take refuge in a fortress of the Rif, Ḥadjrat al-Naṣr, in which Ḡhālīb besieged him. But the Spanish army in Africa was a heavy burden on the treasury of the Caliph. Ḡhālīb had distributed money recklessly among the chiefs of the Berber tribes of the North of Morocco in order to buy them over. Al-Ḥakam II decided to send over a controller-general of finance and he chose Ibn Abī 'Āmir who set off with the title of chief ḳāḍī (*ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*) and exact instructions. He carried out his very delicate task with unusual tact. He returned to Cordova at the same time as the army. When al-Ḥakam II died, leaving the throne to his young son Hishām in 366 (976), the new Caliph at the same time as he appointed ḥādjib the favourite vizier of his father, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Dja'far b. 'Othmān al-Muṣḥafī, appointed Ibn Abī 'Āmir as the latter's vizier. The ambitious minister now worked unceasingly to get rid of his chief, al-Muṣḥafī. In the first place he was able to reduce to nothing the considerable power which the Slavs (*Ṣaḳāliba*, q. v.) had in the Caliph's entourage. In Cordova they formed a body of mercenaries who guarded the royal palace, and at this time their leaders were two of their number, Fā'ik al-Niẓāmī, grand master of the wardrobe, and Djawḍḥar, grand goldsmith and chief falconer. On the death of al-Ḥakam they had attempted to oppose the proclamation of Hishām who was still a child and to put on the throne of Cordova his uncle al-Mughira. The latter was slain at the instigation of al-Muṣḥafī and it seems likely that Ibn Abī 'Āmir played an active part in the plot which ended in this murder. In any case very soon after the accession of Hishām II as a result of the rigorous measures taken against them, the Slavs lost all influence at the Omayyad court to the great satisfaction of the people of Cordova who had long suffered from their abuses. Ibn Abī 'Āmir also gained in popularity, still further increased when he displayed for the first time the possession of military talents which had not been suspected.

A little later he succeeded in getting the command of an expedition against the Christians of the North who had taken up arms against Islām as soon as al-Ḥakam II had fallen ill. Setting out from Cordova in Rajjab 366 (Feb. 977) he laid siege to the fortress of los Baños in Galicia and returned to the capital with considerable spoil. He then cultivated the friendship of the aged and

distinguished general Ghālib, governor of Madinat Salīm (Medinaceli, q. v.), and obtained his help to bring about the fall of the *ḥādījib* al-Muṣḥafī. Ghālib on the intervention of Ibn 'Āmir received the much coveted title of *dhū 'l-wisāratain* and the command of the forces on the frontier in the expeditions against the Christians. This friendship was strengthened in a new campaign in which Ibn Abī 'Āmir commanded the troops from the capital alongside of Ghālib. This expedition was again crowned with success and earned Ibn Abī 'Āmir a new and honourable office, that of commandant of Cordova in place of the son of al-Muṣḥafī who was dismissed. Al-Muṣḥafī, conscious of the danger which threatened him, then tried to play off Ghālib against Ibn Abī 'Āmir but this was labour lost. The young minister even became son-in-law of Ghālib who gave him the hand of his daughter Asmā'. A few months later, al-Muṣḥafī and the members of his family, who still held offices at the court, were dismissed and their property confiscated. On the same day Ibn Abī 'Āmir was appointed *ḥādījib*. With his father-in-law, Ghālib, he was at the head of the administration of the empire.

It was not only the plots he had woven with success nor his personal ability that had enabled Ibn Abī 'Āmir to advance so rapidly in his career. It seems very probable that the princess Šubh, widow of al-Ḥakam II and mother of the reigning Caliph, was the mistress of the former superintendent of her son's estates. This liaison was not unknown to the Cordovans and produced bitter criticisms of the princess and her lover. Public opinion, which had at first been so favourable to the *ḥādījib*, began to be hostile to him. A plot to overthrow Hishām II and put in his place another grandson of 'Abd al-Rahmān III was prepared but nipped in the bud. The Cordovan jurists then spread the rumour that Ibn Abī 'Āmir was devoted to philosophy and that his orthodoxy therefore was quite nominal. He proved them wrong. Ibn Abī 'Āmir did not hesitate to burn from the splendid library formed by the cultured al-Ḥakam II all the books dealing with branches of knowledge prohibited by the 'Ulamā'. He conciliated them by this act of vandalism the gravity of which can hardly have escaped him. But with his unparalleled ambition nothing which might prevent him attaining his object was allowed to deter him.

But the young Caliph Hishām II was now growing up. He had to be prevented from taking an active part in the conduct of affairs. Business was then conducted in the Caliph's palace in Cordova. In order to set aside the ruler finally, Ibn Abī 'Āmir in 368 (978) decided to build near the capital a regular town for administrative purposes. This was al-Madinat al-Zāhira [q. v.] which in a few years became an important city at the very gates of Cordova. As to Hishām, he then began the life of a recluse, either at Cordova or at Madinat al-Zahrā', which was to last throughout his reign. At the same time as he settled the problem of the possible intervention of the ruling prince in the affairs of state in a manner as energetic as it was unscrupulous, Ibn Abī 'Āmir was reorganising the army and inaugurating a new policy in the country. The Omayyad army, in the form in which it was then constituted, was recruited in the country itself and the permanent bodies of mercenaries were not large. Ibn Abī 'Āmir required new ones: this is why from now

on till the end of his life, he appealed for Berber volunteers from the north of Morocco and Ifrikiya. At the same time he realised that the occupation of certain parts of the Maghrib by the Omayyads was only a source of expense to the Caliph's treasury and that any plan of territorial expansion in that direction would be disastrous to the ruler of Cordova. He therefore abandoned all these possessions, retaining in Africa only one of the keys of the Strait of Gibraltar, the citadel of Ceuta. The administration of the rest of the country he handed over to petty local dynasties under the nominal suzerainty of Cordova. Along with the Berber troops in his pay, Ibn Abī 'Āmir formed other corps by recruiting Christian mercenaries from the north of Spain, from Leon, Castile and Navarre. He was able by his generosity and attentions to secure the complete devotion of his new soldiers.

Having thus a strong and veteran army at his disposal, Ibn Abī 'Āmir renewed with ardour the old feud against the Christians on the frontiers of the empire. He first of all got rid of his father-in-law Ghālib, whom he had displeased by the manner in which he had upset the old military organisation of the country; then he undertook in 371 (981) an expedition on a grand scale against the kingdom of Leon. He took and plundered Zamora, where he took 4,000 prisoners. The King of Leon, Ramiro III, then made an alliance with Garcia Fernandez, Count of Castile, and the King of Navarre. But all three were defeated by the Muslim general at Rueda to the south-west of Simancas and this town itself was taken by him. Ibn Abī 'Āmir continued his advance on the town of Leon and inflicted another defeat on Ramiro III. The return of the *Ḥādījib* to Cordova was a regular triumph and it was on this occasion that he took the honorific *laḥab* of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh, "the victorious in God".

All powerful at Cordova and a successful general, al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir was to devote the rest of his life to an unceasing war on the Christian frontiers and to increasing considerably the territory ruled by the Muslims in the Peninsula. After his defeat, the nobles of Leon had deposed Ramiro III and proclaimed in his place Bermuda II. The latter finally found himself forced to seek al-Manṣūr's help and to recognise him as suzerain. Al-Manṣūr then decided to make an expedition into Catalonia in 374 (985): he defeated Count Borrel and stormed Barcelona, which he sacked. According to Ibn al-'Abbār, it was the 'Āmirid's twenty-third campaign.

Ibn Gannūn, the petty Idrisid dynast in the north of Morocco having again rebelled against Cordova, al-Manṣūr sent his cousin Ibn 'Aṣḥalādja to subdue him. Ibn Gannūn surrendered on being promised his life. But al-Manṣūr had him executed along with Ibn 'Aṣḥalādja whom he accused of having plotted against him. This breach of faith and brutal execution having produced a reaction of feeling in the capital, al-Manṣūr to rehabilitate himself undertook a pious work: in 377 (987) he extended the cathedral mosque of Cordova which had become too small. Eight new naves were built on the east and the western wall of the hall of prayer and of the *ṣahn* was moved out 150 feet. The Arab historians say that al-Manṣūr made gangs of Christian prisoners do this work, for the greater glory of Islām.

In the same year the war against the kingdom of Leon was resumed. The Muslim troops, that al-Manšūr had sent there, had oppressed the country and Bermuda II had finally driven them out. Al-Manšūr punished his boldness with the greatest rigour. In two campaigns several months apart, he took Coimbra, which he laid waste, Leon which he left completely in ruins, and Zamora. The Counts of Leon had then to lay down their arms and submit to al-Manšūr and Bermuda II was only left possessions very much reduced in extent.

The campaigns that followed were again directed against the N.-W. of the Peninsula. The best known is that of St. Jago de Compostella in 387 (997). This famous sanctuary of western Christianity [cf. the article *SHANT YĀKŪB*] was taken by the Muslim troops on the 2nd *Shā'ban* (10th August) and only the tomb of the apostle was spared, by orders of al-Manšūr.

The last expedition against the Christians dates from the year 1002. Its objective was Castile. Al-Manšūr took Canales and destroyed the convent of San Millán de la Cogolla. But on his return from the expedition, he fell ill and died at Medinaceli on the 27th Ramaḍān 392 (Aug. 10, 1002). He was buried in this town.

The last years of the life of al-Manšūr in spite of his successful career and victorious expeditions had been marked by events which might have been fatal to him if he had not once again displayed an iron will and extreme violence in the suppression of plots hatched against him. The few attempts made on behalf of Hishām II to regain for him the power, which had been seized by his first minister were in vain. In 381 (991) al-Manšūr gave up his title of Ḥādjib in favour of his son 'Abd al-Malik. Five years later he assumed with an audacity worthy of him the princely title of *malik karīm* "noble King" and reserved for himself the title *sayyid* "lord". The only thing that he did not dare to do or could not do was to announce the overthrow of the Omayyad caliphate and the constitution of an 'Amirid caliphate in its stead. He arranged however for the power to pass to his heirs after him, and it was his son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, who succeeded him on his death to control for a few more years the destinies of the Muslim empire in Spain.

Various judgments have been passed on al-Manšūr. His lack of scruples has been emphasised and the often criminal means which he used to attain his ends. His career is nevertheless an extraordinary one. This dictator was undoubtedly one of the greatest men of affairs that Islām has ever produced and under his "reign" Muslim Spain remained the great nation, which in the caliphate of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had shown itself one of the most remarkable centres of culture and civilisation in the mediaeval west.

Bibliography: The most important Arabic sources are: Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra fī Maḥāsin Ahl al-Djazīra*, vol. iv., at the beginning (my MS.) and Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 267 at the end; transl. Fagnan, ii. 414 at the end. Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. viii. and ix.; transl. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*), index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, ed. in part, Cairo, ii. 67—73; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥullat al-siyarā* (Dozy, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leyden 1851, p. 148—153); 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-

Marrākushī, *al-Mu'djīb*, ed. Dozy, p. 17—26; transl. Fagnan, p. 21—32; Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-'Ibar*, Cairo, iv. 147—148; al-Nuwairī, *Histoire d'Espagne*, ed. and transl. M. Gaspar Remiro, Granada 1916, index; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nafḥ al-iḥb*, *Analectes* ..., index.

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MANŠŪR B. NŪḤ, the name of two Sāmānid rulers:

1. MANŠŪR B. NŪḤ I (Abu Ṣālih), ruler of Khorāsān and Transoxania (350—365 = 961—976), succeeded his brother 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ I [q.v.]. Ibn Hawḳal is able to describe the internal conditions of the Sāmānid kingdom under Manšūr as an eye-witness; cf. especially *B. G. A.*, ii. 341: *fī waḳtina ḥādḥā*; p. 344 sq.: on the character of Manšūr "the justest king among our contemporaries, in spite of his physical weakness and the slowness of his frame". On the vizier Bal'amī, see BAL'AMĪ where also information is given about the Persian version of Ṭabarī's history composed in 352 (963) by or by orders of this vizier. On the rebellion of the commander of the Sāmānid bodyguard, Alp-Tegin, and the independent kingdom founded by him in Ghazna and on the establishment of Sāmānid rule there in the reign of Manšūr and the son and successor of Alp-Tegin, Ishāk (or Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm) see ALP-TEGIN and GHAZNA; in Barthold, *Turkestan*, *G. M. S.*, New Series v., p. 251, note 4, Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm should be read for Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm (this passage is misunderstood in the Russian original). In other directions also in this reign the Sāmānid kingdom prospered in its foreign affairs; the fighting with the Būyids [q.v.] and Ziyārids was as a rule victorious.

2. MANŠŪR B. NŪḤ II (Abu 'l-Hārith), ruler of Transoxania (387—389 = 997—999). His father Nūḥ b. Manšūr, to whom out of all the Sāmānid empire only a portion of Transoxania was left, died on Friday 14th Rājāb 387 (July 23, 997) but it was not till *Dhu 'l-Ka'da* (November) that homage was paid to Manšūr as his successor. Baiḥaqī (ed. Morley, p. 803) talks highly of his courage and eloquence; on the other hand he is said to have been feared by every one for his extraordinary severity. During his brief and impotent reign he was hardly able to instil terror into any one. The last Sāmānids were quite helpless against the kings and generals who were quarrelling over the inheritance of the dying dynasty. One of these generals, Fā'ik, succeeded even in taking Bukhārā at the head of only 3,000 horsemen; Manšūr had to fly to Āmul [q.v.] but was called back by Fā'ik. The last months of his reign were devoted to fruitless efforts to settle peacefully the question of the governorship of Khorāsān, which

was claimed by various parties; but before the problem had been settled by force of arms, Manšūr was dethroned on Wednesday, 12th Šafar 389 (Feb. 1, 999) by his generals Fā'ik and Begtüzün, blinded a week later and sent to Bukhārā.

Bibliography: cf. SĀMĀNIDS, and add: W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, Sec. Edition, London 1928 (G. M. S., New Series v.), p. 251 sqq., 264 sqq.

(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-MANŠŪR ISMĀ'IL, ABŪ ṬĀHIR or ABU 'L-'ABBĀS, third Fāṭimid caliph, was 32 when he succeeded his father Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Kā'im in Shawwāl 334 (May 946) under particularly difficult conditions: Abū Yazīd, the Khāridjī agitator supported by many Berber tribes and by the people of Kairawān had failed before al-Mahdiyya but was still besieging Sūs. Al-Manšūr concealed his father's death and did not alter the formulae of the *khutba*, of the coin-legends or of the standards lest Abū Yazīd should profit by the weakening of authority which was a regular feature of change of ruler. Sūs was relieved by the efforts of the reinforcements sent by al-Manšūr by sea. Abū Yazīd had to beat a hurried retreat. Al-Manšūr, however, having returned to Kairawān and pardoned the inhabitants who had supported the agitator, had to prepare to meet a new attack. Abū Yazīd was not long in reappearing; repulsed he came again to the attack. Al-Manšūr tried to make terms with him and gave him back his women captured in Kairawān but Abū Yazīd, in spite of his promise, attacked him again and was completely defeated in a pitched battle (Aug. 946). He was then pursued to the west. After a delay caused by the illness of al-Manšūr, Abū Yazīd mortally wounded was taken prisoner at Djebel Kiyāna, north of Mšila, in Muḥarram 336 (Aug. 947).

This success established al-Manšūr securely. A section of the tribes of the Central Maghrib who had embraced the cause of Abū Yazīd made their submission, like the Maghrāwa under Muḥammad b. al-Khair. Taking advantage of the difficulties of the Fāṭimids, the Omaiyyads of Spain had entrenched themselves more securely in western Barbary. A former Fāṭimid officer, Ḥāmid b. Yesel, was ruling the Maghrib in the name of the caliphs of Cordova and laid siege to Tāhert. Al-Manšūr relieved the town and appointed the Ifranid Ya'la b. Muḥammad to rule it. He invested with considerable authority the chief of the Ṣanḥādja Zīrī b. Manād, who had proved a loyal auxiliary during his days of trial.

Returning to Kairawān, al-Manšūr had again to take the field against the son of Abū Yazīd who was trying to stir up a rebellion again. Besides taking these vigorous steps in Barbary to put an end to the Khāridjī movement, al-Manšūr developed the naval power of Ifrīkiya. His freedman Farāḥ, supported by the governor of Sicily, won a striking victory over the Greeks in the south of Italy and came home laden with booty (340 = 951).

Lastly al-Manšūr holds a high place among the Fāṭimids of Ifrīkiya for his buildings. The capital was no longer al-Mahdiyya nor was it Kairawān whose recent treachery made it suspect. From 947 Šabara, also called al-Manšūriya from its founder, was the capital. The town built at the gates of Kairawān was beautified by the palaces which he built and grew rich on the bazaars which he removed from the old city.

Al-Manšūr was 39 and had ruled 7 years, when he died suddenly on a journey from a chill caught by taking a bath in cold weather (Shawwāl 29, 341 = March 953).

Bibliography: On the chroniclers of the xth—xiith centuries used by later historians for the Ifrīkiya period of the Fāṭimids cf. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islām*, vol. i., p. 3, 8, 11; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, ii., appendix, p. 535—541; Ibn 'Idhārī, ed. Dozy, i. 226—229; transl. E. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*), p. 340—357; Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane (*Biographical dictionary*), i. 218—221; Ibn Ḥamād, *Histoire des rois 'Obaidides*, ed. Vonderheyden, p. 22—39, transl. p. 39—61; Ibn Abi Dīnār, transl. Pellissier and Remusat (*Hist. de l'Afrique d'El-Kairouani*), p. 103—106; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Califen*, p. 86—98; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, ii. 201 sqq.; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, i. 100, 118—119.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

MANŠŪRA, founded by Manšūr b. Djamhūr al-Kalabi, was from 258 (871) the capital of Sind under the Arabs. Iṣṭakhri described it as more fertile and populous than Multān. Before the arrival of the Arabs, Brahmanābād (probably identical with the modern Ḥaidarābād) was the capital of Sind, and its name was changed to Manšūra after the Arab conquest. For notices of Manšūra by early travellers to India, see *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, i., Part 1, p. 506, 507, 511, 525.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL-MANŠŪRA, largest town in Lower Egypt, on the right bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile, capital of the province al-Daḡahliya. Another canal or branch of the Nile went from here to Ashmūm in a north-eastern direction. It was originally a camping place for the army, founded in 616 (1219) by al-Malik al-Kāmil, when he tried to recapture Dimiyāṭ, then occupied by the Crusaders. In 1249 the Crusaders were defeated in the neighbourhood of al-Manšūra by al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh, on which occasion Lewis IX of France was taken prisoner. The town is now an important emporium for the cotton trade; in 1917 there were 49,238 inhabitants (Baedeker). It possesses no remarkable buildings; a railway bridge crosses the Nile at this place.

There are still various other places in Egypt, called al-Manšūra.

Bibliography: Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1909, p. 198 sqq. (where the geographical and historical sources are cited); 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭa' al-Diādiya*, xv. 88 sqq.; Baedeker, *Ägypten*, Leipzig 1928, p. 176 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MANŠŪRA, the name of a town now in ruins built by the Sultāns of Fās about 5 miles to the west of Tlemcen. The very precise account given by Ibn Khaldūn enables us to reconstruct with exactitude the history of this typical town-camp. In the year 698 (1299) the Marinid Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, who had come to lay siege to the capital of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād,

which he had closely surrounded with entrenchments, set up his camp on the plain which stretches to the west. As it was a long drawn out blockade he built a few dwellings for himself and the leaders of his army and laid the foundation of a mosque. In the year 702 (1302) the "Victorious Camp", *al-Maḥalla al-Manšūra*, was given the form of a regular town by the construction of a rampart. Besides the mosque, the dwellings of the chiefs, the store-houses for munitions and the shelters for the army, there were baths and caravanserais. As Tlemcen was inaccessible to caravans, al-Manšūra or New Tlemcen, as it was called, naturally attracted to itself the business of the invested town. After a siege of eight years and three months the Marinids withdrew from Tlemcen, and al-Manšūra was methodically evacuated under the direction of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Djalil, the vizier of the Sulṭān Abū Ṭhābit. The people of Tlemcen were compelled, by the terms of the treaty made with the Marinids to respect the rival town for some time. Some time after, when the entente between the two empires had been broken, they demolished its buildings and rendered uninhabitable the entrenchments left at their gate by their hereditary enemy.

Thirty years later, in the year 735 (1335), the Moroccan army under Sulṭān Abū 'l-Ḥasan was once more at the gates of Tlemcen. On this occasion the 'Abd al-Wādī capital was forced to surrender (27th Ramaḍān 737 = 1st May 1337). Al-Manšūra was rebuilt. It became the official capital of the Marinids during their occupation of the central Maghrib. It was in fact, during this time that the great mosque was built and that the "Palace of Victory" was erected (745).

After the retreat of the Marinids, al-Manšūra, once more abandoned, fell little by little into ruins. At the present day the rampart of terre pisée flanked by square towers is still comparatively intact; but the interior is land under cultivation and contains a French village. There still exists there, however, the ruins of a palace no longer distinct, a section of a paved street, and probably the surrounding wall in terre pisée of the Mosque with half of the great minaret in stone, which arose above the principal entrance. Although the inlaid ceramic work has almost entirely disappeared, the facade of the square tower, which is 120 feet high, is one of the most perfect pieces of the Maghribi art of the xivth century that survives. The columns and the capitals in marble of the mosque are preserved in the Museums of Tlemcen and Algiers.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, ii. 136, 322 sqq., 379 sqq.; transl., iii. 375; iv. 141 sqq., 221 sqq.; Yahyā b. Khaldūn, *Bughyat al-Ruwād*, ed. Bel, i. 121, 141; transl., i. 164, 189; Ibn Marzūq, *Musnad*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 25, 35; al-Tenesi, *Hist. des Beni Zaiyan* (transl. Bargès), p. 53; Bargès, *Tlemcen, ancienne capitale*, p. 249 sqq.; Brosselard, *Inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen*, in *Rev. Africaine*, 1859, iii. 322—340; W. and G. Marçais, *Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, p. 192—222; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, ii. 485—489, 549—550, 568—570, 625—629.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

MANTIK (A.), Logic. The logic of the Arab philosophers is that of Aristotle, here and there modified by the Stoic and Neo-Platonist tendencies

of the Greek commentators. The Arab philosophers did not develop this logic but they gave résumés of it, reproduced it and wrote commentaries on it, often with success; they understood it very well and it is in logic that they came nearest to the authentic Aristotelianism. As to the matter, it was easier for them to grasp the exact sense of the logical writings of Aristotle than of his other works since the translation of the Logic had been made and remade with great care (cf. e.g. the two versions of the beginning of the *Interpretation* in J. Pollak, *Die Hermeneutik des Aristoteles in d. arab. Übers. d. Ishāq b. Hunain*, Leipzig 1913) while the translation of the *Metaphysics* for example was very defective and incomplete. The remark of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' — who evidently did not care much for the subject of logic — at the beginning of their little treatise on logic "the ancient sages have dealt with these subjects and their works are in the hands of the reader, but they are very diffuse, for the translators did not understand the exact meaning" is then not justified.

To the six works of Aristotle, the Categories, Hermeneutics, the Prior Analytics and Posterior Analytics, the Topics, and the Sophistics, the Arabs — like the latest Greek commentators — added the *Rhetoric* and the *Politics* (as to the Rhetoric, Aristotle himself had regarded it [*Rhet.*, i. 2, 1356 a 25] as a lateral branch of the *Dialectics* and *Politics*). They explained the order of these works in the manner of the later Greek commentators (cf. Eliae in *Aristotelis Categor. Comment.*, ed. Busse, p. 116 29 sqq.). The most important of these treatises was the fourth, the *Posterior Analytics*, to which the three preceding are only the preparation and introduction; in the *Posterior Analytics* Aristotle was thought to have treated of the absolutely True, in the Poetics of the absolutely False and in the intermediate treatises, according as they approach the Poetics, the element of improbability begins to preponderate. Then, still in the manner of the Greeks, they placed in front of these works the *Isagoge* of Porphyry which as its name, Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους κατηγορίας, *Kitāb Furfūryūs al-Ma'rūf li 'l-Mudkhal*, shows, is an introduction to the logic of Aristotle.

Among the Greeks there were two further kinds of introduction to philosophy or — since the study of philosophy began with logic — to the logic of Aristotle. In the one which preceded the categories, Προλεγόμενα τῶν κατηγοριῶν, ten questions were put (among them: Whence came the names of the different "philosophical schools"? What is the division of the works of Aristotle?) to which a brief reply was given. Among the Arabs, we still find an introduction of this kind in a little work by al-Fārābī, *Risāla fi-mā yanbaghī an yuḥaddam kabīl Ta'allum al-Falsafa* (ed. Schmoelders in his *Docum. philos. arab.*). The other kind of introduction, the prototype Προλεγόμενα τῆς φιλοσοφίας of which is given by the pupil of Proclus, Ammonius Hermiae, was introductory to the *Isagoge*. In the first part definitions were dealt with, in the second divisions of philosophy. The Arabic treatises on the division of the sciences go back to this kind of introduction which they further developed. We still possess from the pens of the two of the greatest Arab philosophers, al-Fārābī and Avicenna, such treatises on the divisions of the sciences. Avicenna's entitled *Maḳāla fi Taḳāsim al-Ḥikma wa 'l-'Ulūm* was printed at Constantinople

among the *Tis' Rasā'il fi 'l-Ḥikma wa 'l-Tanbī'iyāt*. For the manuscripts, the publication — in a little review, *al-'Irfān*, in 1921 at Saïda (Syria) — and the emendation of the text of al-Fārābī, *Kitāb Iḥṣā' al-'Ulūm*, cf. the excellent study by M. Bouyges S. J. in the *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, vol. ix., fasc. 2, Bairūt 1922. These two treatises were translated into Latin and that of al-Fārābī in particular, with the Latin title of *De Scientiis* since it was incorporated almost completely into the *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus, had a great influence on the European scholars of the middle ages.

There were three opinions among the Greek logicians as to the relationship of logic to the system of philosophy: 1. To the Peripatetics, logic was simply a methodology, an introduction to philosophy; 2. except for its integral realism the structure of reality is in conformity with the structure of the mind; the rules of logic therefore deal with realities themselves and logic would then be a true part of philosophy: this was the opinion of the Stoics and especially of Plotinus, *Enn.*, i. 5, 3; 3. the combination of these two views in several Neo-Platonists: logic was at the same time an introduction to and a part of philosophy. Among the Arabs these three points of view were also represented (cf. Khwārizmī, *Kitāb Maḥāṭib al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 132) but the Peripatetic view was in the majority. The third view is found, for example, in Avicenna (cf. *Logica*, f. 2a, Venice 1508).

Logic, according to the Arab logicians, leads to a knowledge of the unknown from the known (cf. Aristotle, *Post. Anal.*, at the beginning) but its supreme object, according to them and the later Greek commentators, is that, by making us distinguish good from evil, it can guide us to the greatest perfection of soul and the greatest happiness.

Although, on certain points in logic, there were differences among the Arab Aristotelians, they agree on the main lines and even Averroes, who frequently attacks his predecessors with vigour, in other passages of his works often expresses his support of their views that have been disputed; further, the solutions of problems in the Aristotelians and perhaps in other philosophers also sometimes consist of formulae, the meaning of which on examination is not always quite clear. I may here note some general points which are connected with the great problems of Metaphysics.

As for Aristotle, knowledge for the Arab logicians is a representation, an image of reality; there are in the soul resemblances of things (*δμοιώματα, amthila*), concepts, which in judgment are put together. According to this conception — a contradictory conception since it at the same time affirms and denies the knowledge of reality — thought would never be in contact with reality. Naturally implicit or explicit, this contact is often affirmed by Aristotle. A curious example of the conception of knowledge as an image, but in which at the same time the contact with reality is openly affirmed, is found in the theory of the duality of existence, a theory which the Arabs took over from the Greek commentators. The ten categories have a double existence, according as they are found in the outer world or as images in the soul and the word existence has therefore two meanings: 1. reality or objective existence

and 2. subjective existence of the soul. The intelligence may direct itself in an *intentio prima* (πρωτὴ θέσις) towards the exterior world of which the highest kinds are the ten categories, but it can turn inwards upon itself in an *intentio secunda* (δευτέρα θέσις), upon its concepts, of which the highest kinds are the five "voices" of Porphyry. Everything has an existence, if not in the exterior world, at least in the soul. This theory gives rise to difficulties: in the first place the term "existence" becomes ambiguous; secondly, since the negation of each thing exists in the soul, "what is not in the soul" must exist in the soul. It is particularly in the *Kalām* [q. v.] notably among the Ash'aris and probably under the influence of Stoic discussions on the existence or non-existence of the "not things" (οὐτινα) that the existence of concepts like the impossible and the negative has been discussed. The Arab Aristotelians were very often content to admit a concept "thing" (*shai'*, the *τί* of the Stoics) more general than being, without paying too much attention to the fact that by this they were contradicting the thesis that everything is. For the rest, in the Aristotelian philosophy the concept of existence or of being gives rise to grave difficulties; it was much discussed in Islām, not only among the philosophers but also for the metaphysical questions connected with it among the theologians and the mystics. Aristotle had already affirmed (e. g. 1040, b 18) that existence or being is neither kind nor substance and the Arab philosophers al-Fārābī, Avicenna, Ghazālī and Averroes supported this view with the stereotyped reasoning that existence cannot express the essence of things, since being man implies being animal, being a living body, being a body etc., but it does not at all imply that man is being. On the other hand being (*rā' ḥay*) and substance (*ḥay' oḥiā*) are synonyms in Aristotelian philosophy. How are these two views to be reconciled? Avicenna says, as the theologians had already done before him, that only in God substance (being) and existence coincide; for the other substances, existence must be added to them as an accident. For Averroes on the other hand, as before him for the Ash'aris, being is always substance and never accident and he says that in judgments, in which being is predicated and thus apparently an accident, as when one says "substance is", "is" is an *intentio secunda*.

As to the theory of ideas, the Arab logicians deny, with Aristotle and using his own arguments, the separate existence of the universals, but admit with Plato their supra-sensible existence. This is the theory very prevalent in the last period of philosophy (in the Middle-Platonism, Neo-Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism) according to which ideas or universal forms exist from eternity in God. The intelligibility of things comes from this, that their cause is an intelligence; as the idea of the statue in the soul of the sculptor is the cause of the existence and intelligibility of the statue, so the intelligence of the creator of the world is the cause of the intelligibility of natural things. Avicenna expressed this theory by the formula that the Universe is *ante multitudinem* in multiplicitate (in things) and *post multitudinem* (in our soul). It is the second element in this formula "in multiplicitate" that offers a difficulty (a difficulty already found in Aristotle): how to conceive of the existence of universals in things which are themselves individuals? Often a conceptualist or nomi-

nalist tendency is seen in the Arab Aristotelians; it is explicitly stated that the universal is only found in the mind and following Aphrodisias the forms in matter, the *ἑνολα εἶδη*, are regarded as individuals. But since in the system of Aristotle, forms are universals by definition, contradiction cannot be avoided, and the theories of the universals among the Arab philosophers are often very complicated and very obscure. Another nominalist or subjectivist tendency is found in their conception of the relation, which they call — with the Stoics — “what the mind puts into things”. But it is the theologians who under the influence of materialist, nominalist and sensualist Stoicism have developed a nominalist system which only admits atomic and individual facts without a connection, in which all relation is regarded as subjective or even non-existent.

The ambiguous manner in which he deals with the concepts “possible”, “impossible” and “necessary” gives rise in Aristotle as well as in the Arab logicians, who follow their master faithfully, to grave difficulties. Aristotle (*Prior Analyt.*, 32a, 18–25) — like the Arab logicians (cf. Avicenna, *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, p. 34) — distinguishes two aspects of the concept of the possible; the possible is the negation at once of the impossible and of the necessary, but he does not always observe these two aspects and thus the necessary and the actual are considered as possible since what happens is not impossible. On the other hand, the actual is considered as the necessary, since what happens, happens necessarily; and although the definition of the possible is “what may or may not happen”, for Aristotle “possible” is also “what will happen” since what never happens is not possible. These contradictions are occasioned by the fact that the problem which is at the basis of all this, that is to say, the objectivity or subjectivity of the possible and of the necessary, is differently treated by Aristotle. Aristotle hesitates between determinism and indeterminism. Of two future events, he says in the *Hermeneutics* that one of two will be true, but which is not determined in advance. He says that necessity does not govern the celestial world and that the sublunar world is the reign of contingency, he also says that God alone is absolutely necessary, that all the rest is hypothetically necessary, that is to say, contains an element of contingency. On the other hand, everything is caused, and goes back necessarily to a first cause. All these contradictions are found among the Arab Aristotelians. The Mutakallimūn, who, like the Stoics, wish to exclude the possible from reality (but they sometimes regard, like certain Stoics, the “possible” and “necessary” as both subjective, thus affirming that everything is possible) have with justice declared that if there is a necessary cause, the effect of it must also be necessary and that there is therefore no contingency in the world. Averroes in his polemic against Ghazālī seems to admit the justice of this argument but elsewhere he repeats all the theories of his master.

Although Ghazālī confesses that theology, while opposed to the metaphysics of the philosophers cannot however deny the evidence of their logical technique, certain arguments of Greek scepticism against logic are sometimes repeated by the Mutakallimūn. Definition is, they say, not possible, because by the particular one cannot reach the

universal, and the syllogism is a *petitio principii* since the conclusion is already contained in the major premiss. These arguments are justified against Aristotelianism, regarded as an empirical theory which sets out from the particular fact. There is however a rationalist tendency in Aristotle and the Arab logicians; they admit that the intelligence can at once know first principles and that without induction from particular facts it can grasp relations between universals. But when the Mutakallimūn say that knowledge and the Universal cannot give the truth, since according to the definition of truth, agreement must exist between true knowledge and reality, and knowledge is universal and reality individual, they reveal by this argument one of the greatest contradictions in Aristotelianism. Averroes tried in vain to refute it.

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MANŪF, name of two towns, in the region between the two main Nile arms called al-Djazira, generally distinguished as Manūf al-‘Ulyā and Manūf al-Suflā. The latter was situated on the right bank of the western Nile arm, while the former lay more to the east on a smaller canal. Both are described by the geographers as large towns, surrounded by fertile districts and inhabited by wealthy people, especially Manūf al-‘Ulyā, where, according to Ibn Ḥawkal (p. 92), there resided a governor. The *kūra* of Manūf al-‘Ulyā is often called the *kūra* of Damsis and Manūf, while the *kūra* of Manūf al-Suflā is designated as Ṭawwa and Manūf (cf. e.g. al-Makrizī, ed. Wiet, i. 307). Both the ancient towns have decayed since the tenth century; Yāqūt only knows a village of that name. The name has survived, however, until our day, in the name of the province al-Manūfiyya; the capital of the *mudiriya* of his name is now Shibīn al-Kawm, and the modern Manūf is a provincial town, situated to its south-west.

Manūf al-‘Ulyā is known in Greek sources as Ὀνοῦφης ἡ χώρα, the Coptic name being Panouf Ris; the other Manūf is not mentioned in Greek documents and is called in Coptic Panouf Djit.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

MÄPPILLAS (Moplahs), a group of Muhammadans, of mixed Arab and Hindu descent, on the west coast of Southern India, numbering 1,099,453 according to the Census of 1921. Their name is said to be derived from the Malayalam *mā* (“great”) and *pilla* (“child”), an honorary title originally bestowed upon all foreigners and

first applied to Christians, Jews and Muslims, but now confined to the last; this derivation, however, is disputed (Thornton, p. 460—461). They owe their origin to Arab merchants, who were attracted to this coast by the trade in spices, ivory, etc.; settling in various commercial centres, they intermarried with the natives of the country and added to their numbers by proselytising; but fresh accessions of the Arab element having ceased long ago, the Mäppillas now approximate to the aboriginal type and exhibit no signs of any admixture of foreign blood. The earliest date of their settlements is uncertain, and the legendary accounts given by the Mäppillas themselves are of no historic value (Zain al-Din, p. 21—25). The foreign traders appear to have been encouraged by the Hindu rājās, who made use of them to man their fleets, and by the beginning of the xvth century the Mäppillas were estimated to have formed one-fifth of the population of Malabar (Barbosa, p. 310), but the arrival of the Portuguese in this part of India checked the growth of Muslim power and ruined the Arab trade. The Mäppillas are still successful traders, especially on the coast; inland, many of them are agriculturists. There are both Sunnis and Shī'is among them; the former belong to the Shāfi'i school. Their religious leaders are called Tungal (an honorific plural of the personal pronoun, commonly used in addressing superiors) and are treated with profound respect; many of them receive their training in a college attached to the Djama'at mosque in Ponnāni, the chief centre of their religious organisation; the Tungal of Ponnāni is an Arab who claims descent from the Prophet; in accordance with local custom he inherits his sacred office in the female line i.e. his nephew and not his son succeeds him.

The history of the Mäppillas is full of incidents of fanaticism and turbulence. In 1524 they attacked the Jews in Cranganur and massacred them without mercy, so that in 1565 the remnant of them fled into Cochin, where they founded the Jewish settlement that survives to the present day (Zain al-Din, p. 50—51; Francis Day, p. 351—352). The Mäppillas also persuaded the Zamorin of Calicut to expel the Syrian Christians from his dominions (Francis Day, p. 367). Even their coreligionists found them to be turbulent subjects: they joined the Hindus in fighting Haidar 'Alī [q. v.] after he had extended his power over the Malabar coast, and they rose in rebellion against Tipū Sultān [q. v.] in 1785, and frequently plundered his territories (Francis Day, p. 368). During the last hundred years as many as 51 fanatical outbreaks have taken place among them, especially in the Ernad sub-division of the district of Malabar. Some Mäppillas generally begin by murdering a Hindu landlord and then seek martyrdom by slaying kāfīrs; others join them, after divorcing their wives, and clad in the white robes of the martyr (*shahīd*, q. v.) go out to die fighting against the infidel, with a complete contempt for death. They desecrate and burn Hindu temples, and forcibly circumcise such Hindus as they do not murder. Some of these outbreaks appear to have been stimulated by agrarian discontent at the oppressive action of Hindu landlords, but the last (in 1921) was entirely political in character and was excited by the Khilāfat movement; it differed from all preceding ones in its wide ex-

tent and clear evidence of systematic preparation and organisation; the outrages committed upon Hindus were of a specially revolting character.

The Mäppillas of South Malabar generally observe Muḥammadan law; those of North Malabar follow the local Marumakkattāyā system of inheritance, according to which the sons of a man's sister inherit his property, and his wife is not regarded as a member of the husband's family but resides in her mother's home and only receives periodical visits from her husband. On the other hand, a man's self-acquisitions usually descend to his wife and family in accordance with Muḥammadan law.

The Mäppillas speak the Malayalam language, but use a modified form of the Arabian script in writing it. The majority of them are illiterate, and few only can read and write. Their literature is mainly composed of songs descriptive of religious war, and they are fond of singing them in order to stir up fanatical zeal. Their mosques are quite unlike those of other Muḥammadans, having no minarets and often consisting of several stories, with two or more roofs; they often resemble Hindu temples in style, and in fact many Mäppillas mosques were once Hindu temples.

Mäppillas are also found in the Laccadive Islands, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and Burma.

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MARABUT. [See MURĀBIT.]

MARĀGHA, the old capital of Ādhar-bāidjān.

Position. The town lies at a height of 5,500 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of Mount Sahand (11,800 feet high) which separates it from Tabriz [q. v.]. This explains the very considerable difference in climate between the two towns which are only 50 miles apart as the crow flies (by the high road 80 miles). The climate of Marāgha is mild and rather moist (Ḥamd Allāh and Mecquenem, 1904). The plentiful water supply makes the vegetation rich. The fruit of Marāgha is celebrated in Persia and a good deal of it is exported to Russia via Ardabil. The district is watered by the stream which comes down from the Sahand and then

turns west to Lake Urmiya which is 20 miles from Marāgha. The town is built on the left bank of the river Šāfi (Sofī)-čai which then waters Bināb. A little distance to the east runs the parallel river Murdi-čai which waters the district to which Mecquenem gives the name Pahindur (Bayandur?); on the left bank rise the heights of Mandilsar (= with head bound). The next stream is the Leilān which flows into the Djağhatu [cf. SAWDĪ-BULĀḲ]. The rivers farther east (Karanghu and its sources which water the Haštārūd district) belong to the system of the Safīd-rūd [q. v.], i. e. the basin of the Caspian Sea.

From the geographical point of view, Marāgha is quite independent of Tabriz. It lies a little off the great road from Tabriz to Kirmānshāh which runs nearer Lake Urmiya (via Bināb). The direct bridle-path Tabriz—Marāgha by the passes of the Sahand is only practicable in summer. There is also a direct route along the Sahand on the south and southeast side, joining Marāgha to Ardabil and Zandjān. This road has always been of importance whenever Marāgha was the capital of Ādharbāidjān. The important place on the route was Kūlsara (cf. below).

At the beginning of the sixth century, Marāgha had 6,000 families (*Bustān al-Siyāḥat*), in 1298 (1880) it had 13,259 inhabitants of whom 6,865 were men and 6,394 women (H. Schindler). Mecquenem (1904) gives Marāgha 15—20,000 inhabitants.

At the present day the inhabitants speak Ādhari Turkish but in the sixth century they still spoke "arabised Pahlawi" (*Nuṣṣat al-Kulūb: pahlawī-yi mu'arrab*) which means an Iranian dialect of the northwestern group.

The walls of the town are in ruins. Its gates have the following names: Aḥmadi, Kūra-Khāna, Aḳdash, Pul-i Bināb (or Gilaslik) and Ḥādjī-mirzā. The quarters are: Agha-beg, Meidān, Darwāza, Sālār-Khāna.

Prehistory. The valley of the Murdi-čai is famous for its deposits of fossil vertebrates discovered by Khanykov in 1852. Excavations have been conducted by Goebel (Russia), Straus, Rodler, Pohlig (Austria), Günther (England) and Mecquenem (France). On the Murdi-čai have been found remains of the hipparion, of the rhinoceros etc. dating from the period before the eruption of the volcano of Sahand. Cf. J. F. Brandt, *Über die von A. Goebel . . . bei der Stadt Maragha gefundenen Säugethierreste*, *Denkschr. d. Naturforscher-Vereins zu Riga*, 1870, and the bibliography in Mecquenem, *Contribution à l'étude du gisement des vertébrés de Maragha*, Paris 1908; cf. another article of the same author and title in *Annales de paléontologie*, 1924, p. 133—160.

The name. According to Balādhuri, the town was at first called Aḳrā-rūdh (Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 284: Afrah-rūdh; Yāqūt, iv. 476: Afrazah-rūdh). This name which means in Persian the "river of *Afrāh" recalls very much the name of the town ṛāḫāra which Mark Antony besieged in this region on his campaign against the Parthians in 36 B. C. (Plutarch, *Vita Antonii*, ch. xxxviii., Paris 1864, p. 1113 and Pseud. Appian, *Parthica*, ed. Schweighäuser, Leipzig 1785, iii. 77, 99). It has long been supposed that the names Oṣera in Strabo xi., ch. xiii. and Index, p. 935, Φαράρα, Ptolemy, vi., ch. ii., τοῖς Παράροις, Dio Cass., xlix. 25 are variants of the same name which was probably

that of the ancient capital of Atropatene; cf. Ritter, *Erskunde*, ix., p. 770. If the identification of Ṛāḫana (summer capital, Strabo) with Takht-i Sulaimān suggested by Rawlinson has been accepted (cf. Hoffmann, *Aussüge aus syrischen Akten*, p. 252; Marquart, *Eransāhr*, p. 108; William Jackson, *Persia, Past and Present*, p. 136), the identification of Φάρα is still uncertain. On general principles it is improbable that a town like Marāgha so advantageously situated by nature was not in existence in Roman times as the ancient name of Marāgha increases the probability of the identification Φάρα = Marāgha (of course with a reservation as to the exact site of the ancient town).

A place-name Marāgha is mentioned in Arabia (Yāqūt) and a little town of the same name is in Egypt near Tanṭa. The etymology "place where an animal rolls" (from *m-r-gh*) proposed itself to the Arabs here, but in Ādharbāidjān (cf. also the village of Marāgha near Abarkuh, *Nuṣṣat al-Kulūb*, p. 122) the name is rather a popular Arab etymology of some local name. It is to be observed that Ptolemy, vi., ch. 2, calls Lake Urmiya Margiane (μέχρι τῆς Μαρριανῆς λίμνης) and gives the same name to the country along the coast of Assyria. Lastly Marquart in *Eransāhr*, p. 143, 221, 313 retains the variant Μαρριανή but Μαρριανή seems also to be based on a good tradition (cf. Ptolemy, ed. Wilberg, 1838, p. 391).

The Arabs. Marāgha must have been among the towns of Ādharbāidjān conquered by Muḥira b. Šu'ba al-Thakafi in the year 22 (Balādhuri, p. 325; Yāqūt, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 271). Marwān b. Muḥammad returning from his expedition to Muḳān and Gilān in 123 (740) (cf. Yāqūt, *Historiae*, ii. 365) stopped here. As the place was full of dung (*sirjīn* < Pers. *sirgin*) the old village (*karya*) was given the name of Marāgha (cf. above). Marwān did some building there. The town later passed to the daughters of Ḥarūn al-Rashīd. On the rebellion of Waḳnā b. Rawwād, lord of Tabriz [q. v.], Khuzaima b. Khāzim who was appointed governor of Ādharbāidjān and Armenia (probably in 187; cf. Vasmer, *Khronologia namestnikov Armenii*, *Zap. Kolleg. vostokovedov*, 1925, i. 397), built walls round Marāgha and put a garrison in it. When Bābak rebelled in 201 the people sought refuge in Marāgha. Ma'mūn sent men to restore the walls and the suburb (*rabād*) became inhabited again (Balādhuri, l. c.). In 221 Marāgha is mentioned as the winter-quarters of Afshīn in his campaign against Bābak (Ṭabarī, iii. 1186).

In 280 (893) the Sājjid Muḥammad Afshīn b. Diwdād seized Marāgha from a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Husain, who was killed (Ṭabarī, iii. 2137; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, viii. 143). In 296 (908) the caliph confirmed Yūsuf b. Diwdād in possession of Marāgha and the whole of Ādharbāidjān. A dirham is known of this year struck by Yūsuf at Marāgha (Vasmer, *O monetakh Sājjidov*, Baku 1927, p. 14). According to Ibn Ḥawqāl, p. 238, there was at Marāgha a military camp (*mu'askar*), a governor's palace (*dār al-imāra*), a treasury (*khiṣāna*) and government offices (*dawāwīm al-nāhiya*) but Yūsuf razed the walls of Marāgha and transferred the capital to Ardabil (cf. Istakhri, p. 181). Marāgha is only mentioned as the place where the last Sājjid Abu 'l-Mas'ūr al-Faṭḥ was killed in 317 (929) (ʿArīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, ed. de Goeje, p. 145).

The Dailamis. In 332 (943) (during the rule

of the Dailamī Musāfarids) the Russians (*Rūs*) had taken Bardha'a [q. v.]. Ibn Miskawaih (*G. M. S.*, vi. 100) speaks of the diseases which decimated them because they ate too much fruit in Marāgha. This reference to Marāgha is quite unexpected in the text and Margoliouth has rightly proposed to read *برذعة* in place of *مراغة*. A coin struck at Marāgha in 337 by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk is a record of the brief conquest of Ādharbāidjān by the general of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla (Vasmer, *Zur Chronologie d. Gāstāniden, Islamica*, iii./2, 1927, p. 170). Of 347 we also have dirhams of Marāgha in the names of the two sons of the Dailamī Marzubān, Ibrāhīm and Djastān (*ibid.*, p. 172).

The Rawwādī and the Saldjūks. After the disappearance of the Dailamis we find in Tabriz the family of Rawwādī Kurds who seem to have been related with the Musāfarids by marriage only. On the other hand, it is very likely that the Rawwādī are the descendants of the Arab Rawwād al-Azdi, lord of Ādharbāidjān (Balādhuri, p. 331) who became assimilated by their neighbours in Ādharbāidjān. The best known of these Rawwādī is Wahsūdān b. Mamlān (= Muḥammad; the change of *d* to *l* in Kurdish is common) who is mentioned between 420 and 446 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 279, 351, 410) and who in addition to Tabriz possessed other strongholds in the mountains (Sahand). When in 420 the Ghuzz reached Marāgha and executed there a great number of Hadhbānī Kurds, the latter united under Wahsūdān and drove out the Ghuzz (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 270—272). This incident shows that the district of Marāgha was within the sphere of influence of Wahsūdān. In 446 Wahsūdān became a vassal of the Saldjūks, but Ibn al-Athīr, *ibid.*, p. 410 says nothing about the extent of his possessions around Sahand.

In 497 the peace between the sons of Malik-Shāh, Barkiyarūkh and Muḥammad was signed near Marāgha and in 498, Muḥammad visited Marāgha.

The Aḥmadilī. In 505 we have for the first time mention of the Amīr Aḥmadil b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī al-Kurdī, lord of Marāgha and Kūtab (Kūlsara?) (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 361). He was the founder of a little local dynasty, which lasted till about 624. We know very little of the history of the Aḥmadilī which has never been closely studied.

Aḥmadil was certainly the grandson of Wahsūdān b. Mamlān of Tabriz (cf. above) and this explains the insistence with which the atābegs of Marāgha tried to retake Tabriz. Only inprescriptible hereditary rights can explain the strange fact of the presence of a Kurd among the amīrs of the Saldjūks. The name Aḥmadil is a peculiar formation; the name of Maḥmadil, a village to the south of Marāgha, belongs to the same category of diminutives. The Aḥmadilī however very soon adopted Turkish names.

Aḥmadil with a large army took part in the Anti-Crusade of 505. During the siege of Tell Bāshir, Joscelin came to terms with him (*tafāraḥa*) and he withdrew from the town (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Tārīkh Ḥalab, Rec. des hist. des croisades*, iii. 599). Aḥmadil soon abandoned Syria entirely, for he coveted the lands of Sukmān Shāh-i Arman who had just died. We know that Sukmān had extended his sway over Tabriz [q. v.] and the

reference is probably to this town. According to Sibṭ b. al-Djawzi, *ibid.*, p. 556, Aḥmadil had 5,000 horsemen and the revenues from his fiefs amounted to 400,000 dinārs a year. In 510 (or 508) Aḥmadil was stabbed in Baghdād by the Ismā'īlīs to whom he had done much injury (*ibid.*, p. 556; Ibn al-Athīr, x. 361).

Aḳ-Sunḳur I. In 514 Malik Mas'ūd, governor of Mawsil and Ādharbāidjān, rebelled against his brother Maḥmūd and gave Marāgha to his atābeg Kaṣīm al-Dawla al-Bursuḳī but the rebellion collapsed and in 516 Aḳ-Sunḳur al-Aḥmadilī (client of Aḥmadil?), lord of Marāgha, who was in Baghdād, was authorised by Sulṭān Maḥmūd to return to his fief. As the amīr Kun-toḡdī, atābeg of Malik Tughrīl (lord of Arrān; Ibn al-Athīr, x. 399), had died in 515, Aḳ-Sunḳur expected to get his place with Tughrīl. The latter ordered Aḳ-Sunḳur to raise 10,000 men in Marāgha and set out with him to conquer Ardabil in which they failed. In the meanwhile Marāgha was occupied by Djuyūsh Beg, sent by Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i. 368) mentions under 516 (1123) the defeat of Aḳ-Sunḳur (whom he calls "Aghsunthul, Atābeg of Ran" = Arrān) during a demonstration against the Georgians carried out by Tughrīl from Shīrwān. In 532 Aḳ-Sunḳur took a part but not a very active one in the suppression of the intrigues of the Mazyādīd Dubais. In 524 he was one of the promoters of the election of Sulṭān Dāwūd, whose atābeg he was. In 526 Tughrīl, uncle of Dāwūd, defeated the latter and occupied Marāgha and Tabriz (al-Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, p. 161). Dāwūd along with his uncle Mas'ūd and Aḳ-Sunḳur sought refuge in Baghdād. With the support of the Caliph and the assistance of Aḳ-Sunḳur, Mas'ūd reoccupied Ādharbāidjān. After the capture of Hamadān, Aḳ-Sunḳur was killed there by the Ismā'īlīs (527) instigated by Tughrīl's vizier (al-Bundārī, p. 169).

Aḳ-Sunḳur II. The name of Aḳ-Sunḳur's son is transmitted in different forms. Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 166 and 177, calls him Aḳ-Sunḳur (II); cf. also *Tārīkh-i Gusīda*, p. 472. Al-Bundārī, p. 231, calls him al-Amīr al-Kabīr Nuṣrat al-Dīn Khāshbek and, p. 243, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Arslān Ābā (cf. al-Kāshgharī, *Divān Lughat al-Turk*, i. 80). The *Rāḥat al-Sudūr*, p. 241, 244, 262 gives him the name of Atābeg Arslān Ābā. Al-Bundārī treats him as an equal of the great amīr Ildiguz [q. v.] whose family finally triumphed over the lords of Marāgha. Aḳ-Sunḳur II's adversary was the amīr Khāshbek b. Bīllūng-eri(?) who was the favourite of Sulṭān Mas'ūd and sought to establish himself in Arrān and Ādharbāidjān. This Khāshbek had besieged Marāgha in 541 (al-Bundārī, p. 217). In 545 Sulṭān Mas'ūd took Marāgha and destroyed its walls (*bāra*) but a reconciliation later took place between Khāshbek and Aḳ-Sunḳur II under the walls of Rūyīn-diz (cf. below). The execution of Khāshbek in 547 (1153) by Sulṭān Muḥammad alienated Ildiguz and Aḳ-Sunḳur II and they installed Sulaimān on the throne of Hamadān. Muḥammad on his return to power sent an embassy to restore good relations with the two lords of Ādharbāidjān (*ṣāhibai Ā.*). Peace was concluded in 549 and the two great amīrs shared Ādharbāidjān between them (al-Bundārī, p. 243). On his deathbed (554) Muḥammad entrusted his young son (Malik Dāwūd, cf. the genealogical tree in the *Rāḥat al-Sudūr*) to Aḳ-Sunḳur. As Ildiguz was furthering the interests

of his ward Sultān Arslān, Pahlawān b. Ildiguz advanced against Ak-Sunḡur II but the latter with the help of Shāh-i Arman defeated him on the Safid-rūd. In 556 Ak-Sunḡur sent 5,000 men to the help of the governor of Raiy, Inandj, who was fighting Ildiguz. The latter gained the upper hand and in 557 Ak-Sunḡur II took part in the expedition of Ildiguz against the Georgians (Ibn al-Aṡḡir, xi. 189). In 563 however, Ak-Sunḡur II obtained recognition for his ward from Baghdād. Pahlawān b. Ildiguz at once besieged Ak-Sunḡur in Marāgha (*ibid.*, p. 218) but a peace put an end to hostilities.

In 564 the amir of Raiy, Inandj, was killed (Ibn al-Aṡḡir, xi. 230). The *Ta'rikh-i Gusida*, p. 72, seems to suggest that the rebellion in Marāgha of Kutluḡh (?), brother of Ak-Sunḡur (II?), was due to Inandj's influence. He was punished by the Atābeg Pahlawān b. Ildiguz and Marāgha was given to his brothers 'Alā' al-Din and Rukn al-Din.

Under 570 Ibn al-Aṡḡir (xi. 280) mentions at Marāgha Falak al-Din, son of Ibn Ak-Sunḡur (i.e. son of Ak-Sunḡur II), to whom his father had bequeathed his estates. Pahlawān besieged the fortress of Rūyīn-diz and Marāgha. On this occasion peace was concluded on the cession of Tabriz to the family of Ildiguz. This important detail shows that down to 570 the fief of the Aḡmadilī comprised all the country round mount Sahand including Tabriz [q. v.].

In 602 the lord of Marāgha 'Alā' al-Din came to an agreement with the Atābeg of Arbil Muẓaffar al-Din Gök-būri to deprive the Ildiguzid Abū Bakr of Ādharbāidjān on the pretext that he was incapable of ruling. From Marāgha they marched on Tabriz but Abū Bakr called to his aid the former slave of his family Ay-doghmiṡh (cf. Defrémery, *Recherches sur 4 princes d'Hamadan*, *J.A.*, 1847, i. 160). Gök-būri returned to his own lands and Abū Bakr with Ay-doghmiṡh came to Marāgha. 'Alā' al-Din had to surrender the fortress which was the bone of contention but was given in compensation of the towns of Urmiya and Ushnū. In 604, 'Alā' al-Din whom Ibn al-Aṡḡir, xii. 157, 182, here calls Kara-Sunḡur died and left one son, a minor. A brave servant of 'Alā' al-Din assumed the guardianship of the child but the latter died in 605. Abū Bakr then took possession of all the lands of the Aḡmadilī except Rūyīn-diz where the servant already mentioned had entrenched himself with his late master's treasures.

It is not clear if 'Alā' al-Din Kara-Sunḡur is identical with the brother of Ak-Sunḡur II mentioned in 564. For the date of his accession and his importance we have a hint. According to the preface of the *Haft-paīkar* of Niẓāmī [q. v.], this poem (finished in 593) was composed at the request of 'Alā' al-Din Krb (?) Arslān (the Rūm and the Rūs paid him tribute [*kharaḡj*]); the Georgians suffered reverses at his hands). This *mamduḡh* was definitely identified by Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii. 567 and Supplement, 1895, p. 154 with 'Alā' al-Din of Marāgha. Niẓāmī mentions two sons of 'Alā' al-Din, Nuṡrat al-Din Muḡammad and Aḡmad, but to reconcile this with Ibn al-Aṡḡir we should have to suppose that both died before their father.

The family of the Aḡmadilī was continued for some time in the female line. In 618 the Mongols arrived before Marāgha and the town was stormed

on the 4th Ṣafar. The Mongols sacked and burned the town and massacred the inhabitants (*ibid.*, xii. 246, 263) but the lady of Marāgha (daughter of 'Alā' al-Din?), who lived in Rūyīn-diz escaped the catastrophe.

Djalāl al-Din. In 622, the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Din came to Marāgha via Dakūka. He entered it without difficulty for the inhabitants were complaining of all kinds of oppressions and raids by the Georgians (Nasawī, *Sirat Djalāl al-Din*, ed. Houdas, p. 110). Djalāl al-Din tried to restore the prosperity of Marāgha; cf. Ibn al-Aṡḡir, xii. 280, 282.

In 624 (1227) while Djalāl al-Din was in the Persian 'Irāk, his vizier Sharaf al-Mulk was forced to reconquer Ādharbāidjān. In the course of his campaign he besieged Rūyīn-diz, the lady of which was a grand-daughter (*min ḡafadar*) of the Atābeg 'Alā' al-Din Karāba (?) (Nasawī, p. 129). This princess was married to the deaf-mute Khamūsh, only son of the Eldiguzid Ōzbek. The Atābeg Nuṡrat al-Din, son of Khamūsh, mentioned incidentally by Djuwainī, *G.M.S.*, ii. 242, must have been his son. As a way out, she offered her hand to Sharaf al-Mulk. Djalāl al-Din suddenly arrived from the 'Irāk and married the princess himself. Rūyīn-diz was given to a certain Sa'd al-Din. The citadel contained some thousands of houses (*ulūḡ min dūr*) occupied by the former inhabitants of the town (*ḡudamā*). Sa'd al-Din decided to evacuate them but as a result of his tactlessness the fortress closed its gates again (to Sa'd?) (Nasawī, p. 129, 157). Ibn al-Aṡḡir, xii. 322 seems to deal with the course of these events. Under 627 he says that the troops of Djalāl al-Din besieged Rūyīn-diz for some time. The fortress was about to capitulate when some malcontents summoned the assistance of a Turkoman amir Sewindj (Ṣwndj) of the tribe of Ḳush-yalwa. The domination of this chief and his relatives who succeeded him only lasted two years.

Rūyīn-diz. This fortress lay "near Marāgha" (Ibn al-Aṡḡir, xii. 322). According to Zakariyā Ḳazwīnī who gives a very accurate description of Rūyīn-diz, it was 3 farsakhs from Marāgha. Its proverbially impregnable position (*ḡuriba bi-ḡisānatiha al-maḡḡal*) suggests that it was built on the side of Sahand. The Russian map marks on the Sofī-ṭai 10 miles (c. 3 farsakhs) above Marāgha a place called Yay-shāḡar (in Turkish = "summer-town") besides which two streams flow into the Sofī-ṭai (on the left bank) and between them is written the corrupted name "Res or Eris". It is very probable that this is the site of the famous fortress on either side of which there was a stream (*nahr*); for *Res* one should read *Des* i.e. Rūyīn-diz. The date of the final destruction of Rūyīn-diz is unknown. As late as 751 the Čobanid Aṡḡraf imprisoned his vizier there (v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Ilchane*, ii. 337) but the *Nuṡḡat al-Ḳulūb*, in 740 (1340) only knows the other Rūyīn-diz, that of Sawalān (there is still a Rūyīn-dizak 4 farsakhs N.E. of Ardabil).

Kūlsara. Ibn al-Aṡḡir, x. 340, calls Aḡmadilī "lord of Marāgha and of Kūtab". This last name (كوتب) seems to be a corruption of Kulsara (كولسرد) or Kūrsara, a little town well known to the Arab geographers on the Marāgha-Ardabil road (10-12 farsakhs from Marāgha and 20-27 from Ardabil); cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 120; Ḳu-

dāma, p. 213; *Iṣṭakhri*, p. 194; Ibn Ḥawqāl, p. 252, in particular from his own experience talks of the importance of Kūlsara and its flourishing commerce. This place may correspond to the village of Kūl-tāpā "hill of cinders" (popular Turkish etymology) which lies on the Karanghu about 35 miles (c. 10 farsakhs) east of Marāgha. The fort of Kal'a-yi-Zohāk notable ruins of which were discovered by Monteith c. 15 miles below Kūl-tāpā (cf. Morier, *op. cit.*, p. 296), must have been a bulwark for Kūlsara and Marāgha against invasion from the northeast. Rawlinson, *J.R.G.S.*, 1841, p. 120 sees a Sāsānian fortress in Kal'a-yi-Zohāk.

The Mongols. Marāgha was definitely taken by the Mongols in 628 (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 324). After the taking of Baghdād in 656 (1258) Hūlāgū took up his quarters in Marāgha and ordered an observatory to be built there from the plans of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī (who had as advisers four astronomers one of whom, Fakhr al-Dīn, was a native of Marāgha) (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 324). The observatory was built on a fortified hill to the west of the town where only traces of foundations of the walls are still to be seen. According to Schindler's plan (1883), the levelled area on the hill measures 137×347 metres. On the observatory cf. Jourdain, *Mémoire sur les instruments employés à l'observatoire de Maragah*, in the *Magasin encyclop. rédigé par A. L. Millin*, Paris 1809, vol. vi., p. 43-101 (transl. of an Arabic *risāla* belonging to the Bibl. Nationale and attributed to Nāṣir al-Dīn's colleague Mu'ayyid al-Dīn al-'Ardī) and Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix., p. 839-843. To contain his treasures Hūlāgū built a castle on the island of Shāhī 1-2 days distant from the capital. Here he was buried. On the fortifications of Shāhī cf. Ṭabari, iii. 1171. The handsome sepulchral towers of which there are four at Marāgha (Mecquenem 1908) date from Hūlāgū or his immediate successors: 1. the one at the entrance to the bridge of Ṣāfi-ṭai is built of red brick on a square foundation and has a vaulted cellar (*Gunbad-Kirmis?*); 2. similar, situated in the gardens to the south of the town on the road from Khānāgā; 3 and 4 near the old cemetery in the interior of the town; the octagonal tower No. 3 is of red brick overlaid with blue enamelled faience (*Gunbad-i kābūd*) and No. 4 is round, covered with plaster which is decorated with arabesques (*Koi-burdj* "Tower of the Ram"). There is a photograph of No. 1 in de Morgan (1894), p. 337 and Sarre, *op. cit.*, text, p. 15-16; of No. 3 in Sarre, *ibid.* and of 4 in de Morgan, *ibid.*, p. 340. H. Schindler claimed to have read on the Gunbad-i Ghaffār (No. 2) the name of Abū Bakr-i Sa'd-i Zangī (atābeg of Fārs, 623-658). According to Sarre, No. 4 is later than 1350. The monuments require to be again studied on the spot. Lehmann-Haupt says that inscriptions can still be seen in their interiors.

The early Mongol *Ilkhāns* led a semi-nomadic life which explains the absence from Marāgha of any other kind of memorial. It was only with Ghāzān that a regular capital was built at Tabriz [q. v.]. Marāgha continued to be of some importance on account of its pasturages and was a station on the road between Ādharbāidjān and Mesopotamia. Its name continually appears in the history of the *Ilkhāns*. In 703 (1304) Uldjaitū received at Marāgha the ambassadors from the

Kā'an of China and installed at the observatory the son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī.

In 712 (1312) Kara-Sunqur, *amir al-umara'* of Aleppo, fearing the wrath of the Sultān of Egypt, Nāṣir, sought an asylum in Persia with Uldjaitū who gave him Marāgha. Ibn Baṭṭūta who tells this (i. 179) adds that this town was known as "Little Damascus" (*Dimishk al-saghira*). Kara-Sunqur died in 728 (1328) (d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 699).

The Geographers of the Mongol period. Zakariyā Qazwīnī (1275) seems to be personally acquainted with the town. According to him there were in the town memorials of the pre-Islāmic period. He describes the mineral springs (near the village of Qiyāmat-ābād) and a cave which must correspond to the Čai-bāghī visited by Morier, Lehmann-Haupt, Minorsky etc. Qazwīnī also mentions the mountain of Zandjākān with a calcareous spring, the village of Djinbdk (Gunbadak) with a bottomless well (p. 350) and gives a description of Rūyin-diz (p. 358).

The *Nushat al-Kulūb* (written in 1340), *G.M.S.*, p. 27 estimates the revenues of Marāgha paid to the treasury at 70,000 dinārs (Ardabil paid 85,000) and those of its wilāyat at 185,000 dinārs. The *tuman* of Marāgha comprised all the southern part of Ādharbāidjān, in the north it was bounded by the *tuman* of Tabriz, in the west by that of Khoi (Urmiya), in the south by the lands of Kurdistan (Dainawar) and in the east by 'Irāk-i 'Adjam (Zandjan, Sudjās). All the lands now under the modern Sawdj-bulāk [q. v.] were then ruled from Marāgha. As dependencies of Marāgha, Ḥamd Allāh gives the towns of Dih-i Khwārakān (in popular Turkish Tukhorghan) to the south of Tabriz, Lailān on the right bank tributary of the Djaghata (cf. Rawlinson, 1841, p. 39: the ruins of Kal'a-yi Bākhta) and Paswē in Lāhidjān, in the valley of the Tigris [cf. SAWDJ-BULĀK]. The *tuman* comprised six cantons (the names are much mutilated): Sarādjūn (?), Niyādjūn (?), Duzakh-rūd (? cf. the mountain Duzakh on the middle course of the Djaghata), Gāwdūk (at the confluence of the river of Lailān with the Djaghata [the name is also read Gāwdūl, Gāwdawān. It is remarkable that Firdawsī (ed. Mohl, vii. 141, 151) mentions in these regions a Dasht-i Dūk and Kūh-i Dūk where Bahrām Čubin was defeated by Khusrāw]), Bihištān (probably the district of Bahī on the Tatawu), Hashṭarūd (to the east of Sahand on the Karanghu). The district of Angūrān on the Kizil-üzān was also a dependency of Marāgha.

Christianity at Marāgha. In the Mongol period, Marāgha had become an important centre of Christianity. The celebrated Mār Bar Hebraeus (Jacobite *Maphrian*) lectured in 1268 on Euclid and in 1272 on Ptolemy in the "new monastery" of Marāgha; there he wrote the *Kitāb al-Duwal*. When he died on July 30, 1286, as a sign of mourning the Greeks, Armenians and Nestorians closed their shops in the market-place (Assemani, *Bibl. Orientalis*, ii. 266; Wright, *A short History of Syriac Literature*, 1894, p. 267, 271, 276, 279. The history of Mār Yabbalāhā III (patriarch of the Nestorians [1281-1317], transl. Chabot, Paris 1895) contains valuable notes on Marāgha. Yabbalāhā rebuilt the already existing church of Mār Shalīṭā and built a house beside it. In 1289 Arghūn had his son baptised in Marāgha. In 1294 the patriarch laid the foundations of the monastery

of John the Baptist $\frac{2}{3}$ of a farsakh north of Marāgha. After the accession of Ghāzān (1295) the persecution of the Christians began, instigated by the amīr Nawrūz. The mob plundered the residence of the patriarch and the church of St. George built by the monk Rabbān Ṣawmā (it had been furnished with articles from the portable church of Arghūn's camp). The patriarch sought refuge in the suite of the Armenian king Haiton. On his return to Marāgha, Ghāzān punished the fomenters of the troubles. In 1298 Yahbalāhā was confirmed in his rights. In Sept. 1301 he finished the monastery of St. John. His biographer and contemporary gives an account of the beautiful buildings, the numerous relics and riches of the monastery (Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 133). The village of Dahli (?) to the east of Marāgha was purchased to serve as a *wakf* of the monastery (to the N. E. of the town there is still a village of Kilisā-kāndi "village of the church"). Ghāzān and his successor Ūldjaitū visited the monastery. Yahbalāhā died and was buried there in 1317.

On the south side of the hill of the observatory there are chambers carved out of the rock (3 rooms 12 feet high communicating with one another, and a corridor). Inside there are niches in the shape of altars. Local tradition sees a church in these (perhaps of the Sāsānian period); cf. Macdonald, Kinneir, H. Schindler, Lehmann-Haupt and Minorsky, *Zap.*, xxiv., 1917, p. 167.

After the Mongols. In 737 (1337) the Djālayirid Shaikh Ḥasan inflicted a defeat on Tughā-Timūr [q. v.] near Marāgha (or at Hashtarūd). The pretender Muḥammad was buried at Marāgha in 738 (*Shādjarat al-Atrak*, p. 315). Later the political struggles of the Turkomans had their principal arena in the northern part of Ādharbāidjān. In the same period the Kurdish elements of the districts south of Lake Urmiya became consolidated and received reinforcements from the districts of Mawṣil (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 288). The Mukri Kurd amīrs extended their influence over Marāgha and even as far as Dih-Khwarākān. The Turks during their rule over Ādharbāidjān included Marāgha with Tabriz and levied 15 *khawārs* of gold per annum on it which caused its inhabitants to go away (*ibid.*, p. 294). In 1002 (1593) the name of the fortress of Saru-kurghan (demolished in 795 by Timūr; cf. *Zafar-nāma*, i. 628 and rebuilt by the Mukri) in the region of Marāgha often occurs in the *Sharaf-nāma*, p. 294—296; this name recalls that of the Sārūk, the right bank tributary of the Djaghātu.

During the second Ottoman occupation (1725) Marāgha was governed by 'Abd al-'Aziz Pasha; this administrative unit consisted of 5 sandjaks, of which 2 were hereditary and 3 granted by the government (v. Hammer, iv. 228; according to Ćelebi-zāde). In 1142 (1729) Nādir defeated the Ottomans at Miyāndūb on the Djaghātu and occupied Dimdim, Sawdj-bulāk, Marāgha and Dih-Khwarākān (Mahdi-Khān, *Tārīkh-i Nādiri*, Tabriz 1284, p. 66; transl. Jones, i. 104). According to the recently discovered history of Nādir, the monarch transplanted 3,000 inhabitants from Marāgha to Kalāt (Barthold, in *Zap.*, xxv., p. 88).

The Muḥaddam. As early as the time of Nādir the Turkish tribe of Muḥaddam is mentioned as settled in the region of Marāgha (Macdonald, Kinneir: 15,000 men). Aḥmad Khān Muḥaddam played a considerable part in the affairs of Ādhar-

bāidjān. Jaubert, *Voyage*, p. 160 knew him in 1805 as *beglerbegi* of Ādharbāidjān under prince 'Abbās Mirzā. In 1810 he exterminated the Bilbās chiefs whom he had invited to Marāgha [cf. SAWDJ-BULĀK]. According to Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 293, this patriarch was aged 90 in 1815 (cf. Brydges, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, p. 90). The governor of Marāgha Ṣamad-Khān, a partisan of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh who besieged Tabriz in 1909, was of the family of Aḥmad-Khān. At the present day the Muḥaddam are concentrated round Miyāndūb.

In 1828 Marāgha was occupied by Russian troops. In 1881, the Kurd invasion by Shaikh 'Ubaidallāh reached the gates of Marāgha. The town was not taken but the whole country round was in ruins when H. Schindler visited it in 1882. During the war of 1914—1918, Marāgha was within the zone of the Russo-Turkish operations [cf. TABRIZ].

Bibliography: In addition to the native sources quoted in the text: Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, G.M.S., xx., fol. 519^r (he also derives the *nisba* Marāghī from the clan al-Marāgh of the tribe of al-Azd); Hādjdī Khalifa, *Djihān-nūmā*, p. 389; Ewliyā-Ćelebi, *Siyāhat-nāma*, iv. 333 (confused and of doubtful value); Zain al-'Ābidīn, *Bustān al-Siyāha*, p. 555.

The European descriptions of Marāgha (only since the sixteenth century) are not very numerous and do not exhaust the subject: Macdonald Kinneir, *Geogr. Memoir*, London 1813, p. 155—156; Morier, *A Second Journey*, London 1818, p. 281—297 (Tabriz—Marāgha—Gultapa [Kül-tāpā?]—Sāraskānd); Ker Porter, *Travels*, 1822, ii. 493; Monteith, *Journal of a Tour*, J.R.G.S., 1833, p. 4 (Sahand—Sāraskānd—Kālā-yi Zohāk); Rawlinson, *A march from Tabriz*, J.R.G.S., 1841, p. 39 (Miyān-du-āb); Ritter, *Erkunde*, ix., p. 828—852; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, Leipzig 1880, p. 248 etc. (important historical and geographical notes); Houtum-Schindler, *Reisen im n.-w. Persien*, *Zeitschr. d. Gesell. d. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1883, p. 334 (cf. the article Marāgha in the *Encycl. Britannica*, 11th ed., 1911); De Morgan, *Mission scientifique, Études géographiques*, i., Paris 1894, p. 337—340 (several views); Zugmayer, *Eine Reise d. Vorderasien*, Berlin 1905, p. 123—128; S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life*, London 1890, p. 71—80; Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Caliphate*, p. 164—165; de Mecquenem, *Le lac d'Ourmiah, Annales de Géogr.*, 1908, p. 128—144; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i., 1910, p. 208—216; de Mecquenem, *Contribution à l'étude du gisement des vertébrés de Maragha*, in *Ministère Instr. Publique, Délégation en Perse, Annales d'Histoire naturelle*, i./2, 1908, p. 1—79 (with a geographical introduction).

Cartography: Khanykov, *A map of Azerbaidjan*, *Zeitschr. f. Allg. Erdk.*, Berlin 1862, map No. xiv.; de Morgan, *Carte de la partie centrale du Kurdistan*, *Miss. scient. en Perse*, Atlas, Paris 1895; de Mecquenem, *Versant occidental du Sahand, Explor. de la Délég. Franç. en Perse*, Paris 1904, 1:400,000 (published separately; Russian maps 5 versts au pouce). (V. MINORSKY)

MARAND (I.), a town in the Persian province of Ādharbāidjān.

Position. The town lies about 40 miles N. of Tabriz, halfway between it and the Araxes (it is 42 miles from Marand to Djulfā). The road

from Tabriz to *Khoi* also branches off at Marand. A shorter road from Tabriz to *Khoi* follows the north bank of Lake Urmia and crosses the Mishowdagh range by the pass between Tasūdj [q. v.] and Diyā al-Dīn. Marand, which is surrounded by many gardens, occupies the eastern corner of a rather beautiful plain, about ten miles broad and sloping slightly to the west. To the south the Mishow range (western continuation of the Sawalān) separates it from the plain of Tabriz and from Lake Urmia. The pass to the south of Marand often mentioned by historians is called Yam (Mongol = post-station). The pass between the plain of Marand and Tasūdj [q. v.] takes its name from the village of Waldiyān. To the east of Marand lies the wild and mountainous region of *Qaradja-dagh* (capital: Ahar). To the north, the plain of Marand is separated from the Araxes by a range, a continuation of the central heights of the *Qaradja-dagh* which is crossed by the defile of the *Dārādiz*. The plain of Marand is watered by the river of *Zunūr*, the southern arm of which called *Zilbir* runs quite near Marand. The combined waters of *Zunūr* and *Zilbir* flow into the *Kotur-čai* (an important right bank tributary of the Araxes) about 20 miles N.E. of *Khoi*. The length of the *Zunūr* is about 40 miles (*Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi*: 8 farsakhs).

History. A lofty *tell* which rises beside the town is evidence of the great antiquity of this as an inhabited site; it must have existed in the time of the Vannic (*Khald*) and Assyrian kings. Its Greek name *Μαρονδα* is perhaps connected with the people *Μαρονδαί* who, according to Ptolemy VI, 2, occupied the lands as far as Lake Urmia. A legend of Armenian origin based on the popular etymology *mair* and "*mater ibi*" locates in Marand the tomb of Noah's wife (*Hübschmann*, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, 1904, p. 346 and 451; *Ker Porter*, *Travels*, i. 217). Moses of Chorene places Marand in the district of *Bakurakert*. There was another Marand mentioned by the Armenian historian *Orbelian* (c. 1300) in the province of *Siunikh* (north of the Araxes) and a village of Marand still exists east of *Tighnft* in the *khānate* of *Mākū* [q. v.].

Ibn Ba'ith. After the Arab conquest a certain *Halbas* of the tribe of *Rabi'a* took Marand. His son *Ba'ith*, a soldier of fortune (*ṣulṭān*) in the service of *Ibn al-Rawwād*, fortified Marand. *Muḥammad b. Ba'ith* erected castles there (*kuṣūr*) (*Balādhuri*, p. 330). This chief had acquired considerable notoriety. In 200 (815) he had taken from the family of *Rawwād*, the strongholds of *Shāhī* and *Tabriz* (*Tabari*, iii. 1171). (In another passage, *Tabari*, iii. 1379, mentions *Yakdur* [?] in place of *Tabriz*.) *Ibn Ba'ith* lived at *Shāhī* which stood in the centre of Lake Urmia (the peninsula of *Shāhī*, where at a later date *Hulāgū Khān* kept his treasure and where he was buried). *Ibn Ba'ith* was at first on good terms with the *Khurramī Bābak*, whose authority must have prevailed in the *Qaradja-dagh* in particular, in the north-eastern corner of which was his residence *al-Badhdh*. *Ibn Ba'ith* suddenly changed his tactics and seized by a ruse *ʿIsma*, one of *Babāk's* generals whom he sent to the caliph *al-Mu'taṣim*. In 221 *Ibn Ba'ith* accompanied *Bughā* on his expedition against *al-Badhdh* (*Tabari*, iii. 1190, 1193). Under the caliphate of *Mutawakkil*, *Ibn Ba'ith* committed some crime (*khālafa*) and was imprisoned in *Surra-man-ra'a*. On the intercession of *Bughā al-Sharābī*,

30 people of repute became guarantors of *Ibn al-Ba'ith's* good behaviour and he must have been allowed considerable liberty, for in 234 (848) he escaped to Marand. *Ibn Khurādādhbih*, who wrote in 234, mentions Marand as being *Ibn Ba'ith's* fief. *Tabari*, iii. 1379—1389, gives a very graphic account of the expedition sent against this town. The wall which enclosed Marand and its gardens was 2 farsakhs in circumference. There were springs within it. The dense forest outside was a further protection to the town. *Ibn Ba'ith* collected 2,200 adventurers who were reinforced by a number of non-Arabs (*ʿulūdī*) armed with slings. He had ballistas constructed to repel the assailants. During the 8 months that the siege lasted, 100 individuals of note (*awliyā al-sulṭān*) were killed and 400 wounded. When *Bughā al-Sharābī* (*Balādhuri*, p. 330: *Bughā al-Saghīr*) arrived he succeeded in detaching the men of the *Rabi'a* tribe from *Ibn Ba'ith*. *Ibn Ba'ith* and his relatives were seized and his house and those of his partisans plundered. In *Shawwāl* of 235 *Bughā* arrived with 180 prisoners at the caliph's court. *Mutawakkil* ordered *Ibn Ba'ith* to be beheaded but the latter recited verses in Arabic and the caliph was astonished by his poetic gifts (*inna ma'ahu la-adab*) and gave him his life. *Ibn Ba'ith* died in prison and his sons entered the corps of mercenaries (*al-shākiriya*). According to one of *Tabari's* authorities (iii. 1388), the *shaikhs* of *Marāgha* who praised the bravery and literary ability (*adab*) of *Ibn Ba'ith* also quoted his Persian verses (*bi 'l-fārisiya*). This important passage already quoted by *Barthold*, *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, vol. ii., Pt. iv., 1923, p. 836—838, is evidence of the existence of the cultivation of poetry in Persian in the N.W. of *Irān* at the beginning of the ninth century. *Ibn Ba'ith* must have been iranised to a considerable extent, and, as has been mentioned, he relied for support on the non-Arab element in his *rustāks* (*ʿulūdī rasātīkhi*).

Later History. The Arab geographers of the tenth century (*Iṣṭakhrī*, p. 182; *Ibn Hawkal*, p. 239) mention Marand among the little towns of *Ādharbāidjān* where the material called *tikak* was manufactured. *Mukaddasī*, p. 51, 374, 377, puts Marand under *Dabil* and notes its gardens, its flourishing suburb and a cathedral-mosque in the centre of the market. The same author, p. 382, mentions a direct road from Marand to *Marāgha* (via *Nūrīn* [?], somewhere west of *Tabriz*). Later, Marand must have shared the fate of *Tabriz* [q. v.]. According to *Yāqūt*, iv. 503, the town had begun to decline after it was plundered by the Georgians (*Kurdj*) who carried off its inhabitants. This is valuable confirmation of the Georgian expedition to Persia, a detailed account of which is given in the *Georgian Chronicle* for 1208—1210 (605—607) [cf. *TABRIZ* and *TIFLIS*].

Among the theologians, born in Marand, *Yāqūt* mentions one who died in 216 and another who had studied in Damascus in 433. In 624 (1226) Marand which had not sufficient defences, was occupied by the ḥājib *ʿAlī al-Ashrafi* of *Akhlat*. *Sharaf al-Mulk*, governor for the *Khwarizmshāh*, retook the town and wrought great slaughter in it (*Nasawī*, ed. *Houdas*, p. 166).

The only historical monument in Marand is the old mosque now in ruins with a *mihrāb* in stucco bearing the date of rebuilding 731 (1331) (reign of the *Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd*). Cf. *Sarre*, *Denkmäler pers. Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, p. 24—25 and pl. xvii.,

and the observations by Herzfeld, *Die Gumbadh-i 'Alawiyyan*, in the *Volume... presented to E. G. Brown*, 1922, p. 194—195. In the same period (1340) Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥḥat al-Kulūb*, *G. M. S.*, xxiii., p. 88, counted 60 villages in the district of Marand. The walls (*bārū*) of the town were 8,000 paces (*gām*) around but the town only occupied half the area.

Marand is several times mentioned in connection with the Turco-Persian wars. According to Ewliyā Ćelebi (in 1647), *Siyāhat-nāma*, ii. 242, Marand was a hunting-resort of the Timurid Shāhrukh. In spite of the damage done by the invasion of Sulṭān Murād, the town looked prosperous and had 3,000 houses. Ewliyā enumerates a number of celebrated theologians buried north of Marand.

In the autumn of 1724 'Abd Allāh Pāshā Kōprülü sent the Kurd Khān of Bitlis Muḥammad 'Abid to occupy Marand the inhabitants of which had fled. Resistance centred round the town of Zunūz (10 miles N. of Marand) which had 7,000 (?) houses and a castle called Diza by the Persians. To dispose of the threat to their flank, the Janissaries before advancing on Tabriz, fought a battle here in May 1725 with the Persians of whom a large number were slain. Diza was taken and dismantled (cf. von Hammer, *G. O. R.* 2, iv., p. 226, following Ćelebi-zāde).

Marand has often been mentioned by European travellers since Chardin (1811 edition, i., p. 318); cf. the notices by Ker Porter, Jaubert, Morier, Ouseley and Monteith of which a résumé is given in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix., p. 907. Marand has recently gained in importance since it lies on the modern high road from Tabriz to Dījūfā built by the Russians in 1906 and replaced by a railway in 1915.

(2.) A town in the district of Khuttāl, to the north of the Oxus; cf. Muḥaddasī, p. 49, 290—291. (V. MINORSKY)

MAR'ASH, a town in Syria near the Asia Minor frontier (*al-Thughūr al-Shāmiya*). It lies about 2,000 feet above sea-level on the northern edge of the hollow ('Amḳ of Mar'ash; now Ćakal Owa and south of it Sheker Owa or Mar'ash Owas) which lies east of the Djaiḥān and is watered by its tributary, the Nahr Hūrīth (Aḳ-Sū). As a result of its situation at the intersection of the roads which run to Antākiya, to 'Ain Zarba and al-Maṣṣīsa, to Albistān (Abulustain) and Yarpūz, via Gōksūn (Kokussos) to Kaisāriya, via Behesni (Bahasnā) to Sumaisāt and via al-Ḥadaṭh and Zibatra to Malatya, Mar'ash was from the earliest times one of the most important centres of traffic in the Syrian frontier region. It is repeatedly mentioned as early as Assyrian texts as Markasi, capital of the kingdom of Gurgum [cf. the article DJARADJIMA], and several Hittite monuments have been found there (cf. Unger, *Margasi*, in Ebert's *Reallexik. d. Vorgesch.*, viii., 1927, p. 48).

In the Roman imperial period it was called Germanikeia in honour of Caligula (on the coins Caesarea Germanikē; cf. Grégoire, *Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belg.*, li., 1908, p. 217 sqq.). The identity of Germanikeia and Mar'ash is certain from numerous literary, especially Syriac, references. The Armenians probably knew, but probably from learned tradition only, the name *Germanik* (Kermanig in Vahram; cf. Matth. of Edessa, ed. Dulaurier, p. 487 infra; St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arm.*, i. 200). The statement in a description of the district of Ḥalab (Paris

MS. Arab., No. 1683, fol. 72a) that the Armenian name of the town was *Nākinūk* (Blochet, *R. O. L.*, iii., p. 525 sq., note 6) is wrong; this is a mistake for *Gōinūk*, a name later given to the neighbouring al-Ḥadaṭh [q.v.]. The Emperor Heraclius passed the town in 626 (Theoph., *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 313; Ramsay, *Class. Review*, x. 140; Gerland, *Byz. Zeitschrift*, iii., 1894, p. 362). The Emperor Leo III came from Mar'ash (Germanikeia); later authors (like Theoph., *op. cit.*, p. 391) wrongly called him the "Isaurian" (a confusion with Germanikopolis; cf. K. Schenk, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, v., 1896, p. 296—298).

In the year 16 Abū 'Ubaida sent Khālīd b. al-Walīd from Manbij against Mar'ash and the Greek garrison surrendered the fortress on being granted permission to withdraw unmolested; Khālīd then destroyed it (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii., 1910, p. 794, 806). Sufyān b. 'Awf al-Ghāmīdī in 30 (650—651) set out from Mar'ash against the Byzantines. Mu'āwiya rebuilt Mar'ash and settled soldiers in this "Arab Cayenne" (as Lammens, *M. F. O. B.*, vi., 1913, p. 437 calls it). After Yazīd I's death the attacks of the Greeks on the town became so severe that the inhabitants abandoned it.

After Muḥammad b. Marwān in 74 (693—694) had broken the truce concluded by 'Abd al-Malik with the Greeks, in Djumādā I of the following year the Greeks set out from Mar'ash against al-'Amḳ (= 'Amḳ of Antākiya; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine* etc., p. 391) but were again driven back in the 'Amḳ of Mar'ash. Mar'ash was restored by al-'Abbās, son of al-Walīd I, and fortified and repopulated; a large mosque was also built there. The people of Ḳinnasrīn (i.e. probably of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn) had to send troops every year to Mar'ash. During Marwān II's fighting against Ḥimṣ, the Emperor Constantine again besieged Mar'ash, which had finally to capitulate (746) and was destroyed (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 189; Theophanes, *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 422; Georg. Kedrenos, ed. Bonn, ii. 7). The inhabitants emigrated to Mesopotamia and the Djund of Ḳinnasrīn. After the capture of Ḥimṣ, Marwān sent troops to Mar'ash, who rebuilt the town in 130 (747); the castle in the centre of the town was henceforth called al-Marwānī after him (Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 498 sq.). But by 137 (754) the Greeks again sacked the town. Al-Manṣūr then had it rebuilt by Šālīh b. 'Alī (d. 150 = 767) and gave it a garrison which al-Mahdī strengthened and supplied with ample munitions (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Theoph., *op. cit.*, p. 445: δ Σάλεχ... μεταπορεύθη Γερμανικεῖαν εἰς Παλαιστίνην). The Arabs in 769 (1080 Sel.) entered the 'Amḳ of Mar'ash and deported the inhabitants of the region who were accused of espionage on behalf of the Byzantines, to al-Ramla (Michael Syrus, *Chron.*, ed. Chabot, ii. 526). According to the Syriac inscription of 'Enesh on the Euphrates, in 776—777 A.D. (1088 Sel.) the people of the hollow ('umḳā) of Mar'ash invaded Asia Minor (Bēth. Rhōmāyā) to plunder (Chabot, *J. A.*, ser. ix., xvi., 1900, p. 286 sq.; Pognon, *Inscr. sémit. de la Syrie et de la Mésop.*, p. 148—150, No. 84). A Greek army of 100,000 men in 161—162 (778—779) under Michael Lachanodrakon besieged Mar'ash which was defended by 'Isā b. 'Alī ('Ισβααλί in Theoph., *op. cit.*, p. 451), grand-uncle of the Caliph al-Mahdī, destroyed al-Ḥadaṭh and laid waste the Syrian frontier (Weil, *Gesch. d.*

Chalif., ii. 98). In 183 (799) Hārūn al-Rashīd built the town of al-Hārūniya near Mar'ash (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 171; Yāqūt, iv. 498, wrongly calls it a suburb of Mar'ash); he also raised the prosperity of Mar'ash and al-Maṣṣiṣa (al-Maṣ'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, viii, 295). The amir Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf in 841 invaded Asia Minor; the Greeks drove him back however and took al-Ḥadath, Mar'ash and the district of Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii. 102; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalif.*, ii., p. 315 sq., note 1, considers this story unhistorical). The emperor Basil I in 877 passed via *Κουκουσός* (Göksün) and the Taurus passes (*στὴν τοῦ Ταύρου*) against Mar'ash (*Γερμανικεῖα*) but could not take it and had to be content with burning and plundering the suburbs; the same thing happened at al-Ḥadath (*Ἀδατα*; Georg. Kedrenos [Bonn], ii. 214; Theophan. continuat., ed. Bonn, p. 280). According to the *περὶ παραδρομῆς πολέμου* (*de velitatione bellica*, Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, cxvii. 1000) shortly before the attack on Germanikeia he crossed the *Παράδεισος ποταμός* (cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 93: one of the *'intus flumina'* of Cilicia, probably the Aḡ-Sū, Arabic Nahr Djūrūth or Hūrūth; the location by Tomaschek, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxxiv., 1891, Abh. viii. 66, is therefore presumably wrong). The Byzantine Andronicus in 292 (904—905) invaded the region of Mar'ash, defeated the garrisons of Tarsūs and Maṣṣiṣa and destroyed Kūrus (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vii. 378; al-Tabarī, iii. 2298; Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 533; Vasilev, *Vizantiya i Arabi*, i., 1902, p. 154). The Armenian Mleḥ (Arab. Malīḥ) plundered Mar'ash in 916; 50,000 prisoners were carried off from it and Tarsūs (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 634; Vasilev, *op. cit.*, p. 203 sq.). In the fighting against Saif al-Dawla, the Greeks under John Kurkuas took Mar'ash in the spring of 337 (949) (Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 187; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii. 14, note 1; Vasilev, *op. cit.*, p. 268). In 341 (952) the Ḥamdānīd defeated the Domestikos at Mar'ash and in June rebuilt the defences of the town (Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Vasilev, *op. cit.*, p. 291). When the Ḥamdānīd Abū 'l-'Ashā'ir in 956 was taken a prisoner by the Byzantines, his father-in-law Abū Fīrās followed as far as Mar'ash in the attempt to rescue him but could not overtake his captors (Dvořák, *Abū Fīrās*, Leyden 1895, p. 31; Vasilev, *op. cit.*, p. 297). Nicephorus Phocas in Rabī I 351 (Aug. 962) occupied Mar'ash, Dulūk and Ra'bān (Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 199; Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv. 152, note 100). Bandjūtakin in 382 (992) carried out a raid on Mar'ash and came back with prisoners and great booty (Freytag, p. 248; Rosen, p. 250, 263). The Armenian Philaretos Brachamios (Filardūs al-Rūmī) who in the second half of the xith century, as leader of a robber band and ally of the Byzantine emperor, conquered a little kingdom for himself on the Syrian frontier, belonged to the village of Shīrbaz in the district of Mar'ash (Michael Syrus, iii. 173, 174 note *).

After the Franks under Godfrey de Bouillon had taken Mar'ash in 490 (1097), they installed a bishop there (Michael Syrus, iii. 191). Bohemund of Antioch was taken prisoner in June 1100 in the *'amḳ* of Mar'ash in the village of Gafnā (Michael Syrus, iii. 188) on his campaign against Malatya by Gümüştegin b. Dānīshmand (*Recueil des hist. or. des crois.*, iii. 589; Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königr. Jerus.*, p. 9; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii. 179). The emperor

Alexius later sent the general Butumites against Mar'ash (*τὸ Μάρασιν*) who took the town, fortified the surrounding small towns and villages and gave them garrisons and left Monastras there as *ἡγεμῶν* (Anna Comnena, *Ἀληξιάδης* ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 132, 11 sqq.; F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, i., Paris 1900, p. 234). The town of Mar'ash was placed under the Armenian prince Thathul, who had distinguished himself in its defence against Bohemund (Matthēos Urhayec'i, ed. Dulaurier, ch. clxvi., p. 229 sq.; Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, i. 104 sq.). But by 1104 he had to abandon it and surrender it to Joscelin de Courtenay, lord of Tell Bāshir (Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 257, ch. clx. vi.; Raoul of Caens, ch. 148; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 49, note 8; p. 52, note 4). This Thathul is perhaps the same Armenian as had given his daughter in marriage to Godfrey's brother Baldwin (in William of Tyre, x. 1, he is called *Tafroc*; in Albert of Aix, iii. 31; v. 18: *Taphnuuz*; cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 103). By 1105 Tancred of Antioch seems to have been in possession of Mar'ash (Röhricht, p. 56) to whom it was allotted in the treaty of Sept. 1108 (*ἡ Γερμανικεῖα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ ταύτην πολιχίαι*: Anna Comnena, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 217; Röhricht, p. 66). In 1114 the widow of the recently deceased Armenian prince Kogh Vasil (= "Basil the thief") of Mar'ash submitted to Aḡ Sonḳor of Mawsil (Weil, *op. cit.*, iii. 199); on the 28th Djumādā (Nov. 27) of the same year, Mar'ash was devastated by a disastrous earthquake in which 40,000 lost their lives (Michael Syrus, transl. Chabot, iii. 200; *Recueil hist. or. crois.*, iii. 607; Matthēos Urhayec'i, p. 289, ch. ccxvii.). King Baldwin granted a monk named Godfrey (*Goisfridus Monachus*) a fief consisting of Mar'ash, Kaisūm and Ra'bān (Michael Syrus, iii. 211; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 161); in 1124 Godfrey was killed at the siege of Manbidj in the train of Joscelin of Edessa. The Dānīsh-mandid Muḥammad b. Amir Ghāzi in 1136—1137 laid waste the villages and monasteries near Mar'ash and Kaisūm (Matthēos, p. 320, ch. ccliii.). The Saldjūk sultān Maṣ'ūd in 1138 advanced as far as Mar'ash, plundering the country as he went (Michael Syrus, iii. 246) as did Malik Muḥammad of Malatya in 1141 (Michael Syrus, iii. 249) and Kīlfdj Arslān II in 1147 (Michael Syrus, iii. 275). The town then belonged to Raynald, son-in-law of Joscelin II of Edessa, who fell in 1149 at Innib (Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 260). On Sept. 11, 1149, Kīlfdj Arslān and his father Maṣ'ūd set out from Albistān against Mar'ash, plundered the country around and besieged the town. The Frankish garrison capitulated on being promised a safe retreat to Antākiya; but the sultān sent a body of Turks after them, who fell upon them on the road and slew them. On this occasion all the treasure of the churches of Mar'ash was lost, which the priests who had rebelled against the bishop had appropriated (Michael Syrus, iii. 290; Matthēos Urhayec'i, p. 330, ch. cclix.; Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 421; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 263). After the capture of Joscelin, Nūr al-Dīn of Ḥalab in 546 (1151—1152) took a large part of the country of Edessa including the town of Mar'ash, Tell Bāshir, 'Aintāb, Dulūk, Kūrus etc. (*Recueil hist. or. crois.*, i. 29, 481; ii. 54; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii. 296; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 265, note 5). The district was then divided: the Sultān received Mar'ash, Bazamān, Ra'bān, Kaisūm and Bahasnā; the Urṭuḳid Kara Arslān of Ḥiṣn Ziyād got Bābulā, Gargar, Kīāḳhta

and Ḥiṣn Maṣṣūr; Nūr al-Dīn kept the rest (Michael Syrus, iii. 297; Will. of Tyre, xvii. 16). When Maṣṣūd's son Kīlīdj Arslān, lord of Mar'ash (Michael Syrus, iii. 318), attacked an Armenian village, the Armenians under Stephan, brother of the prince Thoros, in 1156 revenged themselves by setting Mar'ash on fire and carried off the whole population into captivity, during the absence of the Sultān and his Turks (Michael Syrus, iii. 314 [expanded from Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*]; differently in Abū Shāma, *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iv. 92; F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, ii. [1912], p. 434). Among those carried off was the bishop Dionysios bar Ṣalībī, who escaped to the monastery of Kālsīūr (according to Chabot, *loc. cit.*, the *κλίσιον Κασλ-ζιέρν* of Anna Comnena, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 219) and wrote three *mēmūrē* about the devastation of his former diocese of Mar'ash (Michael Syrus, *loc. cit.*; Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Litt.*, p. 298). Thoros of Little Armenia in 1165 plundered Mar'ash (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 331; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 319, note 8; Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii. 531, note 1). Nūr al-Dīn again took Mar'ash from Kīlīdj Arslān II when he was on a campaign against the Dānīshmandī Dhu 'l-Nūn (Michael Syrus, iii. 350) in the beginning of Dhu 'l-Kāda 568 (June 14, 1173) and Bahasnā in Dhu 'l-Ḥijjdja (Rec. hist. or. crois., i. 43, 592; iv. 158; Matthēos Uthayecī, ed. Dulaurier, p. 360; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Annal. Musl.*, ed. Reiske, iv. 4; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 303, who is followed by Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, ii. 463, wrongly puts these events as early as 1159).

Nūr al-Dīn perhaps handed Mar'ash over to his ally Mleḥ of Little Armenia. When the dynast of Mar'ash raided the district of Raḥbān, al-Malik al-Zāhir in 592 (1195–1196) took the field against him, whereupon the lord of Mar'ash sought forgiveness and recognised his suzerainty (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, iv. 212). The Armenian ruler Rupen III took Bohemund III of Anṭākiya prisoner in 1185 and forced him to cede the territory from the Djaiḥān up to Kaṣtūn (Michael Syrus, iii. 396 sq.; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 403, note 7, 661). Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhūraw, son of Kīlīdj Arslān II, in 605 (1208), when on a campaign against Little Armenia took Mar'ash (Abu 'l-Fidā, *Annal. Musl.*, ed. Reiske, iv. 232) and made Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan governor of the town. He was succeeded in this office by his son Ibrāhīm, who in turn was succeeded by his son Nuṣrat al-Dīn, who ruled Mar'ash for 50 years. The long reign of his son Muzaḥfar al-Dīn was followed by that of his brother 'Imād al-Dīn who however in 656 (1258) abandoned the town which was much harassed by the Armenians and Georgians, after failing to find support either from 'Izz al-Dīn Kai-Kā'ūs of Rūm or al-Malik al-Ṣālīḥ of Egypt. The town then surrendered to the Armenians (Ibn al-Shihna, *Barūt* 1909, p. 192).

Mar'ash did not escape during the great Mongol invasion of Asia Minor. Baibars I of Egypt in his campaign against them in 670 (1271) sent from Ḥalab a division under Ṭaibars al-Wazīr and 'Isā b. Muḥīn to Mar'ash, who drove all the Tatars from there and slew them (Rec. hist. or. crois., ii. 246; Makrizi, ed. Quatremère, *Hist. de Sult. Maml.*, i/ii. 101). In the wars with the rulers of Little Armenia troops from Ḥalab went as far as Mar'ash in 673 and destroyed the gates of the outer town (Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, iv. 77). In the next few years Baibars negotiated with envoys

from Sis, from whom he demanded the surrender of Mar'ash and Bahasnā; but he was satisfied instead with a considerable sum of money (Makrizi, ed. Quatremère, *op. cit.*, i/ii. 123 [year 673 = 1274]; ii/i. 104 [688 = 1289]). It was not till 692 (1292) that sultān Khalīl by a treaty received Bahasnā, Mar'ash and Tell Ḥamdūn (Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv. 557; Weil, *op. cit.*, iv. 186; S. Lane-Poole, *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1901, p. 287). But the Armenians must have retaken the two last named towns not long afterwards (Weil, iv. 213, note 1), for in 697 (1297) Mar'ash was again taken by the emir Bilban Tabakhī, Na'ib of Ḥalab, for Lāḍīn. A treaty was then concluded with the ruler of Little Armenia by which the Djaiḥān was to be the frontier between the two countries; Ḥamūs, Tell Ḥamdūn, Kūbarā, al-Nukair (on its position cf. L. Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 493–496), Ḥadjar Shughlān, Sīrfan-dakār and Mar'ash thus passed to Egypt (Makrizi, *op. cit.*, ii/ii. 63; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Ann. Musl.*, v. 140).

In the second half of the viiith (xivth) century Zain al-Dīn Karadja and his son Khalīl, the founders of the house of the Dhu 'l-Kadr-oghlu, conquered the lands along the Egyptian Asia Minor frontier with Malatya, Albistān, Mar'ash, Bahasnā and Kharpūt [cf. Dhu 'l-KADR]. In the mosque of Mar'ash one of his successors, Malik Arslān, was murdered in 870 (1465–1466); his portrait with the inscription "Sultān Arslān" and that of his sister Sittī Khātūn with the legend *ḥ meḡālay Khātū* are painted in the Codex Venetus 516 of the *Geography* of Ptolemy, which he apparently intended to dedicate to his father-in-law Meḥemmed II (Olshausen, in *Hermes*, xv., 1880, p. 417–424).

Conquered by Selīm I, Mar'ash became Ottoman; on his campaign against the Dhu 'l-Kadriya in 1515 he encamped on his way back before Mar'ash and then returned via Karṣ Mar'ash (now Karṣ Bāzār or Karṣ Dhu 'l-Kadriya) and Gökün to Kaisariya (cf. Taeschner, *Türk. Bibl.*, xxiii., p. 36, note 4).

From 1832 belonging to Egypt, Mar'ash passed finally in 1840 back to the Turks. The town was occupied by the French from 1918–1920; after its evacuation it was the scene of massacres of Armenians (F. Tournèize, in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccl.*, iv., Paris 1925, col. 360–362).

Mar'ash is now the capital of a wilāyet which in 1928 had about 185,000 inhabitants; the town itself has about 50,000 inhabitants.

The extent of the territory belonging to Mar'ash was liable to vary considerably with the vicissitudes of the town in the middle ages. The following places are mentioned as belonging to the territory of the town.

Garbadisō (= Gerbedisso, *Itin. Anton.*, ed. Parthey, p. 85; Kleyn, *Jacobus Baradaeus*, p. 191; corrupted in Michael Syrus, ii. 256 to 'Arbadis, in Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, p. 370 to Gerbid), 28 Roman miles from Nicopolis (Islāhiya) and 15 from Doliche (Tell Dülük near 'Aintāb).

'Ufray (Michael Syrus, ii. 447); cf. Oupli, Uplie near Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 238? This place perhaps lay on the Nahr 'Afrin (Assyr. Aprē) which Barhebraeus (*Chron. Eccl.*, ed. Abbelloos-Lamy, i. 399 sq.) calls Nahrā 'Ufrēn.

Behedīn "which is now destroyed" was the

birthplace of Nestorios near Mar'ash (*Patrol. Orient.*, viii. 162 sq.).

Shirbaz, the birthplace of Philaretos (see above).

The monastery of Mār Shēnā (Michael Syrus, iii. 148).

Kharsina, probably the Khārshena of the Syriac writers, is described by Matthēos Urhayec'i (transl. Dulaurier, p. 259) as adjoining the territory of Mar'ash. Dulaurier (*op. cit.*, p. 445) locates it not far from the Euphrates; but in the *Marāsid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, iii. 347, the reference is rather to *Χαρσιανόν* and in Barhebraeus (*Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 319; cf. Michael Syrus, iii. 307), the correct reading is "Torshenā". We should rather identify it with Chabot (Michael Syrus, index, p. 43*) with Kersen on the Nahr 'Afrin (cf. M. Hartmann, *Zeitschr. Gesellsch. f. Erdk. Berlin*, xxix., 1894, p. 522, N^o. 47; Lammens, *M. F. O. Beyrouth*, ii., p. 383, note 2; in the *Sāl-nāme* of Ḥalab of 1286 [1869—1870]: Kersentāsh).

The modern wilāyet (formerly sandjak) of Mar'ash consists of four *kazās*:

Zaitūn, north of Mar'ash, scene of the Armenian rising against Turkey in 1894—1895, noted for its rich iron-mines (Aghassi, *Zeitoun*, Paris 1897; Anatolio Latino, *Gli Armeni e Zeitoun*, Florence 1897).

Albistān [q. v.], also north of Mar'ash;

Andarīn, west of the town and the Djaiḥān (not to be confused with Anderīn in the Syrian steppes); the capital of the *kazā* is Keban (Arm. *Ghaban*), the capital of Leo of Little Armenia.

Pāzardjīk, between Mar'ash and 'Aintāb; the capital is Baghdin.

Bibliography: al-Istakhrī in *B. G. A.*, i. 55 sq., 62, 67 sq.; Ibn Ḥawkal in *B. G. A.*, ii. 108—110, 120, 127, 153; al-Makdisī in *B. G. A.*, iii. 154; Ibn Khurdādhbih in *B. G. A.*, vi. 97; Kudāma in *B. G. A.*, vi. 216, 253; al-Idrisī, ed. Gildemeister in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 27; Ibn Rusta in *B. G. A.*, vii. 107; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, in *B. G. A.*, viii. 58; do., *Murādī al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, viii. 295; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, transl. Guyard, ii/ji. 2, 39; al-Dimishki, ed. Mehren, p. 206, 214; Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 498; Saḥī al-Din, *Marāsid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, iii. 81; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 150, 188 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, index, ii., p. 806; al-Ṭabarī, *Chron.*, indices, p. 774; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, ed. Le Strange, p. 268; Michael Syrus, *Chronik*, ed. Chabot, index, p. 48*; Matthēos Urhayec'i, transl. Dulaurier, Paris 1858, p. 532; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 502 sq.; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 128 sq.; Tomaschek in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1891, Abh. viii., p. 86; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., Paris 1891, p. 240—247; H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasiensexpedition 1906 u. 1907*, ii. p. 312, index; Basīm Atālā'i, *Mar'ash Ta'rikhī wa-Djughrafiyā*, Istanbul 1339 (1921). — On the ancient town cf. my article *Germanikeia*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, suppl.-vol. iv., col. 686—689.

(HONIGMANN)

AL-MAR'ASHĪ. [See SHUSHTARĪ].

MARĀTHĀ, commonly mis-spelt in Hindī and in Indian Persian Marhatta, is the name of a people of Western India inhabiting Mahārāshtra, the country lying to the east of the Western Ghāts between the seventeenth and the

twenty-first parallels of north latitude and extending at one point as far east as the seventy-ninth degree of east longitude. The Marāthā caste is an agricultural caste, of common origin and nearly identical with the great Kunbi caste, but sometimes claiming a Kshatriya descent. The Marāthās served in the armies of the Muslim Kingdoms of Southern India, and there gained military experience, but their opportunity came with the decline of the power of the Mughal Empire in the seventeenth century, when their national hero, Shiwadji Bhonsla, converted the peasant population of Mahārāshtra into a military nation. Shiwadji was born at Shiwner, near Džunnār, in 1627 and while his father was conquering a great part of the Carnatic for Bidjāpūr obtained possession of many hill forts in the Western Ghāts. The Sulṭān of Bidjāpūr was unable to subdue him, and in 1659 he slew Afḍal Khān, commander of the army of Bidjāpūr, at a friendly conference. In 1664 he sacked the city of Sūrat, and was obliged to contend with an imperial army sent by Awrangzib to punish him. In 1666 he was induced to pay homage to the emperor at Dihli, but was so disgusted by his reception that he escaped, and, returning to the Deccan, extended his authority there until, in 1674, he assumed the title of Rādjā, and was enthroned at Raygarh. He gained possession of the grants of lands in the Carnatic which his father had received from Bidjāpūr, and died in 1680. His eldest son and successor, Sambhādji, fell into the hands of Awrangzib, who put him to death, but preserved his infant son Shāhū, whom he retained at his court, and Rādjā Rām, Shiwadji's younger son, became the ruler of the Marāthās, now a nation. On the death of Awrangzib in 1707 Shāhū was liberated, and mounted the throne of his grandfather, but was never more than a puppet-king, and left all business of state to his Brāhman minister, or Pishwā, Bālādji Wishwanāth, who reduced his sovereign to the condition of a state prisoner and founded the dynasty of the Pishwās. He led an army to Dihli and extorted from an effete government recognition of the Marāthā state and the right to levy *chauth*, or one quarter of the revenue, throughout the Deccan. In the time of his two successors, Bādji Rāo I (1720—1740), and Bālādji Rāo (1740—1761), the Marāthās conquered Gujjarāt, Mālwa, Berār, Gondwāna, and Uṛisa, and raided the Carnatic, Bengal, and the Pandjāb. They seemed to be on the point of superseding the Mughal power in India when Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī or Durrānī [q. v.] crushed them at the battle of Pānīpat in 1761. The Marāthā power survived, however, in the hands of the Pishwā's generals, Sindhya in Gwāliyar, Bhonsla in Nāgpūr, Holkar in Indūr, and Gāekwār in Gujjarāt. The dynasty of the Pishwās survived at Pūna, and a disputed succession in 1775 tempted the Bombay Government to intervene. In 1778 the Marāthās surrounded the Bombay army near Pūna and compelled its leader to sign a humiliating convention, but an army sent from Bengal by Warren Hastings humbled Gāekwār and the Pishwā, and another force defeated Sindhya and captured Gwāliyar. Peace was restored on terms favourable to the Marāthās, but their confederacy was much weakened. In 1802 Bādji Rāo II, who had fled from Pūna, took refuge with the Government of Bombay and entered into a subsidiary alliance with the Government of India. He was reinstated in Pūna by

Major General Arthur Wellesley, but Sindhya, Bhonsla and Holkar, resenting the Pishwā's subservience to the British, took up arms, and the third Marāthā War began. In the Deccan Arthur Wellesley captured Ahmadnagar, won the decisive victories of Assaye and Argāon, and stormed the strong fortress of Gāwil. In Hindustān General Lake defeated Sindhya's army at Laswārī, and occupied Dihli. Bhonsla lost Uṛisa and Berār, Sindhya his possessions in the Dūāb and his guardianship of the emperor, and Holkar was humbled, but after the peace the freebooters known as the Pindāris, whom the Marāthās had employed, continued to ravage states under British protection, and even British territory, and when in 1817, the Marquess of Hastings concentrated troops to deal with these marauders, the Pishwā, Bhonsla, and Holkar rose against the British Residents at their courts. The first was defeated at Khirkī, and the second at Sitabaldī, and the army of the third was destroyed at Mahidpur. The dominions of the Pishwā were forfeited and annexed to the Bombay Presidency, and Holkar and Bhonsla lost much territory. Bhonsla died in 1853, and his dominions lapsed, in default of male issue, to the British Government. The dethroned Pishwā also lived until 1853, and his adopted son, Dhondū Pant, was the Nānā Ṣāhib of the Indian Mutiny. Three great Marāthā states remain to this day: those of Sindhya in Gwāliyar, Holkar in Indūr, and Gāekwār in Guḍjarāt, but not one of them is in Mahārāṣṭra.

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MARDAITES. These are the Djarādjima [q.v.] singular Djurdjumānī, of the Arabs: they are sometimes confused with the *Djarāmīka*, singular Djar-makānī, so called from the name of their town Djurdjūma. They occupied the rugged regions of the Amanus and of the Taurus, separating Syria from Cilicia, as well as the marshy districts of Antiochene [see BŪKA]. They enjoyed a semi-independence nominally under the Byzantines to whom they furnished recruits and irregular troops. When the Arabs seized Antioch the Mardaites agreed to serve them as auxiliaries and scouts and in this capacity to watch the passes, the "Pulai" of the Amanus. In the small forts built on the heights beside the defiles, commanding the entrance to or the exit from Syria, they, in conjunction with the Arabs, supplied the garrisons. Exempt from the poll-tax, they obtained the right to spoil on the field of battle. They were in every sense of the word irregulars, living by war and by raids and asking only to fight for whoever paid for their services; half-nomads, they came and went again like a flash. Very lukewarm Christian Monothelites or Monophysites — we do not know exactly — their loyalty either to the Byzantines or to the Muslims was quite intermittent. "Sometimes", says Balādhuri, "they obeyed our officials, at other times they betrayed us for the benefit of the

Greeks". The precarious nature of the Arab conquest in the North of Syria — a varying frontier region continually devastated by the Muslims and by the Byzantines — and the difficulty of gaining access to the land of the Mardaites, made it impossible to chastise such fickle allies.

Towards the year 46 (666) the Greek Emperor succeeded in sending them against Syria. This was not a raid of the type usual to the mountaineers of the Amanus, but a regular invasion supported by a few squadrons of cavalry and led by officers of the Imperial army; their bands penetrated into the heart of the Lebanon and occupied its chief strategical points as far as Palestine. The natives, discontented with Arab rule and also the thousands of slaves whom the Muslim conquests on land and on sea had collected in Syria, hastened in a body to take refuge with the invaders. The highlanders of this country, who had kept their independence, also threw in their lot with the Mardaites. At all costs the Omayyad government had to put an end to this dangerous movement, limit the extent of the invasion and to make sure at once of the neutrality of Byzantium who had let loose this hurricane. Not for a moment did Mu'āwiya hesitate to subscribe to the onerous terms of the Emperor — an annual tribute of 3,000 pieces of gold, the liberation of 8,000 prisoners, the delivery of 50 thorough-bred horses. In return the Emperor agreed to withdraw from the Mardaites his support in men, arms and money. There is, however, no evidence that these adventurers definitely evacuated from that time their strong positions in the heart of the Syrian mountains. The neutrality of the Empire, the partial checks sustained by them and finally the establishment on the border of the Mardaite territory of a strong colony of Zuṭt [q.v.] reduced for the moment to inaction the Djarādjima, abandoned by the Byzantines.

A quarter of a century later, they once more attracted attention. This was under 'Abd al-Malik, who was engaged in an interminable war with the anti-Caliph Ibn al-Zubair and was taken by surprise by the sudden rising of the Omayyad 'Amr al-Ashdaq [q.v.] in the year 69—70 A. H. (688—689). The Emperor Justinian II took advantage of these difficulties to let the Mardaites once more loose against Syria. The result was a repetition of the movement in the reign of Mu'āwiya I. Byzantium furnished them with subsidies and with arms. At the same time he sent the army of Anatolia to advance and support the irregulars. In the same manner as in the first invasion their ranks were swollen by the accession of thousands of slaves, fugitives and malcontents, amongst whom one could probably reckon the Maronites [cf. LIBAN]. Taken unawares, 'Abd al-Malik at once followed the policy of Mu'āwiya. The Emperor increased his demands. In addition to the conditions previously agreed to by the Sufyānid Caliph, the Arabs were forced to abandon to the Byzantines half the tribute of Cyprus, of Armenia and of Iberia. In return for this, Justinian agreed to withdraw the Mardaites. The majority of the invaders agreed to evacuate Syria. One of their chiefs, who persisted in continuing the war on his own account in the mountainous massif in the districts of Ḥoms and of Damascus, perished, treacherously assassinated by a partisan of the Caliph. A few Mardaite bands remained in the country, where we find them again still feared

and handled carefully in the caliphate of Walid I.

Entrenched in the Amanus, protected by the great marshes and the lake region of 'Umk in Antiochene, the Djarādijma lived in practical independence of the Empire and of the Caliphate. They chose their masters and their rulers at their own convenience. At the same time some of them were quite ready to put their swords at the service of the Arabs. Amongst these must be named a leader of a band called Maiūma or Maimūn. He with his contingent (about a thousand men, probably all Mardaite like himself) perished at the siege of Tyane. His compatriots in the Amanus seem to have wished to profit by the death of 'Abd al-Malik to renew their raids upon the Syrian provinces. Maslama, the son of the Caliph, resolved to put an end to these rebels. He penetrated into their country, laid siege to their capital Djurdjūma, and forced it to capitulate. Thousands of Mardaite perished in this campaign. To the remainder he granted the right to retain their Christian faith, to serve in the Muslim armies, in fact he gave them the same terms as were obtained by their ancestors at the beginning of the Arab conquest. After this severe lesson the Mardaite peril, which had been the cause of incessant trouble during the reign of the preceding caliphs, was practically at an end. The people of Antiochene saw emigration begin to thin their ranks, many of them having decided to emigrate to Anatolia or to enter the service of the Emperor. This resolution, however, did not prevent the Mardaite, who remained in Syria, from fighting under the flag of the Caliph. We still find them in the reign of Yazid II when they co-operated with the Syrian army in the suppression of the troubles in the 'Irāk.

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(H. LAMMENS)

MARDĀWIDJ B. ZIYĀR, ABU 'L-ḤADJĪDĪJ, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty, was descended on his father's side from the rulers of Gīlān and on his mother's side from the Ispahbads of Rūyān. He had taken service under the 'Alid rulers of Ṭabaristān and was a captain in the army under Asfār b. Shīrawaihi. In 316 (928) Mardāwīdj slew Saiyid Abū Muḥammad Hasan al-Dā'i, and shortly after that rebelled against Asfār, made himself independent at Zanḡjān which he held in *djāgīr* and captured Kāzwīn. He then defeated Asfār, forced him to fly to Ṭabas in Kūhistān and put him to death in 319 when he was attempting to reach the castle of Alamūt [q. v.]. Mardāwīdj thus became master of Raiy and Ṭabaristān. He then defeated Mākān [q. v.] and annexed Ṭabaristān. Mākān attempted twice to capture Ṭabaristān, with the help of powerful

allies, but Mardāwīdj defeated him on each occasion and forced him to take refuge in Khurāsān. At this time (319 = 931) 'Alī, Ḥasan and Aḥmad, the three sons of Buwaih, who were commanders of the army of Mākān, deserted to Mardāwīdj who conferred on 'Alī the eldest the governorship of the province of Karādj.

Having consolidated his power over Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, Mardāwīdj next turned his attention to Djibāl, defeated Hārūn b. Ḡharīb the governor, in the neighbourhood of Hamadān in 319 (931) and conquered the whole of Djibāl up to the confines of Ḥulwān. In the following year Mukṭadir, the Caliph, formally recognised him as ruler of the provinces which he had conquered on condition that he evacuated Iṣfahān, but as Mukṭadir was assassinated shortly after this Mardāwīdj evaded compliance. About this time 'Alī b. Buwaih, the governor of Karādj, rebelled and took possession of Iṣfahān. Mardāwīdj sent his brother Washmgīr against 'Alī who abandoned Iṣfahān and retired to Arrādjān. To deal more efficiently with 'Alī, Mardāwīdj made an alliance of friendship with Yāqūt, governor of Shīrāz, marched to Iṣfahān and threatened to take the field against 'Alī. 'Alī now offered submission and, as a guarantee of good faith, sent his brother Ḥasan as a hostage to Mardāwīdj.

In 322 (934) the Caliph Kāhir confirmed Mardāwīdj in his government on the condition of his evacuating Iṣfahān. Mardāwīdj obeyed and sent instructions to his brother Washmgīr, the governor of Iṣfahān, to deliver the province to the Caliph's agent, Muzaḥfar b. Yāqūt, but as Kāhir was deposed shortly after this in Djumādā I of the same year (April-May 934 A. D.) Mardāwīdj again evaded compliance.

In Ṣafar 323 (Jan. 935) Mardāwīdj was assassinated by his Turkish slaves at Iṣfahān. He was loved by his soldiers, who, it is stated, carried his coffin on their shoulders all the way to Raiy for burial. Mardāwīdj was a man of high ambition and had drawn up a plan for the conquest of Baghdād and the restoration of the Persian Empire in his own person, but he was murdered before he could carry out this scheme.

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MĀRDĪN (written Māridīn in Arabic, in Syriac Marde), a town in upper Mesopotamia (Diyār Rabī'a).

Position. In Upper Mesopotamia, the watershed between the Tigris and Euphrates is formed by the heights which culminate in Karādja-dagh (5,000 feet) S.W. of Diyār-bakr. This basalt massif is continued eastwards in the direction of Djazīrat Ibn 'Omar by the limestone chain known in ancient times as Masius and later as Izala (Ἰζαλα). The eastern part of this ridge forms the district of Djabal-Ṭūr or Ṭūr 'Abdīn [q. v.] the capital of which is Midyāt. From the southern slopes of the Masius descend numerous watercourses, the majority of which join one another before flowing between the mountains of 'Abd al-'Azīz (in the west) and Tell-Kawkab and Sindjār (in the east); their combined waters form the river Khābūr [q. v.].

Mārdīn lies near the point where there is an easy pass through the Masius from the lands south of the Tigris [the rivers Gök-su and *Shaikhān*] to the lands round the sources of the *Khābūr* [the stream called *Zuwārak* which rises north of Mārdīn], in other words Mārdīn commands the *Diyar-bakr-Niṣībīn* road (which then turns towards *Djazīra b. 'Omar* and *Mawṣil*). On the other side towards the west several (Ritter, xi. 356, gives three) direct roads connect Mārdīn via *Urfā* with *Biredjik* (on the *Euphrates*); to the S.W. a road runs from Mārdīn to *Ra's al-'Ain* (there is now a railway) and to *Harrān*. The direct distances are as follows: Mārdīn-Diyar-bakr 55 miles; Mārdīn-Niṣībīn 30 miles; Mārdīn-Sawur-Midyāt 75 miles; Mārdīn-Biredjik 160 miles; Mārdīn-Adana (by rail) 450 miles.

The advantages of this position at the intersection of important roads are enhanced by the very strong natural situation of the town, built at a height of 4,000 feet on an isolated eminence on the top of which is a fort 300 feet above the town (cf. the sketch in Černik, pl. ii., N^o. 17). Buckingham compares its position with that of Quito in South America. All travellers (cf. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 152) have been struck by the unique spectacle of the vast Mesopotamian plain which from the height of the town is seen to stretch southwards as far as the eye can see. Only a hundred years ago Mārdīn was still considered impregnable, but the difficulty of access sensibly affected its commerce. According to Černik loaded camels could not ascend right up to the town. A branch line 15 miles in length now connects Mārdīn with the station of *Darbaziya* on the "Baghdād" railway, but the station for Mārdīn is five miles from the town.

Ancient History. It is noteworthy that in spite of its remarkable situation Mārdīn does not seem to be mentioned in the cuneiform sources. Ammianus Marcellinus (xix. 9, 4) is the first to mention two fortresses "Maride and Lorne" between which the road passed from *Amid* (*Diyar-bakr*) to *Niṣībīn*. Theophanes Simokatta (ii. 2, 19) mentions τοῦ Μάρδιος φρουρά and (v. 3, 17) το Μάρδιος 3 parasangs from *Dārā*. Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, (ii. 4) mentions Σμάρδης (or Σμάρδιος) and Λούριος and Georgius Cyprius, ed. Gelzer, 1820, p. 46: Μάρδιος Λόριος.

The name *Mārdīn* in Ptolemy, vi. 1, however refers to another place in Assyria to the east of the Tigris.

Muslim Conquest. The Muslims under 'Iyād b. *Ḡhanm* occupied the fortress of Mārdīn along with *Tūr 'Abdīn* and *Dārā* in 19 (640) (*Balādhuri*, p. 176). In 133 Mārdīn is mentioned in connection with a rebellion in Upper Mesopotamia. The town formed part of the possessions of *Buraika* chief of the *Rabī'a* who was defeated by the 'Abbāsīd *Abū Dja'far* (*Tabarī*, iii. 53). In 279, *Aḥmad b. 'Isā* took Mārdīn from *Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāk b. Kandādj* (*ibid.*, iii. 2134). *Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn* after his accession in 260 (873) seized Mārdīn. In 281 the caliph *Mu'tadīd* marched on the town. *Ḥamdān* fled and left Mārdīn to his son. The latter surrendered the fortress which was dismantled (*ibid.*, iii. 2142). The "grey fortress" (*al-bār al-ashḥad*) was later restored, for *Ibn Ḥawqal* (in 366) attributes its erection to the *Ḥamdān b. al-Ḥasan Nāṣir al-Dawla b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān*. On the death of his father in 358, *Ḥamdān* was

dispossessed by his brother *Faql Allāh Abū Taghlib*. By the peace of 363, concluded between the *Buyid Bakhtiyār* and *Abū Taghlib*, *Ḥamdān* recovered his possessions with the exception of Mārdīn (*Ibn Miskawaih*, ed. Amedroz, ii. 254 and 319).

The Arab geographers give few details about Mārdīn but they emphasise its importance. According to *Ibn al-Faḥīh*, p. 132, 136, the *khārādī* of Mārdīn was equal to that of *Maiyāfarīkīn* (865,000 dirhams). *Iṣṭakhrī*, p. 76k, says that it is a large town on the summit of a peak the ascent of which is a *farsakh* in length; *Dunaisar* [q. v.] was one of its dependencies. *Ibn Ḥawqal*, p. 143, gives the ascent at two *farsakhs*. The quarter of Mārdīn itself was flourishing, thickly populated with large markets. The water supply was brought by subterranean canals from the springs to the town. The rain-water was also collected in cisterns (*ṣaḥārīdī wa-bīrak*). *Yāqūt*, iv. 390 (cf. *al-Ḳazwīnī*, p. 172), speaks of the splendour of the quarters outside Mārdīn (i. e. below the town itself) and its many *madrasas*, *khānaḳāhs* etc.; as to the *ka'la* there was nowhere in the world so strong a defence; its dwelling-houses rose in terraces one above the other.

The *Marwānids* and the *Saldjuks*. It is probable that Mārdīn was within the sphere of influence of the *Marwānids*, for according to their historian (cf. Amedroz, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904), their ancestor *Bādī* (d. 380 = 990) had extended his power over *Diyār-Rabī'a* (*Niṣībīn*, *Tūr 'Abdīn*). The *Saldjuks* ruled there next. After the death of *Malikshāh*, *Tutush b. Alp Arslān* seized for a time all the lands as far as *Niṣībīn*. Under *Barkī-yaruk* Mārdīn was given to his old bard (*mughanni*).

The *Ortoḳids*. At this time arose the dynasty whose fortunes are especially associated with Mārdīn. The son (or grandson?) of *Ortoḳ* called *Yāḳūtī* took by stratagem the fortress in which he had been imprisoned but it was taken from him by his brother *Sukmān b. Ortoḳ* who died in 498. In 502 we find at Mārdīn *Il-ghāzī b. Ortoḳ* (*Ibn al-Aṭhīr*, x. 269, 321) whose line ruled there till 811 (1408) [cf. the art. *ORTOKIDS*]. (On their coins struck at Mārdīn in 599, 600, 634, 637, 648, 655, 656 etc., cf. *Ḥālib Edhem, Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes*, Constantinople 1894 and *S. Lane Poole, Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. iii. and x. [Index, s. v. *Maridīn*]).

In 579 (1183) *Saladīn* came to *Ḥarzam* (6 miles S.W. of Mārdīn) but was unable to take the town. In 594 *Malik 'Adil b. Aiyūb* seized the outer suburb which was pillaged but the siege of the town itself was abandoned in the following year. In 599, 'Adil sent against Mārdīn his son *al-Ashraf* who appointed governors (*shahna*) in its dependencies. The *Aiyūbid* of *Aleppo al-Zāhir b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn* offered his good offices and 'Adil was content with an indemnity of 150,000 dinars and the acknowledgment of his suzerainty by the *Ortoḳid* of Mārdīn (cf. *Abu 'l-Farāj*, ed. Pococke, p. 412, 425, 427).

The *Mongols*. In 657 the *Mongol Hülāgū Khān* demanded the homage of the prince of Mārdīn, *Nadīm al-Dīn Ḡhāzī Sa'īd*, who sent his son *Muzaffar* to him but maintained a neutral attitude. In 658 the town was besieged for 8 months by the troops of *Yashmut*, son of *Hülāgū*. Famine and an epidemic raged in the town. Ac-

cording to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, p. 375), Muẓaffar killed his father in order to put an end to the sufferings of the inhabitants (Abu 'l-Faraj and Waṣṣāf give different versions, cf. d'Ohsson, iii. 308, 358). Muẓaffar was confirmed as lord of Mārdīn; his descendants also received from the Mongols the insignia of royalty (crown and parasol). In the reign of Ṣāliḥ b. Maṣṣūr (769 = 1367) whose sister Dunyā Khātūn was the wife of the Ilkhān Khudābanda, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 142-145) visited Mārdīn.

Timūr. The Ortoḳid Sultān 'Isā (778-809) was king of Mārdīn at the invasion of Timūr in 796. Sultān 'Isā came to pay his homage to the conqueror but the citizens attacked those of Timūr's men who ventured into the town. Malik 'Isā was put in chains and taken to Sultāniya (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 663, 671-672). In April 1404, Timūr returned to the attack and the town was taken by storm. Then the siege of the upper fortress (*al-ka'at al-shakbā*) was begun but it was never taken. Timūr was content with presents and promises of *kharaḳ* and returned to the plain (*ibid.*, i. 676-679). The people of Mārdīn obtained an amnesty on the birth of Ulūgh-beg. Sultān Ṣāliḥ was appointed at Mārdīn in place of his brother, Sultān 'Isā (*ibid.*, i. 676-681), but three years afterwards the latter was pardoned and restored to his fief (*ibid.*, i. 787). When in 803 Timūr reappeared in Mesopotamia, Sultān 'Isā shut himself up in Mārdīn. As the siege would have taken some time and supplies were short, Timūr did not stop before the town but ordered Kara 'Oṭmān Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu to besiege Mārdīn (*ibid.*, ii. 354).

The Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. This was the beginning of Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu interference in Mārdīn but Kara 'Oṭmān's forces were not yet equal to this task. In 805, Sultān 'Isā came of his own accord to Timūr and was pardoned (*ibid.*, ii. 512).

For a brief period the Kara-Ḳoyunlu tried to resist the extension of the power of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu to Mārdīn. When, after the death of Timūr, Kara Yūsuf left Egypt to re-enter into possession of his territory he joined Sultān 'Isā and advanced against Kara 'Oṭmān. The battle lasted 20 days and was settled by agreement. As soon as Kara Yūsuf had left for Ādharbāidjān, Kara 'Oṭmān returned to the attack, defeated Sultān 'Isā near Djawsak (there is a Djawsak 10 miles W. of Mārdīn on the road from Derek) and besieged Mārdīn, but once more without success (Münedjdim-baṣṣī, ii. 685). It is not clear what connection these hostilities have with an expedition against Diyār-bakr conducted by Djakīm or Djakūm (governor of Aleppo, a former Mamlūk of Barḳūk's) in which Malik 'Isā took part. In the battle which Muḥammad (?) son of Kara-ilik [= Kara 'Oṭmān] fought against the allies on the 15th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 809, Sultān 'Isā was slain (cf. the Egyptian sources consulted by Rieu for Howorth, iii. 685). Sultān Ṣāliḥ succeeded a second time to Sultān 'Isā, but the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu continued to harass him and finally in 811 he ceded Mārdīn to the Kara-Ḳoyunlu who gave him Mawṣil in exchange.

We do not know the exact course of subsequent events but according to Münedjdim-baṣṣī, Kara 'Oṭmān's successor 'Alī Beg (832-842, cf. Ahmed Tewhid, *Musé Imp. Ottoman, Monn. musulm.*, part iv., Constantinople 1903) gave his brother Ḥamza the task of establishing the Turkomans

in the vicinity of Mārdīn. Djihāngīr (848-857), son of 'Alī, was already master of the town. In the reign of Uzun Ḥasan, Josaphat Barbaro visited Mārdīn and was lodged in the hostel (ospedale) built by Djihāngīr Beg (Ziāngir). We have coins struck at Mārdīn by Uzun Ḥasan (875) and by his son Ya'qūb. After the death of Ya'qūb 'Alā' al-Dawla, prince of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadar Turkomans, seized the land of Diyār-bakr but, as the anonymous Venetian merchant shows, the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu retained Mārdīn. In 903 (1498) Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ḳāsim b. Djihāngīr dated his firman in the name of the prince of Egil from his capital (*dār al-saltāna*) Mārdīn; cf. Baṣagīć, *Der älteste Firman der Cengiz-begs, Wissensch. Mitt. aus Bosnien*, vi., Vienna 1899, p. 497. The coins of Ḳāsim come down to 908. The *takiya* of Ḳāsim-paḍshāh which Niebuhr mentions must date from the same ruler.

Persian Conquest. In 913 (1507) all the lands as far as Malatya were conquered by Shāh Ismā'īl who appointed his general Ustadjlu Muḥammad to it. According to the Venetian merchant who travelled there in 1507 (*op. cit.*, p. 149), Mārdīn was occupied without bloodshed. The same traveller mentions the fine palaces and mosques of the town; there were more Armenians and Jews in Mārdīn than Muslims. The battle of Čaldiran (914) shook the power of the Persians. In place of Ustadjlu Muḥammad killed at Čaldiran, his brother Kara-Khān was appointed and established his headquarters at Mārdīn. Soon the Ottomans occupied Diyār-bakr and then the town of Mārdīn, but the Persians who never lost the fortress restored the status quo.

Ottoman conquest. Finally in 922 (1516) Kara-Khān was defeated and slain in battle at Karghan-dede near the old town of Ḳoṭ-ḥiṣār, 10 miles S.W. of Mārdīn. Persian domination in Upper Mesopotamia thus collapsed, but the fortress of Mārdīn still remained in the hands of Sulaimān Khān, brother of Kara-Khān. The siege lasted a year and not till Biyūklī Muḥammad Pāshā arrived from Syria with reinforcements was it stormed and its valiant defenders put to the sword (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 24, 32; this Persian source mentions Öläng-i Fūrāk [?] in place of Ḳoṭ-ḥiṣār) (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.* 2, i. 7367-40, quoting Abu 'l-Faḍl, son of Ḥakīm Idris and continuer of his *Hasht-bihisht*).

In the Baghdad campaign of 941, Mārdīn was created a sandjak and included in the *eyālet* of Diyār-bakr. Ewliyā Čelebi, iv. 59 gives Mārdīn 36 *zi'amet* and 465 timāriotes; Mārdīn could put in the field 1,060 armed men (*djebeli*). In the xviiith century Mārdīn became a dependency of the Pāshās of Baghdad; Otter (1737) found at Mārdīn a *voivoda* appointed by Aḥmad Pāshā. As late as the time of Kinneir (1810), Mārdīn was the frontier town of the pāshālīk of Baghdad and was governed by a *mutesallim* sent from Baghdad.

The reforms of Maḥmūd were badly received in Upper Mesopotamia. In 1832 (Ainsworth) Mārdīn rebelled. Power in Mārdīn had passed to the Kurd beys. Southgate (1836) speaks of a hereditary (?) family who ruled in Mārdīn. The two brothers of the "ruling bey" seized the power and refused to recognise the authority of the Porte. (It may be asked if these beys were not of the Milli tribe; on their chiefs cf. Buckingham, *op. cit.*, p. 156). Rashid Pāshā, the pacifier of Kurdistān, besieged the town and blew up the great mosque

(Ainsworth). Order was temporarily restored. Considerable works were undertaken to improve the road giving access to the town. Rashid Pāshā died in January 1837 (Poujoulat). When the Egyptians invaded Syria, their partisan Timawī b. Aiyūb of the Milli tribe seized Mārdīn (Sir Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, London 1915, p. 320) but was killed. The defeat of the Ottomans at Nizīb (June 1839) brought matters to a head. The Porte entrusted Mārdīn to Sa'd Allāh Pāshā of Diyārbakr but the inhabitants preferred to submit to Ibrāhīm Pāshā of Mawṣil who was opposed to the *tanẓīmāt*. This Pāshā appointed a governor to Mārdīn but the rebels still held the citadel (Ainsworth 1840) and the governor soon perished in a rising.

By the "wilāyet law" of 1287 (1870) Mārdīn became a sandjak of the wilāyet of Diyārbakr. It had 5 *kaḏās*: Mārdīn, Nişibīn, Ḏjazira, Midiyāt and Āvine. The area of the sandjak was 7,750 square miles and the number of towns and villages 1,062. The sandjak was mainly agricultural. The town of Mārdīn produced a small quantity of silk, wool and cotton, leather, shawls etc., but in spite of the excellence of the work these articles were mainly used for local consumption (Cuinet). By the reforms of 1921 Mārdīn formed a wilāyet with 6 *kaḏās*, 1,018 towns and villages, and 125,809 inhabitants (*Türkiye Ḏjemhūriyeti 1925—1926 Sāl-nāmesi*). The *Sāl-nāme* of 1926—1927 made a number of changes. There are now 8 *kaḏās*. The area is 6,000 square miles with 6½ million *dönüm* of arable land.

Kaḏā	Number of towns and villages	Corresponding Nāhiyas
Central	147	Koç-ḥiṣār
Sawur ('Awniya)	113	Ömerkān
Nişibīn	114	Hubāb
		Āliyān (Dirūn)
Midiyāt	134	Kerbūrān
		Ḏjezbīnī
		Bā-ḏjurīn
		Ḥasan-keif
Ra's al-ʿAin	9	
Dīrek	138	Maḥall-i Matīnān (Shamrakh)
Ḏjezre	211	Slūbī
Ker-ḏjōs	98	
	922	

The wilāyet now marches with the zone of the French mandate.

Population. Niebuhr (1766) counted 3,000 houses in Mārdīn (of which 1,000 were Christian) with 60,000 inhabitants. Dupré (1808) estimated the population at 27,000 of whom 20,000 were Turks (i. e. Muslims), 3,200 Jacobites, 2,000 Armenians and 800 Shamsiya. The statements of other travellers are as follows: Kinneir (1814): 11,000 of whom 1,500 were Armenians; Southgate (1837): 3,000 of whom 1,700 were Muslims, 500 Armenian Catholics, 400 Jacobites, 250 Syrian Catholics, 100 Chaldaeans; Mühlbach (1838): 12—15,000 inhabitants; Sachau (1879): 20,000; Cuinet (1891): 25,000 of whom 15,700 are Muslims.

According to Southgate, Arabic and Kurdish are the predominating languages in the town. The rural population of Tūr ʿAbdīn speaks the "Tōrānī" dialect of Aramaic; cf. Prym and Socin, *Der neuaramäische Dialect des Tūr ʿAbdīn*, Göttingen 1881;

on the Kurd dialect cf. Makas, *Kurdische Texte aus der Gegend Mārdīn*, Leningrad 1924.

Among the religion sects of Mārdīn the Shamsiya would merit a special study. In the time of Niebuhr (1766) there were about a hundred families in the town, and Buckingham (*op. cit.*, p. 192) and Southgate (1837) also mention them. The Shamsiya probably represent the last survivors of a local pagan cult. Towards the middle of the xviii century they were led to declare themselves Jacobite Christians but only formally (cf. Ritter, xi., p. 303—305).

Christianity at Mārdīn. The district of Mārdīn has played an exceptionally important part in the development of Eastern christianity. A brilliant period of the Nestorian church which begins in 755 is closely associated with Mārdīn. Towards the end of the eighth century numerous monasteries were established round the town by the bishop John of Mārdīn. In 1171 the Jacobite patriarchate was transferred from Diyārbakr (Āmid) to Mārdīn. In 1207 it was moved to Deir-Zaʿfarān, an hour's journey from Mārdīn, to return to Mārdīn in 1555 (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 110, 221, 470; Wright, *A short Hist. of Syriac Literature*, 1891 [Index] On the position of the Christians before 1914 cf. the works of Southgate, Parry, Cuinet etc.).

Antiquities. According to Niebuhr, there are many Arabic inscriptions at Mārdīn. Those of the Ortoḳids have been studied by ʿAlī Emīrī Efendī who also examined the *wakf* documents relating to the principal buildings of this dynasty at Mārdīn (cf. Kātib Ferdī [944], *Mārdīn Mulūk-i Urtuḳiye Tariḫi*, ed. and annot. by ʿAlī Emīrī, Stambul 1331). For the list of buildings cf. the article ORTOḲIDS. The monuments of Mārdīn which must be of considerable artistic interest have never been described in detail. Buckingham (p. 191) gives a few details about the minaret of the "great mosque" (a cylinder decorated with carved arches, on a square base, etc.; a stone gallery with a pointed roof on the top) i. e. the Mosque of Naḏīm al-Dīn Alpī built in 568—572; but the buildings have never been studied. We do not know if the *madrasa* of Kāsim Pādshāh Aḳ-Koyunlu (Niebuhr) is still in existence. The domes of the mosques of Mārdīn are "ribbed and guttered", their vertical ribs radiating from the summit.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, ii. 142 (Mārdīn a town of al-Ḏjazira); Ibn Ḏjubair, *G. M. S.*, p. 241; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 142—148; Abu ʿl-Fidāʾ, *Géographie*, transl. Reinaud, Paris 1848, ii./2, p. 55 = Arabic text, p. 279 (Mārdīn in Diyār Rabīʿa); Ewliyā Celebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, iv. 57—60.

The Travels of Josafa Barbaro (1431) and *The Travels of a merchant in Persia* (1517), in the vol. of the *Hakluyt Society*, publ. in 1873; P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, Brighton 1843, i. 515 (the traveller's wife was a native of Mārdīn); Tavernier (1644), *Les six voyages*, 1692, i. 187; Niebuhr (1766), *Reisebeschreibung*, Copenhagen 1778, ii., p. 391—398, and plate xlvii; Olivier (1795), *Voyages*, Paris 12 (rep.), iv. 242; Dupré (1808), *Voyage*, i. 77—82; Kinneir, *A geogr. Memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813, p. 264—265; Kinneir (1814), *Journey through Asia Minor*, London 1818, p. 433; Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, p. 188—194 (with a general view of the

town); Southgate (1837), *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia*, ii. 272—288; Ainsworth (1840), *Travels and Researches*, London 1842, ii. 114—116; Defrémery, *Observations sur deux points de l'histoire des rois d'Akhlat et de Mardin*, J. A., 1843; Southgate, *Narrative of a visit to the Syrian church of Mesopotamia* (1841), New York 1844, p. 215—242; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. (1844), 150—153, 379—397 (very detailed résumé); Goldsmid, *An overland journey from Bagdad*, Trans. Bombay Geogr. Soc., xviii., 1868, p. 29 (the population of Mardin is 22,000 half of whom are Christians); Černik, *Technische Studien-Expedition, Peterm. Mitt., Ergänzungsheft*, x., 1875—1876, Heft 45, p. 15—18; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii., p. 683—686; Socin, *Zur Geogr. des Tur Abdin*, Z. D. M. G., 1881, xxxv., p. 237—269 (map), 327—415; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 404—407, 428; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 494—519; Tomilov, *Otčet o poyezdakh 1904*, St. Petersburg 1907, i. 263—267; Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate, de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1907, p. 312; Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, London 1915, Index.

(V. MINORSKY)

MARDJ DĀBIK, a battlefield near Dābik [q.v.] on the Nahr al-Kuwaik in northern Syria. On the history of the town of Dābik, which was known to the Assyrians as *Dabigu* (Sachau, Z. A., xii. 47) and is called *Δάβειον* by Theophanes (*Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 431, 451 sq.) cf. above vol. i., DĀBIK.

For convenience in his campaigns against the Byzantines, Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik moved the headquarters of the Syrian troops from Djābiya to Dābik (Lammens, supra i., DJĀBIYA). In 717 with an army under 'Ubaida he set out from Mardj Dābik for Asia Minor and on his return died there in Safar of the same year (al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, v. 397; *Chronica Minora*, ed. Guidi, in C.S.C.O., Ser. Syri, ser. iii., vol. iv., text, p. 234; transl. p. 177). Hārūn al-Rashid also encamped in 807 A. D. there (Syr. *Margā Dābek*) and composed the differences between the Syrian bishops (Michael Syrus, *Chron.*, ed. Chabot, iii. 19; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 339). The Mirdāsīd Maḥmūd in Raddjab 457 (1064—1065) defeated his uncle 'Aṭīya on the field of Dābik and then took Ḥalab (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubda*, transl. J. J. Müller, *Historia Merdasidar.*, Bonn 1829, p. 59).

When in 491 (1098) the Franks conquered Antākiya, Kerboghā of Mawṣil assembled a large army on Mardj Dābik, with which he laid siege to Antākiya (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, x. 188; Abu 'l-Fidā', Kamāl al-Dīn, etc., in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 3, 194; iii. 580). In the spring of 513 (1119) Ilghāzī on his campaign against the Franks crossed the Euphrates at Baddāyā (now Beddāi on Sachau's map) and Sandja and advanced via Tell Bāshir [q.v.], Tell Khālid, Mardj Dābik and Muslimiya against Kinnasrīn (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 616). In the beginning of September 1124 Dubais b. Ṣadaqa was defeated by Ḥusām al-Dīn Timūrtāsh on the field of Dābik (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, v. 645). On his campaign against Leo II of Little Armenia, al-Malik al-Zāhir encamped in 602 (1305—1306) on Mardj Dābik (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, v. 155). On Saif al-Dīn Tunguz's campaign against the Tatars to Malaṭya

[q.v.] in which Abu 'l-Fidā' of Ḥamā took part, a halt was made on the way back on the field of Dābik from the 3rd Šafar to the 2nd Rabi' II 715 (May 9—July 6, 1315) (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 3).

On the 25th Raddjab 922 (Aug. 24, 1516) was fought at Mardj Dābik the battle which gave Selim I a decisive victory by which Syria passed for the next four centuries under Ottoman rule (H. Jansky, *Mitteil. s. osman. Geschichte*, ii., 1923—1926, p. 214—224).

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 513; Šafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭlāl*, ed. Juynboll, i. 381; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, v. 397; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 160; x. 188 (index vol. ii. misprint: 168); Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, ed. Rosen, p. 30; transl. Rosen, p. 32; Ibn Zāfir, cod. Goth., f. 104^b, in Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk.*, xlv., p. 233, note a); Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fi Ta'rikh Ḥalab*, ed. Bairūt, p. 134; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 503; Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 474. (E. HONIGMANN)

MARDJ RĀHİT, the name of a plain near Damascus. On leaving Damascus in the direction of Ḥoms, just before crossing the pass of the Eagle, *al-'Uḳāb*, one reaches the village of Mardj 'Adhrā. To the east of this place stretches the plain, Mardj Rāhīt, which extends as far as the desert. It was here and not in the "Hochebene von Qūtaife" (B. Moritz) that the fate of the Omayyads after the death of Mu'āwīya II was settled. This decisive battle since it was fought in the neighbourhood of Mardj 'Adhrā was named by the poet al-Rāī after this place. With greater exactitude the contemporary poet al-Akhṭal, who was more cognisant with Omayyad history, places this battle "between the 'Uḳāb and Rāhīt" namely in "the vast plain of Mardj" mentioned by the poets (*Aghāni*, xvii. 112).

During the discussions of the congress of Djābiya [q.v.] the concentration of the Kaīsī forces was taking place under the command of Ḍaḥḥāk b. Kaīs [q.v.] supported by the Yemen contingent and the Ḳuḏā'i malcontents to the south-east of Damascus. Their total — which has probably been exaggerated — has been placed at 30,000. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam had at his command eight or ten thousand combatants, the majority of whom were Kalbī. The Kaīsīs seem to have taken up their position first at Mardj al-Šuffar [q.v.] to the north of Djābiya. After an engagement in this place had ended to their disadvantage, they were forced to double back to the north. In the meantime a sudden attack launched against Damascus which was depleted of troops, had delivered into the hands of the Omayyad supporters the treasury and the arsenals of this town. The Kaīsīs in order to avoid being caught between the capital and the Kalbī army advancing from Djābiya retreated, while harassed at close quarters by their adversaries. These engagements occupied nearly twenty days. On arriving on the heights of Mardj Rāhīt, trapped between the defiles of 'Uḳāb and the desert, they accepted battle. One must ask how the Kalbīs succeeded in making up for their glaring inferiority in numbers. Mas'ūdi, without explaining further, speaks of a stratagem devised by Marwān. This stratagem, which is mentioned by the author of

the *Ikd al-farid*, should be described not as a ruse of war but as a crime. After the advantage gained at Mardj al-Şuffar, the Omayyads had had the time, and without doubt made use of it, to detach from the ʔaisis their temporary allies, the Yemenis and the ʔuḏāʔs. The treasure of the state seized at Damascus and the large amount of wealth brought from the ʔirāk by the family of Ziyād b. Abīhi may have been of assistance in doing this. The Syrian Arabs, not at their ease in the camp of Ḍaḥḥāk, no doubt understood how much the triumph of Ibn al-Zubair would be prejudicial to their hitherto privileged position and to the hegemony wielded since the days of the Sufyānids by the Syrian tribes. Their defection must, we think, have determined the issue of the engagement at Mardj Rāhiṭ and hastened the triumph of the Omayyad arms. Whatever was the cause this victory was decisive (the middle of July 684). 3,000 ʔaisis are said to have been killed. The death of Ḍaḥḥāk seems to have been the signal of defeat, which became a regular disaster, in which the principal chiefs of ʔaisis perished. Flight alone saved the most prominent among them, Zufar b. al-Ḥarith [q. v.].

The memory of Mardj Rāhiṭ was deeply impressed upon the ʔaisis. It detached them *en bloc* from the Omayyad cause. Under the first two Marwānid caliphs, their battle-cry became "Vengeance for the victims of Rāhiṭ". From this time a smile is said never to have appeared on the countenances of the surviving chiefs. Between them and their ancient rivals of Kalb the split became much deeper. The latter's songs of victory answered the cries of rage of the ʔaisis. In celebrating the battle of Rāhiṭ the Kalbi poets give more emphasis to their triumph than to that of the Omayyads. Their compositions complacently develop this theme without regard to the Marwānids, their debtors rather than their sovereigns. This great victory afforded the aged Marwān the opportunity of proclaiming himself as Caliph of Damascus before beginning the conquest of the old Sufyānid lands now under the authority of Ibn al-Zubair. In the bosom of the Caliphate, it nourished the most dangerous rebellion; it inaugurated a savage war of extermination between Kalb and ʔaisis. The tribes of ʔuḏāʔa first, then the Yemenis and lastly the Taghlib saw themselves in turn fatally involved. These internal feuds in which the members of the Marwānid family had the imprudence to take part, to the satisfaction of their maternal connections, precipitated the fall of the Omayyad dynasty by destroying the agreement and the unity amongst the Arab tribes, which had been but imperfectly realized by the Sufyānid Caliphs.

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(H. LAMMENS)

MARDJ AL-ŞUFFAR, a plain situated 20 miles south of Damascus near the modern Tell Şaḥḥab; a stream called the "Wādī ʔarrām" runs through it. The place plays a part in the military history of the first century A.H.; first in the accounts of the Arab conquest of Syria, and later at the beginning of the Marwānid dynasty. The name has been sometimes confused with that of Mardj Rāhiṭ [q. v.]. For the history of Syria in the first century A.H. we are exclusively dependent upon the ʔirāk annalists. Forgetting that the name "Mardj" abounds in the topography of the Damascus region, writers have confused two distinct battles and made them one and referred them to Mardj Rāhiṭ, a name which occurs frequently in the poets of the Marwānid period.

At the close of the year 13 A.H. the Arabs, victorious at Fiḥl, endeavoured to reach Damascus by cutting across the Ḍjawlān. One of their bands, under the command of the Omayyad Ḳḥālīd b. Saʔid, encamped at Mardj al-Şuffar and allowed themselves to be taken by surprise by the Byzantine troops. The Arab leader was killed and his contingent decimated. But the arrival of Muslim reinforcements enabled them to regain the advantage. The Greeks then proceeded to shut themselves in Damascus to which the Arabs at once laid siege.

In the month of May 684 (64), supporters of the Omayyads joined with Ḍjābiya [q. v.] in order to elect a successor to Muʔāwiya II. Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʔais [q. v.], the leader of the rival section of the Zubairis and the governor of Damascus, was invited to the conference. He promised to come to the conclave and marched out of Damascus at the head of imposing forces. But, having gone about half way on the road to Ḍjābiya, on the heights of Mardj al-Şuffar, he determined to await events there. The presence of water and of forage made it suitable for the encampment of an army. An excellent point of observation, the site not only commanded the congress of Ḍjābiya, but also commanded the road leading to Damascus. Ḍaḥḥāk brought about at this point the concentration of the ʔaisis of Syria, who were in revolt against the Omayyads. At Ḍjābiya after 40 days' deliberation, the Kalbis and the Omayyad partisans elected Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [q. v.] to be Caliph. Then in their advance upon Damascus, they attacked Ḍaḥḥāk and the ʔaisis encamped at Mardj al-Şuffar and succeeded in defeating them.

Of this campaign the ʔirāk annalists and their copyists have only recorded and have only desired to record the decisive battle, namely that of Mardj Rāhiṭ, to the north of Damascus. For a quarter of a century no mention is made of any battle between the ʔaisis and the Kalbis but Mardj Rāhiṭ. The extraordinary prominence given to this latter battle by the poets of both sides helped to throw into oblivion the preceding engagements commencing with that of Mardj al-Şuffar. Certain texts have however preserved its memory. Yāḳūt (*Muʔdjam*, iii. 400) locates in this place "a battle celebrated in the history and poetry of the Marwānid period". Otherwise there is no reference to Mardj al-Şuffar in the military history of the younger branch of the Omayyads. As regards poetry it has kept for us the testimony of the Taghlibī poet al-Akḥṭal (*Diwān*, ed. Salhani, p. 224, v. i.). This contemporary poet, who was a habitué of the Omayyad court while praising the glorious deeds of his

tribe, claims for it "many victories even before Mardj al-Şuffar". As we know that the Ṭaghlibis fought in the ranks of the Omayyads, for whom they showed themselves at all times strong partisans, the reference must be to this battle. Moreover the manner in which al-Akḥṭal praises this victory suggests that he was not dealing with a small skirmish.

In the meanwhile an Omayyad partisan residing at Damascus had seized the capital. The position became untenable at Mardj al-Şuffar for the Kaisis. It was to avoid being caught between Damascus and the victorious Kalbis that Daḥḥāk fell back precipitously to Mardj Rāhiṭ where he was defeated and killed. On the 22nd June 684, the election of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was proclaimed at Djābiya. It is probable then that the battle of Mardj al-Şuffar must be located in the early days of July.

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MAREA. [See MĀRYĀ.]

MARGHELAN, originally MARGHINĀN, a town in Farghāna [q. v.]; where also the minor importance of the town in the ivth (xth) century (*B. G. A.*, iii. 272, 12: *ṣaghira*) and its rise in the centuries following are discussed (Sam'āni, *K. al-Ansūb*, *G. M. S.*, xx., f. 522a: *min mashāḥir al-bilād*; Yāqūt, iv. 500, 8: *min aṣḥar al-bilād*). The town does not seem to have been of political importance during this period, although coins were occasionally struck here under the dynasty of the Illek-Khāns [q. v.] (A. Markov, *Inventar'nyĭ Katalog musul'manskikh monet Imp. Ermitaža*, p. 260, 265 and 272). Bābur (facs. ed. Beveridge, f. 3a sq.) gives a brief description of the town; the population at that time consisted of Sarts [q. v.] i. e., according to the linguistic usage of the time, of Tādjik [q. v.]; since then the Tādjik have been driven by the Ōzbegs here as everywhere out of the plain. The more recent, probably Ōzbeg form Marghilān is found for example in 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī (ed. Schefer, p. 94) whence the Russian Margelan; the river on which the town stands is called Margelan-Sai. In literature the old form Marghinān or Marghinān is still frequently used e. g. in the *Ta'riḫ Ṣāḥrūkhī*, ed. Pantusow, p. 195.

Marghelan was occupied without resistance by the Russians on the 8/20th Sept. 1875; New Margelan founded as the capital of Farghāna in 1877 by the Russians about 7 miles from Marghelan was called Skobelew from 1907 (since the Revolution: Fergana). The original Marghelan was mainly noted for its silk industry; according to the census of 1897, the population was 36,490, in 1911 46,780 of whom only 144 were Russians. A building which is certainly not ancient is called Iskandar

Pasha and said to be the tomb of Alexander the Great (W. Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy Krai*, Petersburg 1913, p. 705 sq.).

Bibliography: given in the text.

(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-MARGHINĀNĪ, the name of two families of Ḥanafī lawyers, *nisba* from their native town and the scene of their activities Marghinān in Farghāna.

I. 1. The most important was BURHĀN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. ABĪ BAKR B. 'ABD AL-DJALĪL AL-FARGHĀNĪ AL-MARGHINĀNĪ, the author of the celebrated *Hidāya*. He acquired his knowledge on his travels, then still the usual way of studying in Islām. His principal teachers were Naḍjm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī († 537 = 1142—1143), al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Omar b. Māzah († 536 = 1141—1142) and Abū 'Amr 'Othmān b. 'Alī al-Baikandī († 552 = 1157), a pupil of al-Sarakhsī. He studied Tirmidhī's work on Tradition under Diyā' al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ṣā'īd b. As'ad with the *isnād* given in *Ḳurashī*, i. 259, N^o. 679 and also with al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Marghinānī (*Ḳurashī*, i. 198, N^o. 487). He himself as was often done at this time, wrote a record of his studies but it does not appear to have survived. He far surpassed his teachers and won recognition in his native town also where he died in 593 (1197). Of his works the following are known, some surviving in manuscript and others only known from literary references: 1. *Nashr al-Madḥḥab* (*Ḳur.*, Lak., in *Hādjdjī Khalīfa*, N^o. 13790 probably wrongly: *al-Madḥḥab*); 2. *K. Manāṣik al-Hādjdj* (*Ḳur.*, Lak., H. Kh., N^o. 12943); 3. *K. fi 'l-Farā'id* (*Ḳur.*, Lak.), also called *Farā'id al-'Othmānī* (H. Kh., N^o. 8989); 4. two collections of fetwās: *K. al-Tadjīs wa 'l-Mazid* (*Ḳutl.*, Lak., H. Kh., N^o. 2467; MSS. in Brockelmann); and 5. *Mukhtārāt al-Nawāzil* (Lak.; in *Ḳutl.* called: *K. Mukhtār Majmū' al-Nawāzil* and in H. Kh., N^o. 11586 called: *Mukhtār al-Fatāwā*; MSS. in Brockelmann); 6. *Mazid fi Furū' al-Ḥanafīya* (H. Kh., N^o. 11838; identical with N^o. 4?); 7. a commentary on al-Shaibānī's *al-Djāmi' al-Kabir* (H. Kh., ii. 567); 8. his principal work is the legal compendium *K. Bidāyat al-Mubtadī* (MSS. in Brockelmann), based on *Ḳudūrī's Mukhtāṣar* and *Shaibānī's al-Djāmi' al-Ṣaghīr*. On this work he himself wrote a large commentary in 8 volumes: the *Kifāyat al-Muntahā*. But before he had completed it, he thought it was much too diffuse and decided to write a second commentary, the celebrated *Hidāya* which later writers repeatedly edited and annotated. The most important commentaries and synopses are given in the table on p. 280.

For the manuscripts and printed texts of these commentaries and synopses and many supercommentaries and glosses see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 376; a printed edition of the *Hidāya* recently appeared in 4 vols., Cairo 1326.

Bibliography: al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djāwāhir al-Mudṭā*, Haidarābād 1332, i. 383, N^o. 1058; 'Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-Bahīya*, Cairo 1324, p. 141 sqq. (synopsis of the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Kafawī); Ibn Ḳutlūbughā, *Tādj al-Tarādjim*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1862, N^o. 124; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 376 and the literature there given. His sons and pupils were:

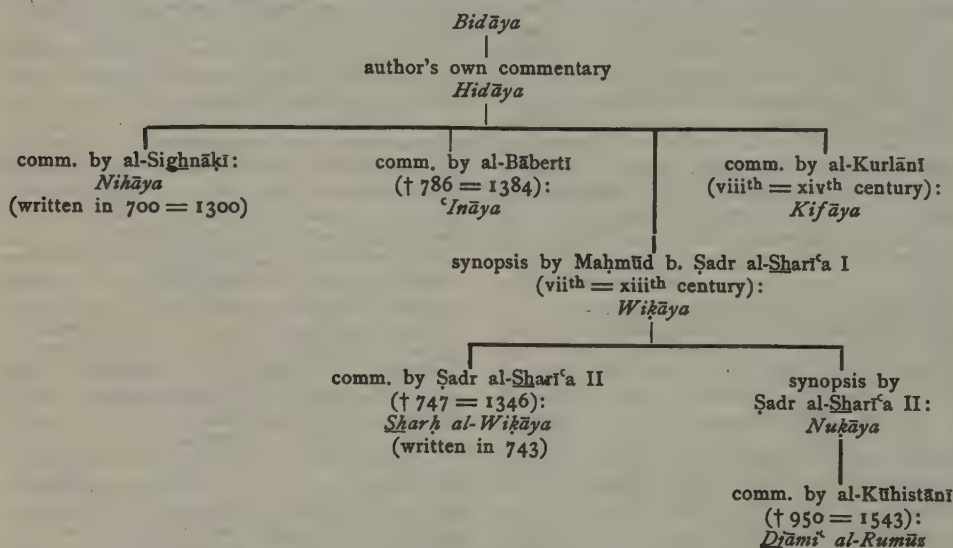
2. 'IMĀD AL-DĪN AL-FARGHĀNĪ; cf. Laknawī, p. 146.

3. 'OMAR NIZĀM AL-DĪN AL-FARGHĀNĪ. Two works by him are recorded: 1. *Fawā'id* (H. Kh., N^o. 9305); 2. *Djawāhir al-Fiḥḥ*, which he compiled from the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ṭahāwī and other works (H. Kh., N^o. 4291; MSS. in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 376, note 2, where the mark of interrogation should be deleted; cf. *Qurashī*, i. 394; *Laknawī*, p. 149).

4. MUḤAMMAD ABU 'L-FATH DIALĀL AL-DĪN AL-FARGHĀNĪ; cf. *Kutl.*, p. 137 and *Laknawī*, p. 182; in *Qurashī*, ii. 99 apparently identical with N^o. 2.

5. A son of 2 and grandson of 1: ABU 'L-FATH ZAIN AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM B. ABI BAKR 'IMĀD AL-DĪN B. 'ALĪ BURHĀN AL-DĪN B. ABI BAKR B. 'ABD AL-DJALĪL AL-FARGHĀNĪ AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ. He wrote the work on legal procedure in civil cases entitled *al-Fuṣūl al-'Imādiyya*, which he completed in Sha'bān 651 (Oct. 1253) in Samarḳand. Cf. H. Kh., N^o. 9094; *Lak.*, p. 93; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 382, where the MSS. are given.

Th. J. Arnaud (1843), J. Halévy (1869) and E. Glaser (1888), is situated in the plateau of Sabā, 3,900 feet above sea-level, which runs east of the Balāk range and is traversed by the Wādī Dhenne (Adhana) which in the course of millennia has deposited a thick layer of silt and thus made a luxuriant vegetation possible. The modern village of the same name stands on a large mound of ancient rubble within the old city walls and is situated about exactly in 15° 26' N. Lat. and 45° 16' East. Long., about 10 days' journey from the Red Sea and the same from the Gulf of 'Aden. This favourable situation predestined Mārib to be the centre of the Sabaeen kingdom, the heart of which was the southwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula and which at times also included the eastern hinterland of the Gulf of 'Aden including Ḥaḍramūt and Mahra (E. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 18, 185). Mārib also lay on the important caravan-route which connects the lands which produced frankincense with the



II. Another family of Ḥanafī lawyers goes back to 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. 'ABD AL-RAZZĀQ B. NAṢR B. DJĀ'FAR B. SULAIMĀN AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ, who died in 477 (1084—1085) in Marghinān at the age of 68. Of his six sons who attained fame as muftis we may mention ABU 'L-ḤASAN ZAHĪR AL-DĪN 'ALĪ († 506 = 1112—1113). His son and pupil was ZAHĪR AL-DĪN AL-ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ ABU 'L-MAḤASIN. Four works by him are recorded: *Aḳdiya*, *Fatāwā*, *Fawā'id* and *Shurūf*, only the last of which survives in manuscript. He was the teacher of the famous Fakhr al-Dīn Kādikhān († 592 = 1196) and of Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī [q. v.].

Bibliography: Sam'ānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, fol. 522r; *Qurashī*, N^o. 487, 850, 1010; *Laknawī*, p. 62, 97, 121; Flügel, *Classen d. hanaf. Rechtsgelehrten*, Leipzig 1860, p. 309; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 379. (HEFFENING)

MA'RIB (MĀRIB), a town in the southwest of Arabia, formerly the capital of the Sabaeans and now the capital of the amirate of the same name.

The ancient town of Mārib, which so far has only been visited by three European travellers,

Mediterranean (Gaza-Ghazze) and which ran from Shabwat-Sabota via Thoma-Tumna near Darb Kohlān in the Wādī Baiḥān, through Wādī Ḥarīb via Mārib into the Minaean Djawf, to Naḍirān and from there via Thirmāla, Abā al-Khadar, Hlāhila, al-Djifā, Djebel Siru, Bedr, Wādī 'l-Ḥāzib, Wādī 'l-Zibeirī, Wādī 'l-Faid, Ḥaradje, Kotba, Banāt Harb, Djurash, Tebāla, Karn al-Manāzil, Mekka, Yaḥrib (al-Medīna), Fadak, Khaibar, al-'Olā, Taimā, Akra, Tabūk, al-Ḥidjr, Maḳnā, Madyan, al-Ḥaḳl, Arām, Adhruḥ to Petra and thence to Gaza while Mārib was also connected with al-Yemāma, the coast of the Persian Gulf and Babylonia, via Neḍirān by the route which followed the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir (cf. A. Grohmann, *Historisch-geographische Bemerkungen zu Gl.* 418, 419, 1000 A. B., p. 116 sq.). It still forms an important junction and has good connections with Ḥaḍramūt, Redā, Yerīm, Ṣan'a, al-Djawi, Ṣa'da, Neḍirān and the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir (E. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 20).

The ancient city wall, 3 feet thick, enables us still to recognise with more or less certainty 8 gates — not only 2, as Th. Arnaud (*Plan de la digue et de la ville de Mārib*, in *J. A.*, ser. vii.,

vol. iii. [1874], p. 12) thought — distinct gatelike breaks in the stone wall. They are now called Bāb al-Ākīr (W.), Bāb al-Hadd (S.W.), then along the south wall to the east and from here to the north, Bāb al-Naṣr, Bāb Aba 'l-Kār, Bāb al-Maḥram, Bāb al-Darb, Bāb al-Ḳibla, Bāb al-Madjenna. The names Bāb al-Naṣr, Bāb al-Darb and Bāb al-Hadd are still borne by the gates of the modern village of Mārib but the modern Bāb al-Naṣr corresponds to the Bāb al-Ākīr of the ancient town, since from the latter by traversing the whole of the old town the village is reached through the Bāb al-Naṣr.

The old town forms at the present day a considerable mound or rather a number of mounds of ruins, out of which project remains of walls and portions of columns. Excavations conducted here would, as Glaser pointed out, bring to light most unexpected things. Four distinct areas may be distinguished in the site: 1. The mound on which stands the modern village which stands in the eastern part, almost in the S.E. corner, of the old town and seems to consist entirely of refuse and rubble, beneath which at a considerable depth one comes upon old buildings. Glaser believed that these old buildings represent the oldest part of the town upon which in the later centuries of the Sabaeen period rubbish was shot. It is also possible that the town of Mārib or at least many of its buildings have been several times destroyed. The topmost stratum is of course of comparatively recent date if we exclude the many old stones with Sabaeen inscriptions. The village, which, according to Glaser, can hardly have more than 600 inhabitants, consists of about 80 houses, usually in several stories on a rectangular plan narrowing a little as they ascend. Only the lower parts are of stone, the rest is of clay. Only the two fort-like houses of the amir are built entirely of hewn stone. The outer wall of the village consists simply of the walls of the outermost houses, which are built on to one another or linked up by connecting walls. The village has two gates of some size, one facing west and the other south, and several small doors. There is an old well outside the village between this and the eastern gate of the old town, and also the chief mosque (Masjid Sulaimān). 2. The Maidān Umm al-Ḳis is identified by Glaser in his *Kartenbuch*, p. 8 with Umm Bilḳis, in the S.E. corner with great mounds of ruins, which perhaps come from castles. 3. The S.W. area which apparently contained temples and castles. 4. A large round open space (Maidān) in the N.W. and western part of the town which does not seem to have been built on in ancient times either. It stretches almost to the modern village and particularly on the south side is surrounded by portions of columns and other ruins (E. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 48 sq., 73). These faceted columns which still protrude 3—4 feet out of the ruins, one of which lying on the ground measured 12—15 feet, are also mentioned by Arnaud (p. 12). The place is probably identical with the "Champs de Mars" mentioned by the French traveller in his report to Fresnel (*J. A.*, ser. iv., vol. v. [1845], p. 325). The place in any case was at one time surrounded by large buildings which are now in ruins and form great mounds, which are also dotted with fragments of columns and Glaser leaves the question open whether there were here the palaces

of the kings and notables or the temples of the ancient Sabaeans. To the south of the Maidān in particular may still be seen the foundations of a colossal building which Glaser wanted to identify with the famous royal citadel of Salḥin celebrated by later tradition.

The old town which occupied an area of about 1,000 yards square, a calculation by E. Glaser, which agrees with Th. Arnaud's plan of the town (*J. A.*, ser. vii., vol. iii. [1874], p. 11) [Glaser gives the distance between the two opposite gates as $\frac{1}{4}$ hour], is built entirely on the left bank of the Wādī Dhenne. It seems, to conclude from the remains of the 3 feet thick wall around it, which has only survived in places, to have practically formed an oblique angled parallelogram the longer sides of which follow the line of the Wādī Dhenne while the eastern and western sides (breadth) run practically due north and south. The southern wall which runs parallel to the river bank turns from north to east at an angle of 60° and runs almost E.N.E. This fact is clear not only from E. Glaser's description of his *Reise nach Mārib* (p. 36 sq., 48) and the *Mārib Tagebuch* but also from Glaser's *Skizzen* (Nº. 51) upon which is based the appended plan of Mārib and vicinity. It is a striking contrast to Th. J. Arnaud's description and map (*J. A.*, ser. vii., vol. iii. [1874], p. 11) which makes the wall around Mārib describe a circle and also to Glaser's earlier sketches in his large *Kartenbuch*, p. 8 sq. and the map drawn up after investigations in the year 1888, which forms fol. 4 of E. Glaser's collection I. The foundation of the wall consists of cement blocks 5 feet long, 15 inches high and 2 feet thick. On the top of 8—10 layers of these blocks are placed regularly hewn blocks of marble of the same size. The wall which unfortunately is almost completely destroyed does not run in a straight line but at regular intervals there are rectangular projections, as is clearly shown in E. Glaser's already mentioned sketch Nº. 51 and in that of his *Tagebuch*, xi., p. 125, which moreover gives the plan of the town as a rectangle — Glaser notes here "the city wall was apparently built as a quadrilateral" —, while Nº. 51 shows rather a trapezium the base of which lies away from the river while the shorter side parallel runs along the river. The rectangular projections found at regular intervals were probably towers, which strengthened the defences and stood out at regular intervals in the style we know from Assyrian fortifications (cf. the similar quadrangular plan of a fortress with gates near the corner and towers covered by steplike battlements in B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i., *Kulturgesch. Bibliothek*, i. 3, Heidelberg 1920). That the city walls of Mārib had towers is also evident from the great inscription (Glaser 418—419) which is older than the great Širwāḥ inscription Gl. 1000. In this we are told in line 4 that the unknown ruler built "the two gates of Mārib (מריב) and built towers for Mārib of Balak stone" (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte*, i. 6 sq.).

Rhodokanakis suggests, presumably rightly, that this king was continuing the work of the unnamed son of the Sabaeen mukarrib Sumuhu-'alaya Yanāf (ינפ | סמהעלי | ינפ) who, according to the inscriptions Glaser 412 = Arnaud 41, 413 = Arnaud 42, 414, 427, 445, 500, 510, 537, 589, 600, 634 and perhaps also 751, "built a wall around Mārib

(מריב) by command of and with the help of 'Ahtar'. Whether the son of Sumuhu-'alaya Yanāf was the builder of Mārib seems uncertain; in any case he is the oldest builder of the town whom we know from the inscriptions.

Nor is it known who founded Mārib. That it was Saba', son of Yashdjub, as the Arab genealogists think, is of course quite an unfounded supposition (cf. Yāqūt, *Muḥṣṭarik*, p. 239; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Historia anteislamica*, p. 114 sq.; A. v. Kremer, *Über die südarabische Sage*, p. 26 sq.; E. Oslander, *Z. D. M. G.*, x. 68).

That the city wall was frequently restored is evident from the fact that inscribed blocks of the earliest period of Sabaean history were used as building material in any order without heeding the context of the inscription (cf. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 48 sq., 51, 74) which is the case e. g. in the texts Glaser 699—707, and as there were no inscriptions of a later period in the lower strata the renovation must have begun after the reigns of the three Sabaean mukarribis Yid'i-'ilu-Bayin, Sumuhu-'alaya Yanāf and Yith'i-'amara Watar. To the same period as these inscriptions must belong the old Sabaean boustrophedon text, Glaser 926 = 1350 + 1351 = 1736, which comes from al-Meshdjaḥ, not far east of Ṣirwāḥ, in the second line of which there is mentioned the building of a road up to the gate of Mārib (מריב) (cf. E. Glaser, *Altjemenische Nachrichten*, i., Munich 1908, p. 98 sq. and N. Rhodokanakis, *Katabanische Texte zur Bodenvirtschaft*, ii. 49, and note 3, 54—56). Of the three Sabaean mukarribis mentioned here Yith'i-'amara, Yid'i-'ilu and Sumuhu-'alaya, the first, as N. Rhodokanakis has pointed out, is identical with Yith'i-'amara Watar, Yid'i-'ilu with Yid'i-'ilu Bayin, the conqueror of Nashk, while Sumuhu-'alaya is perhaps the same as Sumuhu-'alaya Yanāf, in whose reign the inscription Glaser 926 was set up. Glaser must also be right in assuming (*Skizze*, i. 68) that the town of Mārib is considerably older than the wall and a number of decades must have passed away before the town attained the extent indicated by the oldest remains of walls. This is also evident from the mention of independent kings of Mārib in the inscription Glaser 302 which is older than Glaser 418—419. A memory of this earliest period in Sabaean history seems to be preserved by the poet 'Alkama Dhū Djadan, who mentions kings of Mārib along with kings of Ṣirwāḥ (cf. D. H. Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 99).

According to al-Hamdānī (*Iklīl*, viii., in D. H. Müller, *Burgen u. Schlösser*, ii. 959 sq., 1038 sq.), there were in Mārib the three citadels Salḥīn, al-Ḳaṣhīb and al-Haḍjar. For the former which is expressly stated to have been the royal capital and palace of Bilḳīs, cf. the article SALḤĪN. The question where this castle is to be located in Mārib has been very variously answered. D. H. Müller, *Burgen u. Schlösser*, ii. 968 thinks that Salḥīn was on the site of the modern village of Mārib, which, as Arnaud had already suggested, had been occupied by an old citadel (*J. A.*, ser. vii., vol. iii. [1874], p. 12). Glaser (*Reise nach Mārib*, p. 73) on the other hand identifies Salḥīn with the colossal building the foundations of which lie south or the Maidān. In connection with Salḥīn, al-Hamdānī also mentions the lower pillars of the throne (of Bilḳīs) — so D. H. Müller translates 'arṣḥ — which became celebrated in the Muslim world

through Ḳur'ān xxvii. 23 and were still standing in his time and so firmly rooted in the ground that they could not be overthrown. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 139 however assumes that the reference here is to the Ḥaram of Bilḳīs with its pillars but admits the possibility that a citadel of the town proper is being described, since Salḥīn is talked of immediately afterwards. Djirdī Zaidān, *Kitāb al-'Arab ḳabl al-Islām*, p. 143 also assumes that the palace of Salḥīn is referred to. Sprenger, *Post- u. Reiserouten*, p. 140 also tells of this throne of Bilḳīs that it stood on stone pillars 29 ells high which were still intact and the foundations were as deep as its height (this statement is erroneously attributed by Sprenger to Bakrī but presumably comes from Ibn al-Mudjāwir). The *Djihān-numā* also (cf. Jomard in F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 344) says that the throne of Bilḳīs was built on columns 28 ells high in Saba' (= Mārib). This sounds very improbable if we should really understand by 'arṣḥ a throne, which according to Nashwān al-Himyari, p. 50, stood in the palace of Bilḳīs in Mārib. When however we are told by Nashwān, p. 70, that 'arṣḥ is a castle which was built on columns of stone and the verse of As'ad Tubba' quoted gives the name 'arṣḥ to the palace of Bilḳīs, we may then in the above passages take it to mean a citadel rather than a throne and with Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 73, look for it in the S. E. corner of the old town. Legend has associated the name 'Arṣḥ Bilḳīs with other localities also. According to Abu 'l-Rabī' Sulaimān b. al-Raiḥān in Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, iii. 640, it is the name of a place a day's journey from Ḍhamār on which stand six great marble columns and the principal group of pillars of the old ruins of Ṣirwāḥ still bears this name (J. Halévy, *Rapport*, *J. A.*, ser. vi., xix. [1872], p. 67 sq.; Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 179). On the other hand, it is an open question where the two other citadels al-Ḳaṣhīb and al-Haḍjar mentioned by al-Hamdānī and Bakrī (*Muḍjam*, ii. 502) are to be located. According to Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, iv. 104, al-Ḳaṣhīb was built by order of king Sharāḥbil b. Yaḥsub, who put up on it a copper plate inscribed "They who built this castle are Ṭhawbal and Saḥar; its building was entrusted to them by Sharāḥbil b. Yaḥsub, the king of Saba' and of the Tiḥāma and its Arabs". D. H. Müller in *Burgen u. Schlösser*, ii. 1039, note 1 has already identified Sharāḥbil b. Yaḥsub with king 'Ilīsharaḥ Yaḥḍib of the Sabaean inscriptions (Glaser, No. 424, 220; *Bibl. Nat.*, No. 2) and for Ṭhawbal compared the Sabaean Ṭhwb'il and for Saḥar (so to be read, not شجر) the similar Sabaean name. If the inscription given by Yāqūt really goes back to a genuine *musnad* inscription, Ḳaṣhīb must have been built about the first century A. D. If the Sabaean king here mentioned whose epithet in the Ḥimyar *ḳaṣida* (verse 109) publ. by A. v. Kremer is to be read Yaḥḍib, in the Sabaean inscription *Bibl. Nat.*, No. 2 [cf. article SALḤĪN] speaks expressly of Salḥīn, Ḡhundān and Ṣirwāḥ only and does not mention al-Ḳaṣhīb, this is not itself proof that Yāqūt's foundation inscription is not genuine. The building might easily be later than the inscription *Bibl. Nat.*, No. 2. A difficulty however is raised by the fact that al-Hamdānī (in Müller, *Burgen und Schlösser*, ii. 1039) and Nashwān al-

Ḥimyarī (quoted *ibid.*, note 1) give al-*Qaṣīb* b. *Dhī* Ḥazfar as the builder. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 139, goes so far as to say that the name *Qaṣīb* is derived from the verb *qṣhb* or *ḥqṣhb*, which frequently occurs in dedicatory inscriptions, and the form of the king's titles points to the last period of Ḥimyar rule, and the king is to be identified with *Sharāḥbīl* Ya'fur; indeed it must be conceded that the style and titles is quite unusual for a king of Saba' and *Dhī* Raidān and for this reason the *musnad* inscription must be regarded as a forgery. This does not mean that al-Ḥamdānī's note is to be rejected as worthless. F. Hommel (*Ethnologie u. Geographie d. alten Orients*, p. 666 and note 2) has shown the possibility that the castle of Ḥaḍjar (the name means "the town") was perhaps the principal castle, on the ruins of which the modern village of Mārib was planted and the older and more celebrated *Salhīn* was a smaller castle. If we remember the meaning "new" given in *Yāqūt*, iv. 104 and *Nashwān*, p. 86 s. v. *qashīb*, al-*Qaṣīb* might also be an epithet of the citadel as "the new" which came to be erroneously differentiated from al-Ḥaḍjar as the name of a third castle. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ii. 502, 754 explains the difficulty by saying that al-*Qaṣīb* was the last of the castles to be built in Mārib and therefore called the "new".

The *Masjdīd Sulaimān* lies to the west, just below the village which is built on a great mound of rubble. This *Masjdīd Sulaimān* b. *Dāwūd*, now the principal mosque of Mārib, according to Arnaud (*J. A.*, ser. vii., vol. iii. [1874], p. 13) an obviously modern building, square with a flat roof and built of hewn stones, is of interest because, according to E. Glaser (*Reise nach Mārib*, p. 41, 73 sq.), its north side is built against 7 or 8 colossal columns (monoliths) which correspond exactly to those of the *Haram Bilḳis* and the 'Amā'id to be discussed below. Glaser suggests that there was once a temple here similar to the *Haram Bilḳis*. F. Hommel, *Ethnologie u. Geographie d. alten Orients*, p. 664, 666 thinks the *Masjdīd Sulaimān* was the temple of the chief deity. This principal temple in his opinion formed a group with the second temple, which lay on the south side of the *Maidān* — according to Arnaud (plan of Mārib) local tradition thinks this was the site of an ancient temple. The length (2,000 yards), suggested by F. Hommel (*op. cit.*, p. 666) for the distance of this second temple from the *Masjdīd Sulaimān*, is however too high, as both Glaser and Arnaud put the distance between the two opposite city walls at only 1,000 yards. J. Halévy's figure (*Rapport*, *J. A.*, ser. vi., xix. [1872], p. 96) which puts the diameter of the Mārib ruins at about 500 yards would give a much shorter distance but the estimate is certainly a very casual one and hardly to be taken seriously.

In the south and west outside the old town walls lies an old cemetery with a number of tombs, some vertical and some horizontal, the latter of which have a small opening at the top. It is now called *Medjennat* (or *Djirbat*) *Gharra*. It is probably from here that have come a number of old Sabaeen tombstones (Glaser, N^o. 436, 574, 575, 581, 582, 605, 662, 663, 665, 667, 683—685, 748, 769, 773, 792) with rectangular niches sometimes rounded below or peaked at the top, in which is placed the bust of the deceased with an inscription below. On two of those tombstones

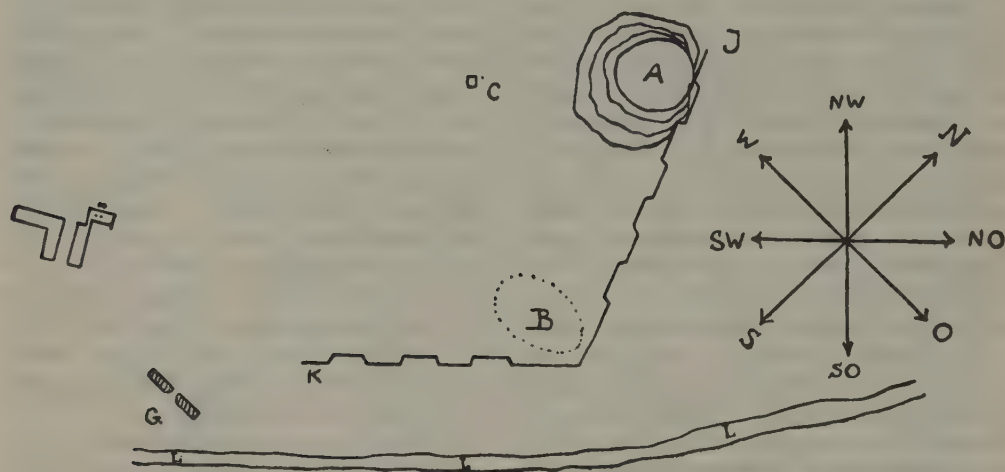
(Glaser N^o. 684, 745), Glaser found the bust let into the stone still in its place (cf. *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 75, 92; *Tagebuch*, xi. 59). We may probably find the models for these tombstones in the steles of Assur. Stone sarcophagi are also sometimes found. One is still in use before the great well of Mārib as a drinking-trough for animals (*Reise nach Mārib*, p. 74).

In the southwest of the old town outside the city walls, Glaser found a remarkable building still partly preserved (*G* on the plan of the immediate vicinity of the old town of Maryab) which was probably used for distributing the water and has on its north side the inscription Glaser 474 = 1671. It consists of two huge stretches of wall running due east and west in one line with a gap in the centre. The two corners of the northern entrance of this passage are angular while at the south side the two are rounded. The inscription, which is placed on the north side of the eastern wall states that *Dimri-ʿalaya* Watar, *Mukarrib* of Saba', son of *Kariba-ʿilu*, built a פִּישׁ (*fīsh*) opposite (or in front of) the sanctuary of 'Aḥtar. Glaser actually found some 300 paces N.W. or W.N.W. of this building, also outside of the old city walls but quite close to them, a ruin unfortunately reduced to a heap of rubble, which from its plan suggests a sanctuary, since on the N.E. side (the right stretch of wall) the niches for an idol can still be seen (*Reise nach Mārib*, p. 40; *Tagebuch*, xi. 47; *H* on the plan of the immediate vicinity of the old town of Maryab).

S.S.E. of the modern village of Mārib (*A*) at a distance of about 3 miles between the *Wādī Dhenne* and *Wādī 'l-Feledj* is the *Haram Bilḳis* (*D*) which was visited by Th. J. Arnaud on July 20, 1843 and by E. Glaser on March 25, 1888 (cf. *J. A.*, ser. vii., vol. iii. [1874], p. 14 sq.; Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 41, 44 sq., 73, 137, 141); the latter corrects Arnaud on a number of essential points. The *Haram* is a large building, elliptical in form, the longer axis of which 300 feet long runs from N.W. to S.E. The shorter axis runs N.E. to S.W. and is 250 feet in length. It is built of regularly hewn square blocks which are placed one above the other in 31 layers up to the frieze so that the height of the wall is 31 feet. This wall is finished off with a double cornice at the top which consists of two rows of blocks which follow one another at short intervals and look like dice on the top of the wall, the result being a mural crown-like frieze which recalls the relief found by Th. Bent in *Jehā* in Abyssinia (cf. Th. Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, London 1893, p. 141) and the top of the Sabaeen relief in D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde* (p. 157, fig. 44). The row of blocks below the lower cornice form a simple and effective decoration by placing the blocks four to six inches apart so as to leave little gaps. A similar kind of mural decoration is known from the Sabaeen temple of *Jehā* (cf. *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, ii. 80, fig. 165). The frieze is still quite intact in places, especially on the east side. There is no trace of a roof. But it cannot be asserted definitely that there never was one, as Glaser assumes; the windowless building could have been lit by sky-lights. There are two doors in the wall, the larger (*a*) at the northeast end of the shorter axis and the smaller (*b*) at the N.W. end of the building at the end of the larger axis.

Exactly N.E. of the centre of the building there are four other monolithic pillars in the wall itself. Originally there were a larger number here so that the main gateway (*a*) had a pillared way leading to it. N.E. of these at a distance of 32 paces are 8 columns which are also erected in a line running from S.E. to N.W. (*E*). They are rectangular prisms, smooth, 15 feet high without capitals and terminate in dice-shaped tops 4 inches long on which stood the architrave. On the S.S.E. side of the Ḥaram just outside the

inside. He expressly states however that he could discover no chambers in the walls as he had expected. On the other hand, the fine inscriptions on the outside of the walls give us information as to the purpose of the building — it is a temple of the Sabaean moon-god Almaḳah — as well as the history of its erection. Arnaud was only able to copy 3 of these inscriptions, two others whose existence he established were covered by sand, which has since made further progress, so that he could not copy them. The oldest in-



Plan of the immediate vicinity of the old town of Maryab.

A the modern village of Mārib, *B* Umm al-Kīṣ, *C* Masjid Sulaimān, *D* Ḥaram Bilḳīs, *E* 'Amā'id, *F* Pillars E. S. E. of al-Merwath, *G* old Building not given a definite name, *H* Temple, *I*—*K* old city-wall of Maryab, *L* Wādī Dhenne.

wall, four small pillars form a little square the sides of which lie W. to E. and S. to N. (*c*). Perhaps we have here the pillars for the canopy of a throne which was probably similar in appearance to the Aksumite king's throne illustrated in *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, ii. 63, fig. 139. The floor of the building never seems to have been levelled, as a natural rock rises almost in the middle. Unfortunately in the interior the walls are nowhere clear, so that Glaser could form no deductions as to what it must have looked like

scription Glaser 184 is on the 28th layer from above on the east side. It records that Yid'ī-ḥilu Dhariḥ, son of Sumuhu-'alaya, mukarrib of Saba', built the wall of the temple of Almaḳah 'Awm (cf. the latest definitive edition of the text in N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. 7 sq.). Since the brilliant E. Osiander had previously recognised (*Z. D. M. G.*, x. 70) that the Ḥaram Bilḳīs was a temple of Almaḳah, Glaser (*Skizze*, i. 68) was able to deduce rightly from this inscription that the sanctuary 'Awm frequently mentioned here

and in other Sabaeen inscriptions was this very temple. From it the god Almaḩah is called "lord of 'Awm" (אָוּם | בעַן). The completion of this temple which was begun by Yid'i-ilu Dhariḩ, by 'Ilshariḩa, son of Sumuhu-'alaya Dhariḩ, king of Saba', is recorded in the inscription Glaser, 485 = Arnaud 55, which is on the west side of the Haram on the 14th layer of stones (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. 12 sqq.) Glaser, 481 = Arnaud 56, which is on the 13th and 14th layer on the north side records the completion of the wall from the inscription to the top by Tuba'kariba a prominent official and general of three Sabaeen kings (N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. 15 sqq.). Connected with this are two inscriptions of similar content, Glaser 482 = Arnaud 54 on the south side of the 13th layer and Glaser 483 = Arnaud 54 on the east side at the same height. They record the restoration of a ruined part of the wall (presumably of the part of the temple) under King Kariba'ilu Watar Yuhan'im of Saba' and Dhū Raidān, the son of Dhimri-'alaya Bayin, and his son Hālik-amara. Whether this concludes the history of the building of the Haram seems doubtful since, according to Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 46, inscriptions may still be concealed under the sand on the north and west sides also.

The orientation of the building is of interest. The little door of the Haram (b) faces that temple of the old town of Mārib on the site of which now stands the Masḩid Sulaimān. On the prolongation of the shorter axis to the N. E. lies the ruin called al-Mikrāb, and Glaser has, perhaps rightly, suggested from this arrangement of the two buildings that there was some connection between their purposes. Both buildings are moreover oriented by the course of the Wādī Dhenne. On the south side of the old city wall may still be seen the remains of a bridge which was built almost exactly in the direction of the Haram and, according to the local tradition, once reached to it. Even if this is an exaggeration it is nevertheless probable that a bridge was built over the river Dhenne, as in the rainy season the water must certainly have inundated the fields; the continuation of this bridge to the Haram was probably only a dam of which no trace now remains.

However unusual the elliptical form for the plan of a temple may appear, this is certainly not an isolated example in Southern Arabia. F. Fresnel (*J. A.*, ser. iv., vol. vi., p. 223) mentions the great ruins of Khariba (Ṣirwāḩ) which cover an even greater area than those of the Haram Bilḩis and include a semi-ellipse and long rows of pillars still in position. According to Arnaud, this elliptical plan has also been found by Halévy (*J. A.*, ser. vi., vol. xix., p. 67 sq.; cf. also Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 110, 137; *Skizze*, i. 67 sq.). According to the inscription Glaser, N^o. 901-903, its builder was the Sabaeen mukarrib Yid'i-ilu Dhariḩ, who also built the temple of 'Awm and the round temple of al-Masāḩid.

F. Hommel (*Ethnologie*, p. 664 sq.) has endeavoured to show how this temple came to have its modern name of Haram Bilḩis. In analogy to the Assyrian and Babylonian temples extra muros which were always dedicated to the wife of the chief deity and in which in the month of the new year his wedding ceremony took place, Hommel sees in the Haram Bilḩis the wedding house of Almaḩah, the sanctuary of his wife

Harimat and seems to assume that the name is also connected with this. D. H. Müller (*Burgen und Schlösser*, ii. 972 sq.) has shown how the Arab archaeologists transformed the god Almaḩah into Yalmaḩah and then gave this name to the legendary Bilḩis and also made a ḩaram (women's apartments) out of the mahram (sanctuary) of the god. F. Fresnel's reasoning moves on similar lines (*J. A.*, ser. iv., vol. vi., p. 226 sq., 234 sqq.). He assumed that Bilḩis was not the correct name of the queen of Saba' but rather Balḩamah (so Ibn 'Abd Rabbiḩi, in the *Iḩd al-Farid* and Ibn al-Djawzī in the *Mir'āt al-Zamān*) which was formed from Almaḩah. The queen of Saba' was in this way deified by the Sabaeans and became the Isis of the Arabs.

In the S. S. E. of Mārib and according to Arnaud $\frac{1}{4}$ hour E. S. E. of the Haram Bilḩis — while the latter, according to Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 41 lies almost due east barely $\frac{1}{4}$ hour from the five pillars — there stand on the opposite bank of the Wādī Dhenne, $\frac{1}{2}$ hour or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles (according to Glaser, *Skizze*, N^o. 51) from the town, the pillars called 'Amā'id. Five are still upright; these are 25—30 feet high, 32 inches broad and 24 deep, prismatic, rectangular monoliths which were erected perpendicular to the direction of the Wādī Dhenne. Two which have been overthrown lie beside them on the ground. The pillars had no capitals and were just like the other pillars (at the Haram Bilḩis and other ruins outside the town). On the fragments of the two fallen pillars Glaser discovered inscriptions on each (Glaser 479 and 480 = Arnaud 53) from which it appears that a sanctuary Bar'an (בראן | מדרמן) dedicated to the god Almaḩah or some such sanctuary stood here. This name occurs not only in this inscription but is mentioned in Ottom. Mus., N^o. 17 (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiii. 486, N^o. 1, 3) where J. H. Mordtmann reads ברראן | בנית אלמחא and the name of this place is also found in Halévy, N^o. 43, 2, 48, 4 (דברראן) and 534, 4 (בברראן). To the west just beside the pillars lies a mound of ruins, which perhaps represents the remains of this sanctuary. Arnaud (*J. A.*, ser. vii., iii. [1874], p. 15) describes these pillars as pilasters of the Haram Bilḩis and puts their height at 28 spans. In contradiction to Glaser, Arnaud says they have square capitals. His illustration under the plan of the Haram Bilḩis shows a pillar with a stepped capital like those from Aksūm and Kohaito in Abyssinia (*Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, ii., ed. by D. Krencker, Berlin 1913, p. 102, fig. 224 and p. 155, fig. 319b). Which of the two explorers is right, it is difficult to say as Glaser is usually very accurate in his observations. On the other hand, Arnaud cannot possibly have invented this rather unusual but nevertheless typical form for ancient South Arabia and made his drawing accordingly. The only way out of the difficulty is to suppose that in Glaser's time the capitals — of which Arnaud says he cannot say definitely that they belonged to the pillars — had been broken off. According to Arnaud, the pillars stand close together at intervals corresponding to their thickness. That the pieces of stone on the ground near the row of pillars once belonged to the pillars was not noticed by Arnaud (p. 16) although he copied one of the inscriptions on them (Arnaud 53 = Glaser, N^o. 480) (cf. E. Glaser, *Reise im Mārib*, p. 401, 141).

The numerous separate finds made by Glaser in the neighbourhood of Mārib, sacrificial altars, masons' workshops etc. cannot be discussed here. On the other hand, there is one erection which demands a rather thorough discussion as it surpasses all these already mentioned in magnitude and preserved the fame of Mārib down to the late Islāmic period, namely the dam and works connected with it, known in Muslim tradition as *Sudd Mārib* or *Sudd al-'Arim*.

The Wādī Dhenne in the course of time had cut a way through the Balāk hills here and divided the rocks into two parts Balāk al-Kibli and Balāk al-Awsat. The Sabaeans had built a dam of earth across the gap some 770 paces long behind which the water was collected. The dam, which Glaser (*Reise nach Mārib*, p. 58 sqq., 173 sq.) describes minutely, rises some 20—25 feet above the present level of the Wādī and is simply a mound of earth the section of which is an isosceles triangle the angle at the top of which is quite sharp. The angle of inclination of the two surfaces to the base is about 45° and the breadth of the base about 50 feet. The proper base and the height of the dam cannot be accurately ascertained as the mud has accumulated to the depth of many feet. But it can be assumed that the dam rested on a foundation of rock as the narrow passage between the two Balāk hills has a rocky foundation which comes up very nearly to the surface. But for this firm foundation of rock it would have been impossible to build the dam at all. The side of the dam which met the water (the western) is covered with small sharp unhewn stones, held together so strongly by mortar that it is impossible to detach one of them. The dam, which is 1½ hours from Mārib, is flanked in the north and south by two great sluices, the southern one of which is known as Marbat al-Dimm. Here on the site of the dam a great rock (A) 95 paces long and 15 in width, at the narrow places only 8—10 has become detached from the Djebel Balāk al-Awsat; it runs to the N.E. with a slight tendency to E.N.E. The main body of the rock, the northern wall of which runs eastwards forms with this isolated rock a pair of lines converging towards the S.W. end of the latter. The two rocky walls do not meet here but are separated by a gap spanned by a wall six paces long and 12 feet high (C). In the opening of the angle but within the eastern ends of the two walls is another detached block of rock (B) the north side of which runs parallel to the first mentioned detached rock and the south side parallel to the main rock (C) but quite close to the latter. All three rocks, particularly the main body (C) and the loose block (B), have steep sides, not however over 12 feet high. On the north side the great isolated rock (A) is very irregular in shape. It almost looks as if we had an artificial cleavage here; but Glaser does not think this possible because an earthquake is quite sufficient to account for the remarkable cleavage of the rocks. In any case it looks as if human hands had worked a good deal on the natural lines of fracture. The great block of rock (A) rises 20—25 feet above the present level of the river bed and has two inscriptions engraved on its south side (Glaser, N^o. 513, 523).

On all three rocks there are or were great buildings of hewn stone. The large block of rock (A) seems to have supported the main building.

Its masonry consisting entirely of finely hewn blocks of stone, arranged in pairs one above the other and held together by melted lead poured into corresponding cavities; it follows closely, especially on the south side, the rock which forms the foundation so that it does not form a straight line, as Arnaud (*J. A.*, ser. vii., vol. iii., in p. 64, *Digue de Mareb*) has represented it. The whole length of this wall is about 200 feet, its average breadth 15 feet, the height at the S. W. end about 12 feet, rather more at the N.E. end, as the rock is not high enough here. In general the top is horizontal but with slight differences of level where it rises and falls. The S.W. corner of the masonry consists of round towers (a) facing S. W. which stands about 3 feet above the level of the rest of the walls. The whole building and the tower have perpendicular sides and do not slope at all. The dam which runs N.N.W. seems to have joined the wall 25 feet from the towers on the N.W. On the side facing the Wādī at the N.E. end of the rock, steps have been hewn out of the rock which led from the bottom of the river bed (in S. S. W. direction) to the walls. Almost exactly south of the already mentioned tower which has also very steep steps cut in a perpendicular passage hewn out of the rock, there stands on the main mass of rock (C) a second tower (d) of the same height, round on the west but flat on the other sides. Between the two towers, is the already mentioned wall linking up the two rocks. As already mentioned, the top of this wall is 20—25 feet above the level of the river so that the towers are 35 to 40 feet above it. The dam seems to have been not much higher than the connecting wall. The out-flow of the water must have taken place over the connecting wall as well as through openings under the wall, probably now filled up with rubble, into the Ḥabābiḍ canal, and under or rather through the rock on which this great piece of masonry stands, into the Raḥāb canal. Indeed one can still see quite clearly that the great isolated rock is connected deep down by a ridge of rock (e), only the rounded top of which is visible, with the smaller block, so that the two channels were separated from one another. It is also possible that in ancient times the outflow went below and only later, when the water-level was raised by silting, over the wall. Grooves for boards are still recognisable. The smaller block of rock, steep and high on the western side, slopes to the east down to the level and has steplike cavities in it everywhere with stones still perpendicular on it, as if it had had a balustrade, especially above the steep wall in the west. At its eastern end where it joins the level ground, it shows regularly hewn cavities of prismatic shape, which look like watering-troughs for the cattle or like stone graves. The main rock shows the same features. The step-like cavities were perhaps not only used for climbing, but also to measure the level of the water to regulate the outflow.

Both towers and the other buildings in connection with the sluices, except such walls or railings as may have existed of the smaller block, are preserved intact. The hewn stones are so arranged that long stones are every now and then laid crosswise which give the otherwise parallel layers great cohesion. This is particularly the case with the inner filling of the wall, as can be observed in all very large buildings a section of

which comes to be exposed. The square blocks in the dam are also held together by little blocks of lead about 10 cm. high and about 10 cm.² in the section. These little rods of lead were placed in holes specially made for them about 4-5 cm. deep and the next block above was placed over with the corresponding cavity filled with the top half of the little rod. The Sabacans only used mortar in the stone work of the dam as a top covering to prevent damage being done by the rain-water.

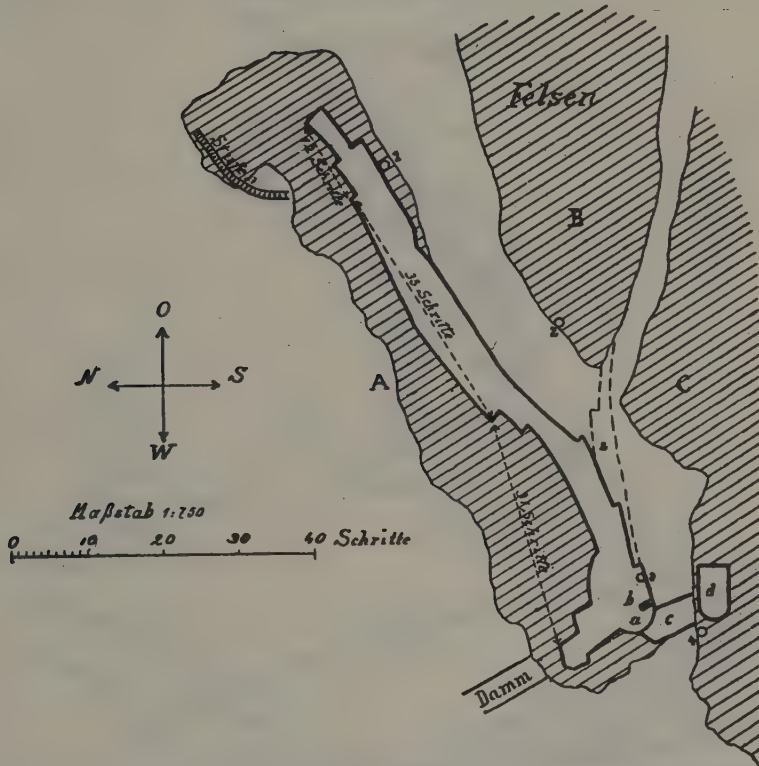
The northern system of sluices consists of three walls of which the northern and largest

a kind of railing of masonry. The whole wall is coped with excellent cement.

Almost exactly S. E. about 11 paces from the S. W. end of the part, 114 paces long already described (*b*) runs to the S. E. a wall 38 paces long and 21 broad at its N. W. end, the S. E. end of which is narrow and rounded. This wall is exactly the height of the long wall. At the present there is on it a modern *ḥuṣṣ* (stone-house) built by the amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān which probably existed in Arnaud's time and certainly in Halévy's.

Between the two walls, four paces from either,

Marbat el-Dimm



- Places where inscriptions are engraved on the rocks: 1 Gl. 513; 2 Gl. 514; 3 Gl. 523; 4 Gl. 525.
- a* Tower with staircase, of the same height as *d* and the highest part of the whole building.
- b* Staircase.
- c* Barrier between the tower and southwestern rocks.
- d* Tower exactly similar to *a*.

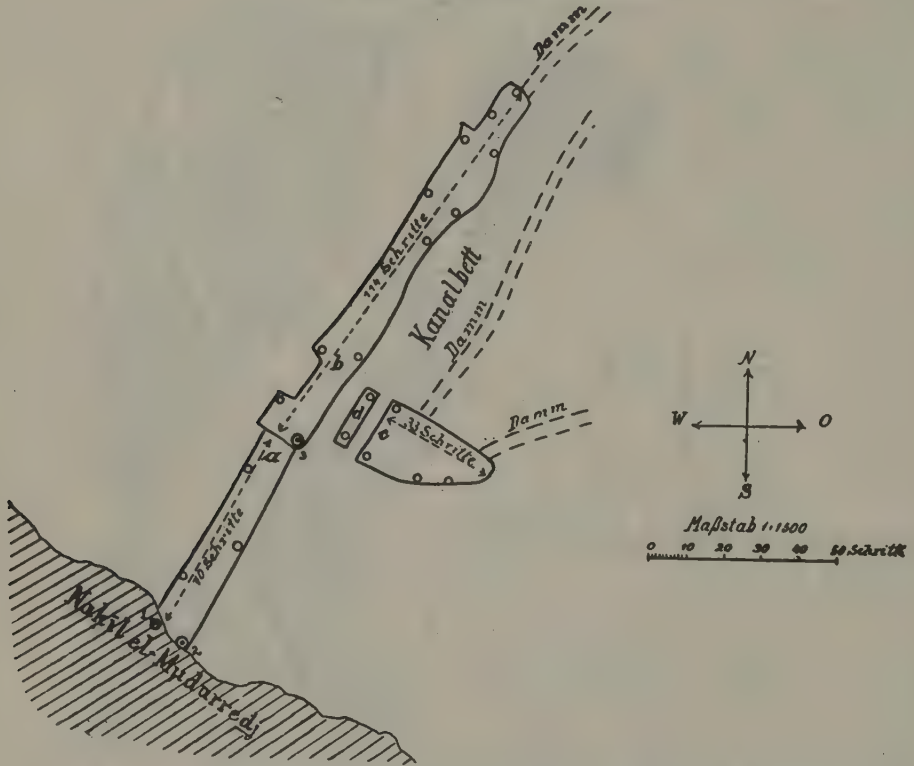
(*a*, *b*) with one end built against the rocks of Balak al-Kibli runs northeast, a little towards E. N. E. This wall, which is in all 184 paces long and 15 thick at the broadest point, although the average is about 11 and 15—20 feet high consists of two parts: The southwestern part 70 paces long (*a*) is somewhat lower (quite low beside the Balak rocks, about 16 feet high at the point where it joins the N. E. part) and quite flat on the top. The N. E. part (*b*) 114 paces long and somewhat damaged towards its west end is not quite flat on the top and towards the south side the top shows

stands a north wall only 18 paces long, 3 broad and of the same height as the others, the base of which forms a perfect rectangle. This wall somewhat damaged on the north side and now joined to the S. E. wall by two modern slight walls, which the Beduins use as a stable, stands back a little at its S. W. end as compared with the two neighbouring walls and like the S. E. wall shows a prism-shaped cutting about a yard from the west end, now filled in about 2 feet broad and deep, which was intended to take the boards. On the northern side this groove is no longer to be seen. The three

walls thus formed, like the three rocks on the south form two channels of exit, both of which however, it is worth noting, flow into one and the same main channel, which runs almost exactly east for about 1,000 yards to a large building for distributing water. This canal ran between two parallel dams of the same style and construction as the dam proper but the bed, which is paved with cemented stones, runs above the plain, especially on the south side some 20–25 feet. The dam proper, barely higher than the two walls of this canal, joins the east side of the most southern wall, 38 paces long.

Similar distributing works existed throughout the whole plain of Mārib. Glaser saw traces of aqueducts (with double dams) at different places. In the bed of the Dhenne not far below the dam he saw a remarkable erection of stone not unlike a weir. Unfortunately the inscription on it which might have given us definite information had been removed some years before. Canals seem to have led the water from the great distributing centres to the smaller ones (*manāṣiḥ*) from which it was taken direct to the palm gardens and fields. The most of the *manāṣiḥ* are in the form of cubes or shallow prisms and are rarely more than 6 feet

The Northern Sluice-system



- ⊙ Places with especially important inscriptions: 1 Gl. 554, 618; 2 Gl. 551; 3 Gl. 541.
- Places with inscriptions.
- a a little lower than b.

The canal, which led the water to the lower ḥuṣṇ, about 1,000 yards away, comes up to b and c.

- d a large intervening wall standing by itself.

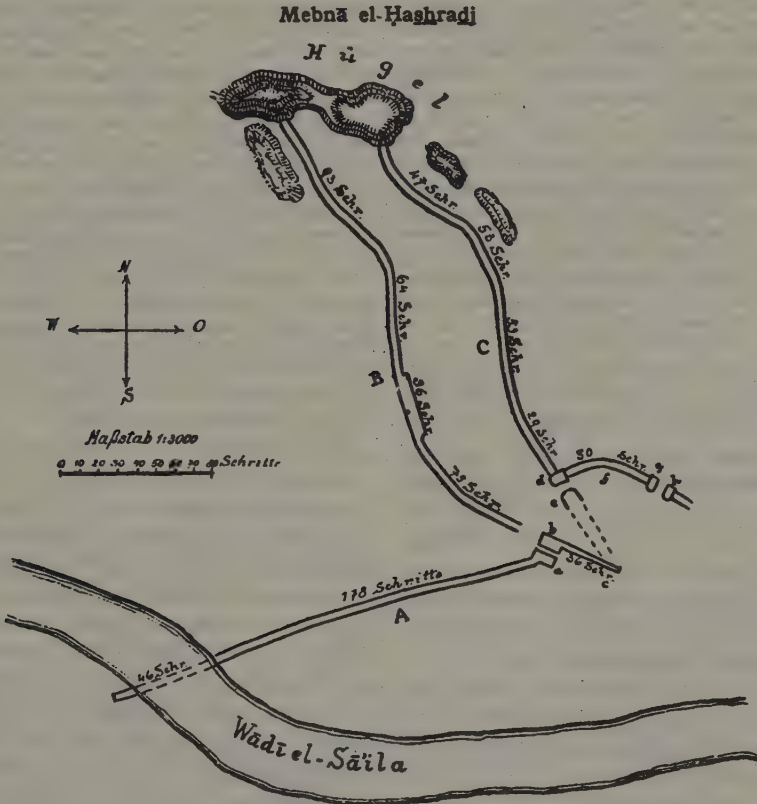
S. S. W. of Mabnā al-Ḥashradj (see below) lies Ḥuṣṇ al-Asfal, a later building erected on the remains of old water-works, which formed the end of the main channel, already mentioned in connection with the northern sluices. It lies at about exactly the same level as the dam and several yards above the surrounding country. It consists of several walls, some of hewn stone and some of ordinary stones and cement, which sent the water out in eight different directions. The aqueduct runs practically westwards up to the northern sluices of the dam. Although perfectly preserved the bed of the canal has been in many places filled up with blown sand.

high and 12 to 15 feet long. As a rule a canal leads out of them from the centre, usually walled on one side. Nothing is left of the canals which connected the *manāṣiḥ* with the larger distributing centres and on the other side with the fields. Deep furrows torn out of the ground by the periodic deluges of rain and, like the greater part of the plain, becoming gradually filled with desert sand are now the characteristic feature of the once flourishing plain of Saba'.

The great barrier of the dam between the two Balak mountains seems however not to have sufficed for the strain upon it. A second dam called Mabnā al-Ḥashradj was therefore built N.N.E.

of the dam and west of Mārib which seems to have been intended to regulate the water of the Wādī 'l-Sā'ila (cf. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 49 sq.), which carried the waters of the north Balak hill, the Djabal Hailān and the Khashab hills into the plain of Mārib and joined the Wādī Dhenne below the village of Mārib. This barrage consists of three walls of black porous stones, running very irregularly which are held together by mortar and arranged in 3 strata which perhaps point to 3 periods of building. The first of these walls (A) which dammed the river-bed begins just on the right bank of the Sā'ila and runs 240 paces E. N. E. where it joins a prism-shaped erection (a) 7 paces broad, 12 long and about 15 feet

two walls run: the one (third) wall (C) runs with many windings almost parallel to the second great wall (B) and like it runs up to the northern hills; it is 182 paces long. The other building (f) runs in a curve to the north, 50 paces in length, to a third outlet exactly opposite the second, which however consists of buildings (g, h) 8 paces from each other, with the ground between them covered by a layer of stone masonry. The outlet is to the N. E. On the S. E. is a wall 12 feet long now partly collapsed. Glaser copied 10 Sabaeen texts at al-Hashradj which came from other ruins and show that these works belong to a later period, like the late tombstone built into the wall here (Glaser, N^o. 509).



high, which lies N. W. to S. E. 7 feet N. E. stands a second similar building (b) parallel to the first and continued to the S. E. in a narrower wall (c) 36 paces in length. The space between these two buildings must have been an outlet. With a very small space between, the second mortared wall (B) runs N. W. from the second building (b) and with many windings turns N. and N. W. where it joins the rocks. Its length is 268 paces, the space between it and the second building 10 paces (b). 21 paces N. E. of the second building are two others (d, e) which give an outlet to the N. E. The southern of the two is only partly preserved. It points to the S. E. end of the 36 paces long wall (c); perhaps the two were once connected or there was a sluice between. From the building (d) which forms the northern boundary of the second outlet

The various constructions date, as we learn from the inscriptions, from different periods. The southern system of sluices was erected as early as the Mukarrib period. Sumuhu-'alaya Yanāf, son of Dhimri-'alaya, Mukarrib of Saba', according to the inscription Glaser, N^o. 513-514, made here an outlet in the barrage at Raḥāb, which was extended two generations later by the unknown author of the inscription Glaser, N^o. 418-419 (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte*, i. 7; *Studien*, ii. 97, 99 sq.; Glaser, *Skizze*, i. 70 sq.; *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 59 sq.; Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 666). Where the barrage at Raḥāb was is not certain. Perhaps we should assume with Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. 100 sq. that it was built on the rib of rock (e) between A and B. About a generation later than the Raḥāb barrage is the similar con-

struction at Ḥabābiḍ, which was probably built at the junction (c) of the Marbat al-Dimm. The Mukarrib Yithi'amara Bayin, son of Sumuhu-'alaya Yanaf, built a water-course for it, as his father had done for the Raḥāb (according to Glaser, N^o. 523, 525 = Arnaud, N^o. 12, 13 = Halévy, N^o. 678; cf. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. 102 sq.; Glaser, *op. cit.*). The northern sluice-works are much later; according to Glaser (*Reise nach Mārib*, p. 66–68), they did not get their present form till the time of king Shammar Yuhar'ish (c. 300 A.D.) and may perhaps even be not older than the fifth century A.D. The oldest parts of the works are put by Glaser (p. 68) to the period 1000–700 B.C. which is probably rather too early.

The great system of dams did not long exist in this form. This we know from two great prismatic monoliths, which are inscribed on all four sides and tell us of the later history of the dam. The one with the inscription Glaser, N^o. 554 is 7 feet long, 30 inches broad, and a foot thick, the second, even larger, bears the inscription Glaser, N^o. 618. Both lay close beside the junction of the northern wall of the northern sluice with the rocks of the Djebel Balak. According to Glaser, N^o. 554, king Sharahbil Ya'fur in 449 A.D. had a thorough renovation of the works carried out. But these lasted barely a year, for in 450 A.D. the waters broke through the dam so that the works had again to be completely restored. But the collapse of the great system was not to be prevented. From Glaser, N^o. 618 we learn that under the rule of the Abyssinian viceroy Abraha (542 A.D.) another breach occurred in the dam. Once more restoration work on a large scale averted the threatened disaster, but the final catastrophe must have occurred not long afterwards, which transformed the fertile plain of Saba' into a barren desert, alluded to in the Qur'an (Sūra xxxiv. 14 sq.; cf. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Mārib*, p. 13 sqq.; *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 16, 64, 144 sqq.).

Its cause is seen by Glaser in the action of wind and rain which gradually wore down and weakened the east side. Another main cause of destruction must have been the silt which so filled the reservoir in course of decades that the water flowed over the dam. A mention of the bursting of the dam in the Qur'an (*sail al-'arim*) and the importance of this event for the town of Mārib and the country round it has resulted in Muslim tradition devoting attention to this catastrophe and its consequences, so that all sorts of scraps of information about the dam were collected. Nevertheless it is remarkable how little even authorities on South Arabia like al-Hamdānī (*Sifa*, p. 80 and *Ikhlīl*, viii., in D. H. Müller, *Burgen und Schlösser*, ii. 958 sq., 1036, 1038; cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. 105 sq.; al-Bakrī, *Murūdj*, ii. 502) really know about the dam. Al-Hamdānī only says that the dam was built against a wall which was built on to the side walls of the reservoirs, of great blocks of stone linked together with iron. The arrangement for distributing the water from the farms were still there as if their builder had only finished yesterday. Al-Hamdānī saw the building which had survived on one of the two sides (i.e. on one bank) namely the one which rose out of the water intact (i.e. the sluices). The breach had only affected the barrage but even of this a portion remained intact which was adjoined by the gardens on the left and was 15 ells in breadth at the base.

How we are to interpret these statements of al-Hamdānī, we learn from the description of the reservoir of Kohaito in Abyssinia (*Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, ii. 150 and pl. 23). There a central wall is flanked by two side walls, one of which is at right angles to a third. That the stones were bound together by iron is evident from Glaser's description. When Yāḳūt (*Murūdj*, iv. 383), who pays very little attention to the dam itself, tells us that it lies among three hills, the reference is probably to the massif of the Djebel Balak split into the three hills of the Wādis Adhana and Masila. He also mentions that the blocks are bound together with lead and says that the water accumulated behind the dam is led as required to the fields by strong sluices and cunningly contrived arrangements. According to al-Ma'sūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, iii. 368 sq.), the barrage was one parasang in length and breadth and contained 30 round openings, each of 1 ell in diameter through which the water was led to the fields.

Like many buildings in Arabia, the dam of Mārib is dated by later tradition to remote antiquity and attributed to Luḳmān b. 'Ād (al-Bakrī, *Murūdj*, ii. 502; Yāḳūt, *Murūdj*, iv. 383; al-Ma'sūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, iii. 366; cf. A. v. Kremer, *Sage*, p. 19 sq.; Djirdji Zaidān, p. 151) or Saba' b. Yaḥdjub b. Ya'rūb (Yāḳūt, iv. 382; cf. E. Osiander, *Z. D. M. G.*, x. 68; E. Pococke, *Specimen hist. Arabum*, p. 498). Al-Hamdānī (*Ikhlīl*, viii.) mentions, besides Luḳmān, also the Ḥimyar and al-Azd b. al-Ghawth as builders of the dam. Al-Ma'sūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, p. 369 sq., says that the dam was built by a wise king on the advice of learned men.

The importance of the dam for the prosperity of the country is evident from the descriptions of the Arab historians and geographers, who in this connection usually quote the reference in the Qur'an to the two gardens of the Sabaeans, while, according to al-Hamdānī, this irrigated area included not only the plain of Saba' but stretched to the borders of the desert of Ṣaiḥad; Glaser (*Reise nach Mārib*, p. 52) held the view that the water accumulated by the dam would suffice to irrigate amply all the land on the borders of the desert as far as Ḥaḍramūt, and transform it into a vast garden. It is therefore perhaps not to be regarded as an exaggeration when al-Ma'sūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, p. 366 sq.) describes the land of Saba' with its wealth of gardens and fields, broad meadows and extensive irrigation system as the most fertile part of Yemen, the beauty of which had become proverbial throughout the world. According to him, a man on horseback would take more than a month to cross the rich cultivated country and any one travelling on foot or on horse need not fear the sun from one end of the land to the other, as he could always travel in the shade, so rich was the vegetation (cf. A. v. Kremer, *Sage*, p. 10, note 1). According to Ibn Rosta, p. 114, who also waxes eloquent over the fertility of the land of Saba', a basket on the head of a man walking between the fruit trees would very soon have filled itself with fruit without one pulling or gathering them.

Under such circumstances it was natural that the catastrophe of the bursting of the dam, known as *sail al-'arim* throughout the Muslim world, should have the most far-reaching effects. The migration of Ḥimyar tribes to the north is con-

nected with the catastrophe and the Bantu Ḥassān took this event as the starting point of an era of their own ('*ām al-sail*; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, p. 202). There is hardly any historical event of pre-Islāmic history, that has become embellished with so much that is fanciful and related in so many different versions, as the history of the bursting of the dam. Al-Mas'ūdī alone (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, iii. 370 sq.) dared attribute it to natural causes; he thought that the water had worn away the foundations of the dam and in time undermined them without its being noticed. When the masonry of the dam and the barrage had become so weakened that they could no longer resist the force of the water, the waters when unusually big broke through and flooded the plain. But even al-Mas'ūdī sees in the catastrophe a punishment for the arrogance of the Sabaeans and gives a good deal of space in his history to the legendary version of this event (*op. cit.*, p. 373 sqq.), which in the main agrees with that of Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 483—485. Ibn al-Mudjāwir alone (according to Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p. 153 sq.) tells the history of the destruction of the dam in quite a different way from the older historians. According to al-Mas'ūdī the story is briefly as follows: the king 'Amr b. 'Amir who lived in Mārib was warned of the imminent catastrophe by his brother 'Imrān, who was a soothsayer and by his wife Zarīfat al-Khair, also skilled in prophecy. 'Imrān foresaw that his people would be scattered in different directions and told this to his brother. Zarīfa on the other hand dreamed of a great cloud which covered her country and sent forth thunder and lightning. It burst and burned up everything upon which it fell. All this pointed to a terrible inundation and Zarīfa was confirmed in her idea by other signs that the catastrophe was imminent. She warned 'Amr and urged him to see to the dam. If he saw a mouse there tearing out holes with its forepaws and throwing out big stones with his hind feet, the misfortune was inevitable and imminent. 'Amr went to the dam and actually saw a mouse which turned over with its feet a stone which 50 men could not have moved from the position. 'Amr himself then dreamed of an inundation by the dam and now decided to realise his possessions and leave the country with his family which he was able to do surreptitiously without arousing suspicions. Soon afterwards the collapse came, which destroyed the whole country, even high lying fields and places a considerable distance off.

While there are considerable differences in detail in the different versions of the story—the collapse took place for example, according to Yāqūt not under 'Amr but under his brother 'Imrān—there is still greater disagreement about the date. Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, for example, puts it 400 years before Islām, i. e. in the third century A. D. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the catastrophe took place under Ḥassān b. Tibbān As'ad, who (with A. v. Kremer, *Sage*, p. 120 sq. and note 4) is to be identified with Abū Karib As'ad and according to Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 542) reigned from 385—420. Among European scholars Cosselini goes farthest back in putting the date at 374 B.C. while Reiske thinks it took place 30—40 B.C. and Schultens puts it at 30—40 A.D., Perron 553 years before Muḥammad and Silvestre de Sacy 210 or 170 A.D. Yāqūt, iv. 383 comes nearest the truth; he says

it took place in the period of Abyssinian rule. As the terminus post quem is 542 A.D., according to the inscription Glaser, No. 618, we may put the last disastrous breach in the dam as occurring between 542 and 570 A.D. An exact date unfortunately cannot be obtained as the necessary data are lacking. Besides, the stories of the bursting of the dam in Mas'ūdī, p. 393 sqq. and Ibn Rosta, p. 114 sq. which speak of the land being twice devastated by the waters of the dam, may contain a memory of the actual course of events, and the final collapse of the dam may have taken place after the catastrophe of 542 A.D. when the dam was carried away for the first time.

The various attempts to explain the etymology of Mārib are not satisfactory. When, for example, Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 382 sees in Mārib, a place-name from *Arabun* = *Hādjarun* or from *ariba* or *aruba*, this clearly shows what difficulties the explanation of this name gave the philologists. His further statement however that Mārib was the name of the Sabaean kings is worthy of note (cf. H. Fleischer, *Abulfedae hist. anteislamica*, p. 114), especially as in Nashwān al-Ḥimyari, a gloss is preserved according to which *Māri* in Ḥimyarite means "lord" (cf. Blau in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxv. 591, note 7). Djirdji Zaidān, *Kitāb al-'Arab kabīl al-Islām*, p. 142 explains Mārib as a loan-word from the Aramaic, a compound of *mā* and *rāb*. E. Osiander, *Z. D. M. G.*, xix. 162 takes Mārib to be connected with the root of the Sabaean proper name מריב to which Riyāb and Ri'āb correspond in Arabic. J. H. Mordtmann, who deals in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxx. 322 sq. at length with the etymology of Mariaba, points to the מריבא and

מריבא of the inscriptions which he connects with the Arabic *ra'bun*, "dominus crassus, magnus gentis". D. H. Müller does not accept this derivation (*Burgen und Schlösser*, ii. 968 sq.). Al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ii. 502 says, following al-Ḥamdānī, that Mārib was the name of a tribe of the 'Ad after whom the town is called and in fact al-Ḥamdānī in *Iklīl*, viii. (Müller, *Burgen und Schlösser*, ii. 960, 1040) says that Mārib and Marib are the names of two Arab tribes. In the older Sabaean inscriptions the town is called מריב to which the Greeks added an *a* to give it a Greek form. Eratosthenes and Artemidoros (Strabo, xvi. 768, 778) call the town *Maplaβa*. The later inscriptions mention it under the name מריב in which we have, with Rhodokanakis, to see a later contracted form, from which comes the Mārib of Muslim tradition. The Sabaean capital is however known to the classical authors and Arab geographers by another name, viz. *Ṣābai* (Agatharchides, p. 100 in *Geogr. Gr. min.*, i. 188 and in Steph. Byz. s. *Λάβαι* and *Τάβαι*; cf. Tkač in the *Art. Saba*, No. 1, *R. E.*, ii. A., col. 1516), and *Saba*. Tkač (col. 1391 sq.) sees in contrast to J. H. Mordtmann (*Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 3, note 1), E. Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 15, *Südarabische Streiffragen*, p. 10) and A. Sprenger (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 159, 162) in this double name of the Sabaean capital not an error but believes that *Sabai*, while not the usual, was not a wrong name for the capital.

Against this Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 15, rightly emphasised that the capital of the Sabaean kingdom Maryab or Mārib was never known as *Saba*. *Saba* was—so far as the inscriptions are con-

cerned — never anything but the name of the land or kingdom and of the tribe which had the hegemony in this land, to which the name Saba' has remained attached to the present day. This is quite clear from the inscriptions. Thus, in the first lines of the old Sabaeen inscriptions Glaser, N^o. 418—419, 1000 A and 1000 B (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte*, i. 20 sq., 79), Al-maḩah (the principal deity of Saba') and Saba' is the formula by which the Sabaeen, first a theocratic and then monarchic, state is known. That the predominant tribe Saba' is however never described as a tribe in the older period is clear evidence of its hegemony as Rhodokanakis points out (*Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, i. 121). It was different in the later period; for example, in the inscription Glaser, N^o. 542, a set up by king Ṣhammar Yuhar'ish, king of Saba' and Dhū Raidān, of the tribe of Saba', the reference is always to the "lords of the town of Mārib and its valleys" | שַׁעֲבִי | סַבְאָה | אֲמַעַל | הַנָּהָר | מַרְיָב |

וּמִדְדִּירוֹ (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Katabanische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft*, ii. 14), as a definite sphere of influence had been allotted to them in the government of Mārib and the administration of its territories. Deliberately contrasted with them as citizens of the town and the highly cultivated area round it are the "Beduins of Mārib" (| אַעֲרָבִי | מַרְיָב | in C. I. H., 353, 10 (cf. E. Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Africa*, p. 128 sqq.), who probably lived around the town (for references as regards Saba', cf. M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 385—389). The idea that Saba' was a town, which we find in the classical authors, which was criticised as early as C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 279, is therefore to be put down to a misunderstanding rather than to be taken seriously. This is also true of the identification of Mārib with Saba' among the Arab geographers (cf. the references collected by Jomard in Mengin, *Histoire sommaire de l'Égypte*, p. 341—344). Yāḩūt for example (*Mushtarik*, p. 239) identifies Mārib with Saba' as does Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Géographie*, p. 130 and *Historia anteislamica*, p. 114); but the latter expressly points out that Mārib was known as the town of Saba' and it was also said that Mārib was the name of the king's palace while the town was called Saba'. It is in keeping with this that we find al-Suhailī in Yāḩūt, *Muḩjam*, iv. 382 referring to Mārib as the name of a castle of the Azd. In al-ḩazwīnī and in the *Djihān-numā* the town is called Saba'. Ibn Rosta, who includes Mārib in ḩaḩramūt and mentions it under the name Madinat Saba' or Saba', mentions the ruins of a second large town with wonderful buildings, which was close to Saba' and which the people of Saba' considered to have been the town of Saba'. Saba', they said, was two towns, which lay opposite one another and were a days' journey in length. As there are a number of buildings which belonged to Mārib on the right bank of the Wādī Dhenne, it is intelligible why the mistake should have been made of imagining two towns running parallel to one another, especially as there are still considerable ruins adjoining the ḩaram Bilkīs, the 'Amā'id and the "pillars of Bilkīs" as we have seen. The alleged length of a day's journey is of course much exaggerated and indeed the description in Ibn Rosta generally shows how little was known in later times of the

ancient Mārib. The association of the origin of the town of Mārib with Saba' b. Yaṣḩdjub probably led to the name of this legendary ruler being transferred to the town or Saba' as a tribe being identified with Mārib, as Agatharchides had already done. The varying form in which the name is handed down, sometimes town of Saba' and sometimes Saba' alone, makes this development very probable. Besides al-ḩamdānī (*Ṣifa*, p. 7, s) identifies the Saba' of Ptolemy with Mārib and always calls the town Mārib.

The earliest history of the town is unfortunately wrapped in obscurity. The mention of kings of Mārib in the comparatively late inscription, Glaser, N^o. 302, 7, shows, it is true, that the town was still independent in the time of the older Sabaeen Mukarribs — for these "kings of Mārib" are their contemporaries — but gives no clue to the date of its foundation. It probably arose about the same time as the old royal city of Ṣirwāḩ. The great inscription Glaser, N^o. 418—419, shows Mārib already in possession of the Sabaeen Mukarribs and not long afterwards it became their capital; this at least seems evident from the inscription Glaser, N^o. 481, a where we are told that the founder of the inscription "brought as far as Maryab the peace between Saba' and Katabān". This we can only interpret with Rhodokanakis (*Studien*, ii. 24) as meaning that the general (he is called Tuba'-kariba, son of ḩhamaryeda' of the clan of Maḩmarum) returned to the capital of Saba' after the conclusion of peace. Not long after the foundation of the great Sabaeen kingdom, of which the inscription Glaser, N^o. 1000 A B relates, it must have replaced Ṣirwāḩ, the oldest capital of the Sabaeen kingdom; indeed there seems to be evidence that this had already taken place in the reign of the king who set up the two great Ṣirwāḩ inscriptions Glaser, N^o. 1000 A B, Kariba-ilu Watar, founder of the great Sabaeen kingdom. For when we are told in Glaser, N^o. 1000 B, l. 5 (N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte*, i. 82) that he had built the upper part of his palace Slḩm (| סַלְחָם |) which is probably identical with the famous citadel Salḩin at Mārib, it may be assumed that this Mukarrib resided here. The great barrage which went back to the older generation of Sabaeen Mukarribs, must have then transformed Mārib and the country round it into the flourishing oasis which made the town the centre of a great kingdom. The Mukarribs Sumuhu-'alaya Yanāf and his father Yid'i-ilu ḩharīḩ as well as Yith'i-amara Bayin also did much for the development of the town and the country around it.

We do not know exactly when Mārib ceased to be the capital of the Sabaeen kingdom. Glaser (*Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Mārib*, p. 29) supposes that the capital was removed to Ṣafār (near Yarīm) at latest towards the end of the third century A.D., but probably as early as the first century A.D., since the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, § 23 already knows Ṣafār as the capital.

Indeed the evidence of the *Periplus* which is supplemented by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 104, who knows Sapphar as a royal residence, can hardly be interpreted otherwise than meaning that Ṣafār was already the residence of the Sabaeen kings about 60 A.D. With the transfer of the capital to Ṣafār, the cause of which Glaser finds in the attacks of the Axumites on the independence of the Sabaeen kingdom, while M. Hartmann (*Die arabische Frage*,

p. 469) supposes the reason to have been the victory of the Ḥamdānids over Ḥimyar (cf. *C.I.H.*, 347 and M. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 146 sq.), Mārib's glory had passed away; the decline probably did not set in at once but Glaser must be right in assuming that Mārib was now neglected and this is how the dam, so important for the cultivation of the land, fell into disrepair. Isolated references in Muslim sources show that the town had however not yet lost all its importance. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, i. 308 (cf. A. v. Kremer, *Sage*, p. 138) knows Mārib as one of the treasures of the Ḥimyars, and according to the Ḥimyar *kašida*, verse 56 (A. v. Kremer, *Sage*, p. xii, note 1 and p. 69), Šammār Yur'ish (c. 281 A. D.) kept his prisoners in Mārib. The two breaches in the dam which took place in 450 A. D. and under Abyssinian rule in 542 A. D., must have done grave injury to the prosperity of the town. In this last period of its brilliant history Mārib was for a short time (certainly in 542 A. D.) the capital of the governor of the Ethiopian king Ramḥis Zuhaimān, Abrahā, and even had a Christian church (cf. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dambruch von Mārib*, p. 47). The final catastrophe sealed the fate of the town. Its inhabitants left the sore tried town and migrated to the Ḥidjāz.

Mārib was resettled in the Muslim period. The favourable situation of the place and perhaps the rich deposits of salt in the neighbourhood (3 days' journey east of Mārib at Šāfir, mentioned in the time of the Prophet, who appointed Abū Mūsā al-Aš'arī governor of Mārib; E. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 26; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ii. 502; al-Ḥamdānī, *Šifa*, p. 87, 102, 155, 201; A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p. 139) also kept the place from being quite forgotten. Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B.G.A.*, vi. 138) and al-Muḥaddasī (*B.G.A.*, iii. 89) mention the village of Mārib; al-Ḥamdānī, *Šifa*, p. 199 says the sesame of Mārib is a speciality of the Yemen. Al-Iḍrīsī, *Géographie*, p. 149 calls Mārib a *burdj*; according to Ibn al-Mudjāwir (in A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p. 140), Mārib (c. 630 A. H.) had a market and a mosque and was of some importance as a resting-place for the night and fruit could be obtained there at any time of the year. Since Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 436, also says, the district of Mārib is rich in palms, it seems to have in part at least regained its old fertility.

The present little kingdom of Mārib owes its foundation to the šarif Ḥusain from al-Zāhir in al-Djāwf, who took a vigorous part in the expulsion of the Turks from the Yemen in 1640. He was the first to assume the title of emir. His dominion extended over the whole land from Raghwān in the southern Djāwf to Baiḥān, which he divided among his four sons. Only one of these, Khālīd, to whom Mārib fell, could exert effective authority; the others never gained possession of their inheritances although their descendants still play a certain part in Baiḥān al-Ḳašāb, Ḥarīb and Raghwān.

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AL-MĀRIDĪNĪ, the *nisba* of three mathematicians and astronomers, of whose lives very little is so far known.

1. 'AND ALLĀH B. KHALIL B. YUSUF was mu'addhīn in the mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus and died in the first decade of the ixth (xvth) century. As a result of careless transmission, his works are often mixed up with those of his grandson Sibṭ al-Māridīnī (3). Lists of his works are given in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 169 and in Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, 1900, N^o. 421.

2. ISMĀ'IL B. IBRĀHĪM B. GHĀZĪ, known as Ibn Fallūs, lived in the first half of the viith (xiiith) century and composed works on arithmetic which are listed in Brockelmann, i. 472 and in Suter, N^o. 359.

3. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD SIBṬ AL-MĀRIDĪNĪ is the best known of the three and more of his works have survived than of those of the others. He was the grandson of N^o. 1 and mu'addhīn at the Azhar mosque in Cairo. The date of his birth is 826 (1423). He died about the end of the ninth century.

His works cover most branches of mathematics, algebra and astronomy, especially instruments for use in the latter and other technical matters. Lists of them are given in Brockelmann, ii. 167 and Suter, N^o. 445. (M. PLESSNER)

MĀRIYA, a Copt maiden, according to one statement, daughter of a man named Sham'un, who was sent with her sister Sirin by Muḥawḳis [q.v.] in the year 7 A.H. to Muḥammad as a gift of honour (according to another authority there were four of them). The Prophet made her his concubine, while he gave Sirin to Ḥassān b. Thābit. He was very devoted to her and gave her a house in the upper town of Madīna, where he is said to have visited her by day and night; this house was called after her the *mashraba* of the mother of Ibrāhīm. To the great joy of the Prophet, she bore him a son whom he called Ibrāhīm, but he died in infancy. According to tradition, an eclipse of the sun took place on the day of his death, an interesting statement by which we can get the date exactly — if the story is true — the 27th Jan. 632, that is only a few months before Muḥammad's death. Māriya's beauty and Muḥammad's passionate love for her excited such jealousy among his other wives that, to pacify them, he promised to have nothing more to do with the Copt girl, a promise which he afterwards withdrew. Abū Bakr and 'Omar honoured her and gave her a pension which she enjoyed till her death in Muḥarram 16 A. H. There is no reason

to doubt the essential correctness of this story, as there is no particular bias in it and it contains all sorts of details which do not look the least like inventions, so that it is exaggerated scepticism when Lammens supposes that the "mother of Ibrāhīm", after whom the *mashraba* was called, was some Jewess. On the other hand, in view of the fact that all the marriages of Muḥammad after the Hīdjra were childless, it would have been surprising if evil-minded people had not cast suspicions on the paternity of Ibrāhīm, and that this actually happened is evident from some traditions the object of which is to defend Māriya from this suspicion.

On the other hand, it is not so easy to justify the part which Qur'anic exegesis makes Māriya play in the exposition of Sūra lxvi. In this Sūra, the Prophet speaks in a very indignant tone against one of his wives, because she has betrayed a secret to another, which he had imparted to her under a promise of the strictest secrecy. At the same time Allāh blames him, because in order to please his wives, he has bound himself by oath to refrain from something which is not definitely stated and because he does not use the right granted him by Allāh to release himself from his oath. In addition, there is a word of warning to the two women who had disobeyed him and a threat to all his wives that he might divorce them in order to marry more pious ones (cf. xxxiii. 28 sq.). According to the usual explanation, the two wives are Ḥafsa and 'Ā'isha and the revelation is said to have been provoked by the fact that Ḥafsa, on returning unexpectedly to her house, found Māriya and the Prophet in an intimate tête-à-tête and that on a day which by rotation belonged to her (or 'Ā'isha). In his embarrassment he pledged himself by oath to have no more intercourse with the Copt girl. But after Ḥafsa's breach of faith, Allāh tells him to release himself from his oath. This explanation fits very well in some respects and that the promise of continence is connected with marital complications is illuminating. That there are ḥadīths, which explain his quarrel with his wives quite differently, does not mean very much, for they are no doubt invented to drive out of currency the popular, less edifying version. But, on closer examination, there is one flaw which makes the latter uncertain, for it does not answer the question how Muḥammad could call the situation in which Ḥafsa caught him and Māriya a secret that he trusted to her.

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AL-MARKAB (the MARGAT, MERGHATUM of the Crusaders), a fortress near Bāniyās on the coast of Syria. According to the chronicle of Abū Ghālib Humam b. al-Faḍl al-Muḥaddhab al-Ma'arri (quoted in Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 500) and the *Ta'rikh al-Kilā' wa'l-Huṣūn* of 'Usāma b. Munqidh (in Abu'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 255), it was built by the Muslims in 454 (1062). Al-Dimashqī (ed. Mehren, p. 208) wrongly attributes its foundation to Ḥarūn al-

Rashid (van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 304, note 7 where the reference to Rashid [rather Rāshid] al-Dīn in Le Strange, *Palestine* is shown to be wrong); his statement seems to be correct, however, that the citadel was built out of material from ancient ruins. The Byzantines occupied al-Markāb and other fortresses in the vicinity under the general Kantakuzenos in 1104 (Anna Comnena, *Ἀλεξιάς*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 138: τὸ τε Ἀργυροκαστρον [= Sāfirā] τὸ καλούμενον Μαρράκιν [= al-Markāb], τὰ Γάβαλα [Djabala] καὶ ἄλλα τινά). When in 511 (1117—1118) the Crusaders approached the fortress, its lord Ibn Muḥriz surrendered it on condition that he and his family were allowed to remain in it; but after a few days the Franks expelled him and allotted al-Manīka to him in exchange for al-Markāb; Franks and Armenians were settled in the latter. The first recorded lord of the fortress was Rainald Mansuer, the constable of the prince of Antioch. After the earthquake of 1170, from which the fortress must have suffered damage, Bertrand of al-Markāb, perhaps out of fear of Saladin's threats, handed it over on Feb. 1, 1186 to the Knights of St. John. In July 1186 Saladin passed below the watch tower (now Burdj al-Ṣabī), which from ancient times had commanded the road along the coast (cf. Dussaud, *Topogr.*, p. 127, note 5) below the fortress and was connected with it by a wall which protected a subterranean passage, but did not dare to attack Markāb any more than Tārtūs [q.v.]. Prince Isaac of Cyprus, a descendant of the Comnenoi (not the Emperor Isaac Comnenos as van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 298 sq., note 5 says), was taken prisoner by Richard Coeur-de-Lion on May 31, 1191, and imprisoned in Markāb till his death (Neophytos, in *Recueil hist. crois., hist. grecs*, i/ii. 562 with note, ii. 489: ἐν καστέλλῳ καλούμενῳ Μαρράκιν). Sultān al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī of Ḥalab whose lands adjoined those of the Knights of St. John sent in 601 (1204—1205) troops against the fortress, who are said to have just succeeded in destroying the towers of the walls when their leader fell and they again retired without accomplishing their object. In 628 (1231) and 638 (1240—1241) the Knights were again at war with Yūsuf, Sultān of Ḥalab. From this period (1212) dates the very full description of the strong fortress by Wilbrand of Oldenburg. Built on a high hill and surrounded by a double wall and many towers, it was regarded in the period when the power of the Crusaders was beginning to decline, as *maximum totius terrae illae solacium*; the bishop of Valenia (Bāniyās) had moved into the fortress by 1212 out of fear of the Muslims. King Andreas of Hungary in 1217—1218 gave funds for the maintenance of the fortress which had given him an honourable reception (Röhricht, *Regesta Hierosolym.*, p. 243, N^o. 908). The straits to which the humiliating treaties with Baibars had reduced the Knightly Orders is lamented by the Grand Master Hugo Revel in 1268 in a letter in which he says that the possession of its last two fortresses, *Cratum* and *Margatum* (= Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and al-Markāb), was only granted the Order on payment of oppressive taxes (Röhricht, *Regesta Hieros.*, *Additamentum*, Oeniponti 1924, p. 91, N^o. 1358a). After the loss of Ḥiṣn al-Aknād, the Templars and the Knights of St. John in 669 (1271) by a treaty which they concluded in 'Arka with Saif al-Dīn Balabān al-Dawāddār ("the secretary") al-Rūmī,

the Sultān's plenipotentiary, had to cede half of the coastland (*qāḥīl*) of Antarsūs, al-Markāb and Bāniyās and bind themselves not to build any new defences (Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Gesch. d. Mamlūkensultane*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xii. 536). After a raid by the Franks (Oct. 1279) the Emīr Saif al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī, the governor of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād for Kālā'ūn, in the beginning of 1281 sent troops against al-Markāb, but they were driven back with heavy losses (Mufaḍḍal, *op. cit.*, xiv. 484, and the sources quoted in van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 301, note 5). In the treaty between Kālā'ūn and the Templars of 681 (1282) al-Markāb is mentioned among the districts half of which were to be ceded (Mufaḍḍal, *op. cit.*, xiv. 445; van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 302, note 2). The pilgrim Burchardus de Monte Sion in 1283 mentions the "*Castrum Margath fratrum hospitalis sancti Johannis*"; it was still at this date the see of the bishop of Valenia (*Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 30, 170).

On 10th Šafar 684 (April 17, 1285) Kālā'ūn appeared before al-Markāb and began the attack as soon as the siege artillery arrived. On the 19th Rabi' I (May 25) the Emīr Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥri received the surrender of the fortress. On account of its strategic value for defence against possible attacks from the sea, it was not destroyed but included in the "royal province of the fortunate conquests", the capital of which till 688, when Ṭarābulus was taken, was the Castle of the Kurds, still governed by Saif al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī al-Manṣūri. Kālā'ūn in 684 ordered him to repair the defences of the citadel as an inscription found *in situ* shows (van Berchem, *Inscriptions de Syrie*, p. 71 sq.). Among those present at the capture of the fortress were the 12 years old Abu 'l-Fidā', who was then on his first campaign with his father, and the historian Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm, the continuer of Ibn Wāṣil's chronicle. The best account of the taking of al-Markāb is in Kālā'ūn's biography entitled *Tashrif al-Aiyām wa 'l-'Uṣūr bi-Sirat al-Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (Paris, MS. ar., N^o. 1704, fol. 149 sqq., ed. and transl. in van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 310—320).

In the viiith (xivth) century al-Markāb belonged to the province of Ṭarābulus ('Umari, *Tuṣrif*, transl. by R. Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx. [1916], 36; Kḥalil al-Zāhiri, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 48; Kaḥshāndi, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, ed. Cairo, iv. 145 sq.); at this time it was used as a state prison (van Berchem, p. 305, note 2). Its harbour is mentioned in documents of 1193 and 1299 (van Berchem, p. 309, note 3); it was presumably at the mouth of the Wādī 'Ain al-Khraibe (in Walpole: *al-Mina*). As al-Markāb lies on the outer spurs of the Ansariye range it has often wrongly been included among the fortresses of the Ismā'īlīs (*Kilā' al-Da'wa*) (so 'Umari, *op. cit.*, in the Berlin and Gotha MS. but not in the others; Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx., 36, note 7). So far as we can judge from the brief notes by visitors, it was not till about the middle of the xixth century that it began to fall into ruins. About 1885 at the request of the ḫā'immaḫām of the ḫaḍā of al-Markāb the seat of the government was transferred from the ruined Kālāt al-Markāb to Bāniyās (M. Hartmann, *Z. D. P. V.*, xxii., p. 163, N^o. 27).

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MARRAKESH (Ar. MARRĀKUSH, popular pronunciation *Merrākesh*), a town in Morocco, and one of the residences of the Sultān.

The form Marrakech, adopted by the administration of the protectorate, is of recent origin in French. Down to about 1890 the town was always known as Maroc (Morocco) in French. The kingdom of Morocco, distinct in origin from those of Fās and Sūs, finally gave its name to the whole empire. At one time it only consisted of the country south of the wādī Umm Rabī' as far as the range of the Great Atlas.

Marrakesh is situated in 31° 37' 35" N. Lat. and 7° 59' 42" East Long. (Greenw.). Its mean height above sea-level is about 1,510 feet. The town is 150 miles south of Casablanca. It is through the latter that almost all the traffic with the coast passes at the present day. It used to go via Šafī which is the nearest port (100 miles). Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 1765 tried to supplant it by Mogador (115 miles), where he built a town and harbour through which at the end of the xviiith century most of the trade between Marrakesh and Europe passed.

Although Marrakesh is only 235 miles from Fās as the crow flies, it is over 330 by Casablanca-Rabat-Meknes which is the only road that has been used for over a century, the direct road by the Tādla having been rendered impracticable by the traditional insecurity of the country.

The temperature which is very mild in winter is very hot in summer. The average maxima of 39° 6 in the month of August 1927 have nothing

unusual and imply extreme temperatures reaching or passing 50° on certain days. Rainfall is low (284.5 mm. in 1927, against 706.5 in Rabat and 1,007.3 in Tangier). But water fed by the snows of the Atlas is found at no great depth. It is collected by a system of long subterranean galleries (*khaṭṭāra*, plur. *khaṭāṭir*) which bring it to the surface by taking advantage of the very slight slope of the surface. This method of obtaining water, which is described in the xiith century by Iḍrīsī, has enabled the vast gardens which surround the town to be created. The Almohads and the dynasties which succeeded them also built aqueducts and reservoirs to supply the town with water from the springs and streams of the mountains.

Contrary to what was until quite recently believed, Marrakesh is by far the most thickly populated town of the empire. The census of March 7, 1926 gives 149,263 as the total population, 3,652 Europeans, 132,893 Muslims, 12,718 Jews. The probable growth of the population is not sufficient to explain the difference between the present day figures and the old estimates, almost all far below the truth and varying greatly among themselves: from 20,000 (given by Diego de Torres in 1585 and Hôst in 1768), 25,000 (Saint Olon, 1693), 30,000 (Ali Bey el-Abbassi, 1804), 40 to 50,000 (Gatell, 1864 and Eug. Aubin, 1902), 50,000 (Lambert, 1868), 60,000 (Beaumier, 1868), 80 to 100,000 (Washington, 1830) up to the obviously exaggerated figure of 270,000 given by Jackson in 1811.

About 40 miles N. of the Atlas, the vast silhouette of which, covered by snow for eight months of the year fills the background, Marrakesh is built in a vast plain called the Ḥawz which slopes very gently towards the wādī Tānsift, which runs 3 miles north of the town. The extreme uniformity of the plain is broken only in the N. W. by two rocky hills called Gilliz (1,700 feet) and Kudyat al-'Abid. In 1912 at the time of the French occupation, there was built a fort which commands Marrakesh. The modern European town called the Gueliz lies between this hill and the walls of the old town.

The wādī Issil, a left bank tributary of the Tānsift, a stream often dried up but transformed into a raging torrent after storms, runs along the walls of the town on the east. To the north of Marrakesh as far as the Tānsift and to the east stretches a great forest of palm-trees, the only one in Morocco north of the Atlas. It covers an area of 13,000 hectares and possesses over 100,000 palm-trees but the dates there only ripen very imperfectly.

The town is very large. The walls which run all round it measure at least 7 miles in length. The town in the strict sense does not occupy the whole of this vast area. The part built upon forms a long strip which starting from the zāwiya of Sidi bel 'Abbās in the north runs towards the ḡasba which stands at the southern end of the town. On the two sides lie great gardens and estates among which we find in the neighbourhood of the chief gates inside the walls, isolated quarters grouped like so many villages around their sūḡ and their mosque.

The town consists mainly of little low houses of reddish clay, often in ruins, among which are scattered huge and magnificent dwellings without particularly imposing exteriors built either by the viziers of the old makhzen (e. g. the Bāhiya, now

the Résidence Générale, the old palace of the Bā Ḥmād, vizier of Mawlāi al-Ḥasan) or by the great *kā'id*s, chiefs of the tribes of the country round. The narrow and overhung streets in the central area broaden towards the outskirts into sunny and dusty squares and crossroads. The colour, the picturesque architecture, the palm-trees, the branches of which appear over the walls of the gardens, the presence of a large negro population, all combine to give the town the appearance of a Saharan *ḥjar* of vast dimensions.

The centre of the life of the city is the *Djāma'* al-Fnā, a vast, irregular, ill defined open space, surrounded until quite recently by wretched buildings and reed huts, overshadowed by the high minaret of the Kutubiya Mosque. Its name comes, according to the author of the *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, from the ruins of a mosque which Aḥmad al-Manṣūr had undertaken to build there: "As he had planned it on a wonderful scale, it had been given the name of mosque of prosperity (*al-ḥanā*); but his plans being upset by a series of unfortunate events, the prince was unable to finish the building before his death and it was therefore given the name of mosque of the ruin (*djāma' al-fanā*)". This origin having been forgotten; an attempt was later made to explain the name of the square from the fact that the heads of rebels used to be exposed there (mosque or place of assembly of ruin, of death). It was there also that executions took place. Lying on the western edge of the principal agglomeration of buildings at its most thickly populated part, close to the *sūḳ*, connected with the principal gates by direct and comparatively quiet roads, *Djāma'* al-Fnā is the point of convergence of the roads. At all hours swarming with people, it is occupied in the morning with a market of small traders: barbers, cobblers, vendors of fruit and vegetables, of medicines, of fried grasshoppers, of tea and of soup (*ḥarira*); in the evening, it is filled with acrobats and jugglers (Awlād Sidi Aḥmad ū Mūsā of Tazerwāl), sorcerers, story-tellers, fire-eaters, snake-charmers and *shluḥ* dancers. The audience consists mainly of people from the country who have come into town on business and want to enjoy the distractions of the town for a few hours before going home. These visitors are always very numerous in Marrakesh. Besides the regular inhabitants there is a floating population the number of which has been put at 20,000 to 25,000. For Marrakesh is the great market for supplying not only the Ḥawz but also the mountain country, the Sūs and especially the extreme south, Dādes, Dar'a (Dra') and the Anti-Atlas. A portion of this traffic will probably be diverted via Agadir when this port is opened to trade. Marrakesh used to be the starting-point for caravans going through the Sahara to trade with Timbuktu. They brought back chiefly Sudanese slaves for whom Marrakesh was an important market. The conquest of the Sudan by France has put an end to this traffic.

To the north of the *Djāma'* al-Fnā begin the *sūḳ*s which are very large. As in Fās and in the other large towns, the traders and artisans are grouped by trades under the authority of the *muḥtasib*, a kind of provost of the merchants. The most important *sūḳ*s are those of the cloth merchants (*ḥisāriya*), of the sellers of slippers, of pottery, of basket work, of the embroiderers of harness, of the dyers and of the smiths. An important Thursday *sūḳ* (*al-ḥkamis*) is held outside

and inside the walls around the old gate of Fās which has taken the name of the market (Bāb al-*Ḥhamis*). This *sūḳ* was already in existence in the xvth century.

There is no industry to speak of in Marrakesh. The most important is the making of leather (tanning). The manufacture of slippers occupies 1,500 workmen who produce over 2,000 pairs each working day. There are the only articles manufactured in the town that are exported. They are sold as far away as Egypt and West Africa. The war interrupted communications and did great damage to this industry. For the rest, Marrakesh is mainly an agricultural market. The whole town is a vast *fondaḥ* in which are warehoused the products of the country, almonds, caraway seeds, goat-skins, oils, barley, wool, to be exchanged either for imported goods (sugar, tea, cloth) or for other agricultural produce (wheat, oil, which the tribes of the mountains and of the extreme south for example do not have).

The town is divided into 32 quarters: Zāwiya 'Abbāsiya, Sidi Ben Slimān, Aswal, Riyād al-'Arūs, Sidi Abi 'Amr, Bāb Dukkāla (divided into two quarters), Sidi 'Abd al-'Aziz, Raḥbat Azbast, Dabāshī, Kannāriya, Riyād al-Zitūn al-djadid, Djinān ben Shogra, Ksūr, Mwāsin, Riyād al-Zitūn al-ḳadim, 'Arṣa Mawlāi Mūsā Kbīra, 'Arṣa Mawlāi Mūsā Ṣghīra, Bāb Hailāna, Sidi Mimūn, Ben Ṣalāḥ, Sidi Aiyūb, Bū Zakri, Kā'at ben Moḍar, Bāb al-Dabbāgh, Ḥarat al-Ṣūra, Mawḳif, Arbatin, the *ḥaṣba* containing the royal palaces (again subdivided into several sections: al-Badrī, Ḳaṣbat al-nūḥās, Berrima, Bāb Aḥmār, Maskinat Sidi 'Amāra and the *mellāḥ* or Jewish quarter. We may further mention outside the walls near the Bāb Dukkāla, a quarter called al-Ḥāra where the lepers live. Until recent years the gates of the town were closed during the night. The superintendents of the quarters (*muḥaddamin*) have watchmen (*assāsa*) under their orders. The old custom still survives of firing a salvo at midnight on the *Djāma'* al-Fnā as a curfew.

Marrakesh being an imperial town, the *sulṭān* who only stays there at long intervals is represented in his absence by a *khalifa*, a prince of the imperial family (usually the son or brother of the sovereign). The role of this *khalifa* is purely representative. His main duty is to preside at the ceremonies during the ritual celebrations. The governor of the town is a *pasha*, assisted by a delegate (*nā'ib*) and several *khalifas*. One of the latter supervises the prisons and the administration of justice. Another has the title of *pasha* of the *ḥaṣba*. He governs the southern part of the town which includes the imperial palace and the Jewish quarter. Formerly the *pasha* of the *ḥaṣba* was independent of the *pasha* of the town and served to counter-balance the power of the latter. He commanded the *gish*, an armed contingent furnished by the warlike tribes (Aḍaya, Ait Immūr etc.) settled in the vicinity of the town by the *sulṭāns* on the domain lands. At the present day the *gish* is under the control of the *pasha* of the town and the *pasha* of the *ḥaṣba* only retains of his former powers certain rights of precedence and honorary privileges.

Muslim law is administered in Marrakesh by three *ḳādis*: one is established at the mosque of Ibn Yūsuf; the other at the mosque of al-Mwāsin and the third at the mosque of the *ḥaṣba*. The latter's competence does not extend beyond the limits of

his quarter. That of the others extends over the whole town and even over the tribes of the area governed from it who have no local *qāḍī*.

Marrakesh is not numbered like Rabat and Tetuan among the *ḥaḍariya* towns, i. e. it has not, like them, an old established citizen population, not of rural origin, with a bourgeoisie whose tone is given by the descendants of the Moors driven from Spain. In the xvth century however, Marrakesh did receive a colony of Morescoes large enough to give one quarter the name of Orgiba, a town of Andalusia from which they came. The foundation of the population consists of people of the tribes for the most part Berber or Arabs strongly mixed with Berber blood. *Shluḥ* is much spoken in Marrakesh although the language of the tribes around the town (Rḥāmna, Ūḍāya) is Arabic. The movements of the tribes, the coming and going of caravans, the importation of slaves from the Sudan have resulted in a constant process of mixing in the population and the old Maṣmūdian race which must with Almoravids have been the primitive population of Marrakesh is only found in combination with amounts difficult to measure of Arab, Saharan and negro blood. Even to-day this process is going on: the newcomers come less from the valleys of the Atlas than from the Sūs, the Dra' and the Anti-Atlas, from the extreme south which is poor and overpopulated. The greater number of these immigrants soon become merged in the population of the town; but the *Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes*, conducted by L. Massignon in 1923—1924 (Paris 1925) yielded some very curious information about the survival in Marrakesh of vigorous groups of provincials, specialising in particular trades: the makers of silver jewellery (at least those who are not Jews) owe their name of *tāgmūtiyin* to the fact that they originally came from Tāgmūt in Sūs; the Mesfiwa are charcoal-burners and greengrocers, the *Ghīghāya*, salters; the people of the Tōdgha, gatherers of dates and *khaḥāḥiriya*, i. e. diggers of wells, who specialise in water-channels (*khaḥāfir*); those of Tāfilālt, porters and paviors; those of Warwāzāt, water-carriers and of Tatta' (Anti-Atlas), restaurateurs; of the Dra', water-carriers and *khaḥāḥiriya*, etc. . . . This division is not the result of specialisation in their original home nor of privileges granted by the civic authorities but arises from the fact that artisans once settled in Marrakesh have sent for their compatriots when they required assistance. Thus groups grew up, sometimes quite considerable. The list of the corporations of Marrakesh gives a total of about 10,000 artisans. These corporations have lost much of their power under the pressure of the Makhzen. Some of them however still retain a certain social importance: in the first place that of the shoemakers which is the largest (1,500 members); then come the tanners (430), the cloth (237) and silk (100) merchants; the *fāsīs* wholesalers, then some groups of skilled artisans, highly esteemed but of less influence, embroiderers of saddles, makers of mosaics, carpenters, sculptors of plaster etc.

Religious and intellectual life. Mosques are numerous in Marrakesh. Some of them will be the subjects of brief archaeological studies. Those which play the most important part in the religious life of the city are the mosque of al-Mwāsīn, the mosque of 'Alī b. Yūsuf, both close to the sūks, that of Sīdī bel 'Abbās and that of the *ḥaḥba*. Then come the Kutubiya, the mosque of the Bāb Duk-

kāla, of the Bāb Ailān, of Berrīma, and the *Djāma'* Ibn Ṣālah. There are also many little mosques in the various faubourgs. But although it can claim illustrious men of learning, Marrakesh is not like Fās, a centre of learning and of teaching. The Almohads built schools and libraries there, brought the most illustrious scholars, philosophers and physicians from Spain, like Ibn Tūfāl, Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar) and Abū 'l-Walīd Ibn Ruṣhd (Averroes) who died at Marrakesh in 595 (1198). These great traditions did not survive the dynasty. In the beginning of the xvth century, in the time of Leo Africanus, the library of the Almohad palace was used as a poultry house and the madrasa built by the Marinids was in ruins. At the present day in the town of the Kutubiya there is not a single bookseller. A certain number of *ḥalwā* still live in the madrasas (Ibn Yūsuf, Ibn Ṣālah, Sīdī bel 'Abbās, Berrīma, *Ḥaḥba*) but the teaching in Marrakesh has neither the prestige nor the traditions which still give some lustre to the teaching at al-*Ḥarawīyīn* in Fās, much decayed as it is. Although they attempt to imitate the customs of Fās (they celebrate notably the "festival of the sūltān of the *ḥalwā*" [cf. Fās] every spring) the students are far from holding in Marrakesh the position their comrades enjoy in Fās.

The devotion of the people of Marrakesh expends itself particularly on the cult of saints, not at all orthodox but dear to the Berbers. Their town has always been famous for the great number of *walīs* who are buried in its cemeteries and who justify the saying: "Marrakesh, tomb of the saints". But in the time of Mawlāī Ismā'īl, the *Shaykh* Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, by order of the prince organised, in imitation of the old established cult of the Sab'atu Ridjāl (the seven saints of the Ragrāga, around the Djabal al-Ḥadīd, among the *Shayḍma*) a pilgrimage to the Sab'atu Ridjāl of Marrakesh including visits to seven sanctuaries and various demonstrations of piety. The following are the names of the seven saints in the order in which they ought to be visited: 1) Sīdī Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Ṣanhādjī, a leper, d. 593 (1196—1197), buried outside the Bāb Aghmāt on the spot where he had lived; 2) the *qāḍī* 'Iyād, 476—544 (1083—1149), *qāḍī* of Ceuta, then of Granada, a learned theologian, author of the *Shifā'*, a celebrated collection of traditions, buried beside the Bāb Ailān; 3) Sīdī bel 'Abbās al-Sabtī, patron saint of Marrakesh and the most venerated of the saints of the region 524—601 (1130—1204). He came to Marrakesh when the town was being besieged by the Almohads and settled there, at first in a hermitage on the Djabal Gilliz where a *ḥubba* dedicated to him can still be seen. But the principal pilgrimage is to his tomb at the northern end of the town over which Abū Fāris b. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr built a *zāwiya* and an important mosque at the beginning of the xvth century; 4) Sīdī Muḥammad b. Sīman al-Djazūlī, d. in 870 (1465) at Afughal among the *Shayḍma*, a celebrated *Ṣūfī*, founder of the *Djazūlī* brotherhood. His body was brought to Marrakesh in 930 (1523) by Aḥmad al-A'raḍj the Sa'dian; 5) Sīdī 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tabbā', a pupil of al-Djazūlī, d. in 914 (1508); 6) Sīdī 'Abd Allāh al-Ghazwānī, popularly called Mawla 'l-*Ḥṣūr*, d. in 935 (1528); 7) Sīdī 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suhailī, called the Imām al-Suhailī, a native of the district of Malaga, d. 581 (1185) and buried outside the Bāb al-Rabb.

It is quite an arbitrary choice that these seven individuals have been chosen as the *Ṣabʿatu Ridjāl*. Others could equally well have been chosen, as the town of Marrakesh and the cemeteries which stretch before it, contain a very large number of other venerated tombs. The principal are mentioned in the article by H. de Castries, *Les Sept Patrons de Marrakech* (*Hespéris*, 1924). Legend of course plays a great part in the cults of the various saints. We may mention for example the sayings and songs which perpetuate the memory of Lallā ʿUda, mother of the Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, a real personage much transformed by the popular imagination. The various trade corporations have chosen patron saints. Thus Sidi Yaʿqub is the patron of the tanners, Sidi bel ʿAbbās of the soap-makers and lacemakers, Sidi Maṣʿūd "slave" of Sidi Muḥammad b. Slimān is the patron of the masons, Sidi ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tabbāʿ of the dyers, etc. The majority of the artisans are also affiliated to the religious brotherhoods. In Massignon's investigation will be found details of the attraction which some of the latter have for certain trades.

The Jews. At the foundation of Marrakesh, the Jews had no permission to settle in the town. They came there to trade from Aghmāt Ailān where they lived. Al-Idrisi relates that under ʿAlī b. Yūsuf they had not even the right to spend the night in Marrakesh and that those, who were caught within the walls after sunset, were in great danger of losing their lives and property. They settled there at a later date. At the beginning of the xvth century there was, according to Marmol, in Marrakesh a ghetto of over 3,000 houses. It lay near the *sūq* on the site now occupied by the mosque of al-Mwāsin. When this mosque was built by Sulṭān ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālīb, the more scrupulous refused to pray there for some time on the pretext that it occupied the site of a Jewish cemetery. It was ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālīb who, about 1560, settled the Jews on the site they still occupy, along the wall of the *kaṣba* to the east, where the stables of the palace had been. In the beginning of the xvith century, there was here, according to the French traveller Mocquet, "like a separate town, surrounded by a good wall and having only one gate guarded by the Moors; here live the Jews who are over 4,000 in number and pay tribute". A century later, there were about 6,000 Jews and many synagogues. The Jewish quarter, called *mellāḥ* after the example of the Jewish quarter of Fās (the name *mellāḥ* is attested for Marrakesh as early as the end of the xvth century), has 12,000 inhabitants at the present day. As regards policing, it is under the authority of the *pasha* of the *kaṣba* but otherwise is administered by an elected Jewish committee. Questions of personal law are judged by a rabbinical tribunal of three members nominated and paid by the *Makhzen*. The Jews of Marrakesh are beginning to leave the bounds of the *mellāḥ*. For the most part they wear the ritual costume: gaberdine, skull-cap and black slippers, but the younger generation shows a tendency to emancipate itself from this dress. They have little influence on the corporations of Marrakesh and are not allowed to settle in the *sūks*. They are limited to certain trades (jewellers, tinsmiths and embroiderers of slippers) and share with the people of Fās the wholesale trade. They trade particularly with the *Shluḥ* of the mountains.

History. The Roman occupation never extended

so far as the region of Marrakesh. It is quite without probability that some writers, following the Spanish historian Marmol, have sought at Aghmāt or at Marrakesh the site of *Bocanum Emerum* (Βόκανον Ἠμεροπολίειον of Ptolemy), a town of Tingitana, the site of which is now unknown. The earliest historians agree that the place where Marrakesh was built by the Almohads was a bare marshy plain where only a few bushes grew. The name Marrakesh gives no clue to the origin of the town. The etymologies given by the Arab authors are quite fanciful: according to al-Marrākushī, it was the name of a negro slave who escaped and set up as a brigand there. Another writer explains it by a punning interpretation: "the meaning of the name in the language of the Maṣmūda is "go away quickly"! The place was actually a place of ambuscade for brigands". It was, it appears, in 449 (1057—1058) that the Almohads advanced from Sūs north of the Atlas and took Aghmāt Warika. It was there that they settled at first. But after the campaign of 452 (1060) in the course of which they conquered the country of Fazāz, Meknes and of the Lawāta near Fās, they wanted to make their position more permanent and independent by creating a kind of camp, which could be used as a base for their further campaigns and would threaten the Maṣmūda of the mountains and could be used as a connecting link between the south from which they came and the kingdom of Fās. Yūsuf b. Tāshfin therefore purchased from its owner an estate on the frontier between two Maṣmūda tribes, the Haīlāna and the Hazmīra, and pitched his camp there. So far was he from thinking of founding a great capital, a thing for which this Saharan nomad felt no need, that at first he lived in a tent here, beside which he built a mosque to pray in and a little *kaṣba* in which to keep his treasures and his weapons; but he did not build a surrounding wall. The native Maṣmūdīs built themselves dwellings surrounded by palisades of branches beside the Almoravid camp. The town grew rapidly to a considerable size, if it is true, that in the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf it had at least 100,000 hearths, but it did not lose its rural character until Ibn Tūmart appeared and the threat of the Almohad movement revived by him forced ʿAlī b. Yūsuf to defend his town and surround it by a rampart which was built in eight months, probably in 520 (1126). Some historians give the date 526 (1132) but it is certain that the walls were already built in 524 (1130) when the Almohads attacked Marrakesh for the first time. Marrakesh, the creation and capital of the Almoravids, was to be the last of their strongholds to yield. When Ibn Tūmart had established his power over the tribes of the mountains he tried to attack Marrakesh; he then sent an Almohad army under the command of Shaikh al-Bashīr, who, after defeating the Almoravids in the vicinity of Aghmāt, pursued them to the gates of Marrakesh. The Almohads could not enter the town but established themselves before its walls. After 40 days' siege, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf received reinforcements and made a successful sortie which forced the attackers to retreat. This was the battle of al-Buḥaira (524 = May 1130) from the name of a large garden, *Buḥairat al-Raḥīq*, near which it was fought. It lay to the east of the town before the Bāb Dabbāgh and the Bāb Ailān. Al-Bashīr was slain and Marrakesh respited for 17 years. Ibn Tūmart died a few months

later. It is hardly likely that 'Abd al-Mu'min should have made soon after his accession, as the *Kirfās* says, a new attempt to take Marrakesh. The memoirs of al-Baidhāk which give such full details of all the events of this period make no mention of it. They show on the contrary the Almohad armies busied at first in conquering the country before occupying the capital, taking Tadmā, Sale, Taza, Oran, Tlemcen and Fās and only returning to lay siege to Marrakesh after the whole country had been occupied and the capital alone held out as the last stronghold of the doomed dynasty. It was in the summer of 1146 that 'Abd al-Mu'min laid siege to Marrakesh. He made his headquarters at Gilliz and, seeing that the siege would be a long one, at once had houses built in which to instal himself and his army. The siege lasted eleven months. An unsuccessful sortie by the Almoravids seems to have hastened the fall of the town. Disgusted by lack of success and by famine, a number of chiefs of the besieged went over to the enemy. 'Abd al-Mu'min had scaling-ladders made and distributed them among the tribes. The assault was made and, according to Ibn al-Athīr, the defection of the Christian soldiery facilitated its success. The Almoravid Sultān, Ishāk, a young boy who had sought refuge in the fortress, was slain, along with a large number of the Almoravids. This event took place in 541 in the month of Shawwāl (March 6—April 3, 1147), according to the majority of the historians.

The Almohad dynasty which came from the south naturally took Marrakesh as its capital. It was here that 'Abd al-Mu'min and his successors usually resided when they were not in the country. The town prospered exceedingly under their rule. They gave it many important public buildings: the *kaṣba*, mosques, schools, a hospital, aqueducts and magnificent gardens. During this period of prosperity, there were very few events of particular interest in the history of Marrakesh. In 547 (1152—1153) according to Ibn Khaldūn, in 549 (1154—1156) according to al-Baidhāk and the *Kirfās*, the Banū Amghār, brothers of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, entered the town and tried to raise the inhabitants against 'Abd al-Mu'min who was away at Sale. The rising was speedily put down and ended in the massacre of the rebels and their accomplices. But on the decline of the dynasty, i. e. after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) and the death of al-Nāṣir, son of al-Manṣūr, Marrakesh became the scene of the struggle between the royal family descended from 'Abd al-Mu'min and the Almohad *shaikhs* descended from the companions of Ibn Tūmart who, quoting traditions of the latter, claimed the right to grant investiture to the sultāns and to keep them in tutelage. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid, brother of al-Manṣūr, was strangled in Sept. 621 (1224). His successor al-'Adil was drowned in a bath in the palace (Oct. 624 = 1227) and the Almohad *shaikhs* appointed as his successor the young Yahyā b. al-Nāṣir, while Abū 'l-'Ulā Idrīs al-Ma'mūn, brother of al-'Adil, was proclaimed in Spain. The whole country was soon in the throes of revolution. Yahyā, fearing the defection of the fickle Almohads, fled to Tinmal (April—May 626 = 1228). Disorder reigned in Marrakesh, where a governor named al-Ma'mūn was finally appointed. But four months later, Yahyā returned to Marrakesh with fresh troops, put al-Ma'mūn's governor to death and after staying seven days in the town

was forced to go to Gilliz to fight a battle (Feb. 1230), for al-Ma'mūn had arrived from Spain to take possession of his kingdom. Ferdinand III, king of Castile, had given in return for various concessions, a body of 12,000 Christian horsemen with whose assistance al-Ma'mūn defeated Yahyā and his followers, entered Marrakesh and installed an anti-Almohad regime there, marked not only by a terrible massacre of the *shaikhs* and their families but by a new orientation in religious matters quite opposed to that of the preceding reigns. On his arrival in Marrakesh, al-Ma'mūn mounted the pulpit of the mosque of the *kaṣba*, recited the *khutba*, solemnly cursed the memory of Ibn Tūmart and announced a whole series of measures, some of which are given by the *Kirfās* and Ibn Khaldūn and which show he intended to do everything on opposite lines to his predecessors. His innovations revived the discontent so that two years later (1232) while al-Ma'mūn and his militia were besieging Ceuta, Yahyā again occupied Marrakesh and plundered it. Al-Ma'mūn at once turned back to the rescue of his capital but died on the way (Oct. 17, 1232 = 629 A. H.). His widow, al-Habāb, succeeded in getting her son al-Rashīd, aged 14, proclaimed by the leaders of the army, including the commander of the Christian mercenaries. In return she gave them Marrakesh to plunder if they could reconquer it. But the people of the town, learning of this clause in the bargain, made their own terms before opening their gates to the new sultān. The latter had to grant them the *amān* and pay the Christian general and his companions the sum they might have expected from the plunder of the capital — according to the *Kirfās*, 500,000 dinārs.

In 633 (1235—1236) a rebellion of the *Khloṭ* drove al-Rashīd out of Marrakesh and he took refuge in Sidjilmāsa while Yahyā recaptured Marrakesh. Al-Rashīd however succeeded in retaking it and Yahyā finally was assassinated. It was in the reign of the Almohad al-Sa'īd (1242—1248) that the Marīnids who had arrived in the east of the country in 1216, seized the greater part of the kingdom of Fās. His successor 'Umar al-Murtaḍā, proclaimed in 646 (1248), found himself in 658 (1260) reduced to the solitary kingdom of Marrakesh, to the south of the *Umm Rabi'*. In 660 (1261—1262) the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Haḥḥ came to attack Marrakesh. He encamped on mount Gilliz whence he threatened the town. Al-Murtaḍā sent his cousin, the *saiyid* Abū 'l-'Ulā Idrīs, surnamed Abū Dabbūs, to fight him. The emīr 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Yūsuf was slain in the battle and his father lost heart, abandoned his plans on Marrakesh and returned to Fās at the end of Raddjab 661 (beg. June 1262).

From this time one feels that the dynasty is lost although peace was made, which moreover showed the humiliation of the Almohads who consented to pay tribute; but they were to destroy themselves. Falling into disfavour with his cousin al-Murtaḍā, Abū Dabbūs, this great-grandson of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who in the preceding year had defended Marrakesh against the Marīnid sultān, sought refuge with the latter and obtained from him the assistance necessary to overthrow al-Murtaḍā, on condition that he shared the spoils. Victorious and proclaimed sultān in October 1266, Abū Dabbūs forgot his promises. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb came in person to remind him of them. He laid siege to Marrakesh in 1267 but Abū Dabbūs had a stroke of good fortune for

the Marinid had to raise the siege to go and defend the kingdom of Fās against an attack by the sultān of Tlemcen, Yaḡmurāsān. The campaign being over, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb returned to Marrakesh. He entered it in Muḥarram 668 (Sept. 1269). The *Kirfās* tells us that he gave the *amān* to the inhabitants and to the surrounding tribes, whom he overwhelmed with benefits and ruled with justice and remained seven months to pacify and organise the country. By accepting Marinid rule, however, Marrakesh lost for two and a half centuries its position as a capital. The new dynasty made Fās its capital.

Its sultāns however, did not neglect Marrakesh especially during this period (end of the xiiith and first half of the xivth century). The chronicles record many sojourns made by them there but its great days were over. The town began to lose its inhabitants. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī was the only Marinid to undertake buildings of any importance at Marrakesh (a mosque and a madrasa). In the absence of the sovereign, the government of the town and district was entrusted to powerful governors as befitted a large town remote from the central authority. For nearly 20 years, from 668 to 687 (1269–1288), this office was held by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥallī, a chief greatly devoted to the Marinids, says Ibn Khaldūn, and allied by marriage to the family of their ruler. But in February 1288, fearing treachery from Muḥammad b. 'Alī, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf threw him into prison and gave his office to Muḥammad b. 'Aṭṭū al-Djānāti, a client and confidant of the royal family, to whom the sultān further entrusted his son Abū 'Āmir. Abū Ya'qūb had not left Marrakesh six months when the young prince Abū 'Āmir rebelled there and proclaimed himself sovereign at the instigation of the governor Ibn 'Aṭṭū (Nov. 1228). Abū Ya'qūb hastened to Marrakesh which he took after several days siege. The young Abū 'Āmir had time to escape and seek refuge in the mountains among the Mašmūdī tribes, after plundering the treasury.

The custom of giving the governorship of Marrakesh to a prince of the ruling family was kept up. Towards the end of May 1307, under the walls of Tlemcen, sultān Abū Thabit gave his cousin Yūsuf, son of Muḥammad b. Abī 'Iyād b. b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, the governorship of Marrakesh and the provinces depending on it. By the end of the year, Yūsuf rebelled and proclaimed himself independent at Marrakesh after putting to death the governor of the town, al-Ḥādīdj Mas'ūd. Defeated by the imperial troops on the banks of the Umm Rabi', the rebel fled to the mountains, plundering Marrakesh on his way (Jan. 1308). The punishment inflicted on the rebels was severe. Yūsuf b. Abī 'Iyād, handed over by a *shaikh* with whom he had taken refuge, was put to death and the heads of 600 of his followers went to adorn the battlements of the town. Abū Sa'īd 'Uṭhmān stayed at Marrakesh on several occasions. He did much rebuilding in 720 (1320). Peace and comparative prosperity seem to have reigned there under the rule of Abū 'l-Ḥasan until this prince, as a result of reverses suffered in his struggle with the Ḥafṣids, found his own son, the ambitious Abū 'Inān, rebelling against him. During the troubles which now broke out, Ibn Khaldūn tells us, the town was seriously threatened with being sacked by the Mašmūda of the mountains led by 'Abd Allāh al-Saksīwī. Abū 'Inān was able to consolidate his

power and avert this danger. The struggle between father and son ended in the region of Marrakesh. Abū 'l-Ḥasan, defeated at the end of Šafar 757 (May 1350) near the town, sought refuge in the mountains with the emirs of the Hintāta and died there just after becoming reconciled to his son and designating him his successor (June 1352).

During the course of the xivth century, the emirs of the Hintāta played a very important part in the country. The position of the tribe on an almost inaccessible mountain, from which it commanded Marrakesh, gave its chiefs comparative independence and predominating influence among the other Mašmūda. Abū 'Inān took no steps against the emir 'Abd al-'Azīz who had given asylum to the fugitive Abū 'l-Ḥasan. He retained him in the command of his tribe, which he gave a few years later to his brother 'Āmir. In 1353 the latter, becoming chief of all the Mašmūda tribes and sufficiently powerful to keep under his thumb the governor of Marrakesh al-Mu'tamid, son of Abū 'Inān, very soon succeeded in making himself completely independent. He received and for a time held as hostages two rebel Marinid princes Abū 'l-Faḍl, son of the Sultān Abū Sālim, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, son of Sultān Abū 'Alī. Quarrelling with his protégé Abū 'l-Faḍl whom he had made governor of Marrakesh, he retired into his mountains and for several years defied the armies of the sultān. He was in the end captured and put to death in 1370.

After the death of Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz, the pretender Abū 'l-'Abbās, son of Abū Sālim, had himself proclaimed in Fās with the help of his cousin 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ifellūsen, himself a pretender to the throne. The latter as a reward for his services was given the independent governorship of Marrakesh and the country round it (June 1374). The empire was thus completely broken up. The two rulers soon began to quarrel but then signed a treaty of peace in 1378. There was a new rupture and a new truce two years later after Marrakesh had been besieged for two months without result. Abū 'l-'Abbās in the end took Marrakesh in Djumādā 784 (July–Aug. 1382), and 'Abd al-Raḥmān was slain. Abū 'l-'Abbās, dispossessed in 1384 and exiled to Granada, succeeded in reconquering his kingdom in 1387 and sent to Marrakesh as governor his son al-Muntašir. This event is the last recorded by Ibn Khaldūn. From the time his record ceases and throughout the xvth century we are incredibly poor in information about the history of Marrakesh. The south appears to have continued to form a large governorship in the hands of princes of the royal family. The only information at all definite that we have comes from a Portuguese historian who records that during the three years which followed the capture of Ceuta by the Portuguese (1415–1418), Morocco was a prey to the struggles among the pretenders. While Abū Sa'īd 'Uṭhmān was ruling in Fās, Mawlāy Bū 'Alī, king of Marrakesh, was fighting against another Marinid prince called Fāris. The "kingdom" or governorship of Marrakesh does not seem to have completely broken the links which bound it to the kingdom of Fās for the governors of Marrakesh supplied contingents to the army which tried to retake Ceuta. But they very soon ceased to take part in the holy war in the north of Morocco and their name is not found among the opponents of the Portuguese.

Marrakesh by 1430 seems to have become *de facto* if not *de jure* independent, but we do not know within fifty years at what date the Hintāta emirs established their power; they were descended from a brother of 'Amir b. Muḥammad. They were "kings" of Marrakesh when in 1508 the Portuguese established themselves at Safi, taking advantage of the anarchy prevailing, for the power of the Hintāta emirs hardly extended beyond the environs of their capital and they could not effectively protect their tribes against the attacks of the Christians. By 1512 the Portuguese governors of Safi had succeeded in extending their power over the tribes near Marrakesh (Awlād Mtā') and the town lived in fear of the bold raids which on several occasions brought the Portuguese cavalry and their Arab allies into the district. The king of Marrakesh, overawed, entered into negotiations in 1514 but the terms were nothing less than his paying tribute as vassal and the building of a Portuguese fortress at Marrakesh. Agreement could not be reached. The occupation of Marrakesh remained the dream of the Portuguese soldiers. An attack on the town led by the governors of Safi and Azemmūr failed (April 23, 1515). This was the period when in reaction against the anarchy and foreign invasions the Sa'dian sharifs began to come to the front in Sūs. Aḥmad al-A'raǧī, who appeared in 1513 to the north of the Atlas, had himself recognised as leader of the holy war and accepted as such by the local chiefs, even by al-Nāṣir, king of Marrakesh. In the month of April 1514, it is recorded that he was in Marrakesh with the king. At the end of 1521, al-A'raǧī established himself peacefully in Marrakesh which he found partly depopulated by famine and married the daughter of the king Muḥammad b. Nāṣir called Bū Shenṭuf. The latter in 1524 having tried to kick against the tutelage of his too powerful son-in-law, al-A'raǧī and his brother Muḥammad al-Shaiḫ, seized the qaṣba, which seems till then to have been held by Bū Shenṭuf. They disposed of the latter by having him assassinated in the following year (1525). Marrakesh became the Sa'dian capital. The king of Fās, Aḥmad al-Waṭṭāsi, tried unsuccessfully to take it in June 1527. It remained in the hands of al-A'raǧī till 1554, when it was seized by his brother Muḥammad al-Shaiḫ, up till then king of Sūs. After the assassination of Muḥammad al-Shaiḫ in 1557, al-A'raǧī was put to death at Marrakesh with seven of his sons and grandsons, so as to secure the crown for Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb. The whole of the latter part of the century was for Marrakesh a period of great prosperity. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb built a series of important public works: rearrangement of the palace and of the provision storehouses in the qaṣba; in the town, the madrasa Ibn Yūsuf and the al-Mwāṣin mosque etc. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr finished his brother's work by building in the qaṣba from 1578 to 1594 the famous al-Badrī palace. The sultān, enriched by several years of peace and good government, and by the gold brought from the conquest of the Sūdān (1591—1592), lived almost continually in Marrakesh, to which he restored a splendour and a prosperity that it had not enjoyed since the end of the xiith century. But the death of al-Manṣūr opened a period of trouble and civil war "sufficient to turn white the hair of an infant at the breast" to use the expression of the historian al-Ifrānī. While Abū

Fāris, son of al-Manṣūr, was proclaimed at Marrakesh, another son, Zidān, was chosen sultān at Fās. A third brother, al-Shaiḫ, came and took Fās, then sent against Marrakesh an army led by his son 'Abd Allāh, who seized the town in Dec. 22, 1606. But Zidān, who sought refuge first in Tlemcen, then made his way to Sūs, via Tāfilālt and coming suddenly to Marrakesh, had himself proclaimed there while 'Abd Allāh b. al-Shaiḫ while escaping with his troops was attacked in the midst of the gardens (*djānān Bekkār*) and completely defeated (Feb. 25, 1607). In October of the same year, 'Abd Allāh returned after defeating Zidān's troops on the Wādi Tifālfalt (Oct. 2, 1607), fought a second battle with them at Rās al-'Ain (a spring in Tānsift), regained possession of the town and revenged himself in a series of massacres and punishments so terrible that a portion of the population having sought refuge in the Gilliz, proclaimed as sultān, Muḥammad, great-grandson of Aḥmad al-A'raǧī. 'Abd Allāh was forced to fly (Jan. 25, 1608). Zidān, recalled by a section of the populace, regained possession of his capital in a few days. The struggle between Zidān and his brother al-Shaiḫ, in the year following, centred round the possession of Fās. Zidān failed in his plans to retake it and henceforth Fās, given over completely to anarchy, remained separate from the kingdom of Marrakesh. On these happenings, a marabout from Tāfilālt, named Abū Maḥālī, attempted to intervene (1611) to put an end to the fighting among the pretenders, which was inflicting great suffering on the people. His intervention only made matters worse. He took Marrakesh on May 20, 1612. Zidān took refuge in Safi and succeeded in again gaining possession of his capital with the help of an influential marabout in Sūs, called Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh. After a battle near Gilliz, Zidān withdrew into Marrakesh on Nov. 30, 1613. But Yahyā, succumbing to ambition, rebelled himself at the end of 1618, against the ruler whose cause he had once so well sustained. Zidān had again to take refuge in Safi. He was soon able to return to Marrakesh, taking advantage of the discord that had broken out in the enemy ranks. 'Abd al-Malik (1627—1631), son and successor of Zidān, has left only the memory of his cruelty and debauchery. He was murdered in May 1631. The renegades, who killed him, also disposed of his brother and successor al-Walid in 1636. A third brother, Muḥammad al-Shaiḫ al-Aṣghar, succeeded him but had only a semblance of power. He managed however to reign till 1655, but his son Aḥmad al-'Abbās was completely in the hands of the Shab-bāna, an Arab tribe who assassinated him and gave the throne to 'Abd al-Karīm, called Karṭum al-Hādīdj, in 1659. "The latter", says al-Ifrānī, "united under his sway all the kingdom of Marrakesh and conducted himself in an admirable fashion with regard to his subjects". His son Abū Bakr succeeded him in 1668 but only reigned two months until the coming of the Filāli Sultān al-Raṣhīd, already lord of Fās, who took Marrakesh on July 31, 1668. Called to Marrakesh by the rebellion of his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥrīz, al-Raṣhīd met his death there in the garden of al-Agdāl, his head having been injured by a branch of an orange tree against which his horse threw him when it stumbled.

Mawlāy Ismā'il had some difficulty in getting himself proclaimed at Marrakesh, which preferred

his nephew, Aḥmad b. Muḥriz. Ismā'il forced his way in on the 9th Ṣafar 1083 (June 4, 1672). In the following year, Marrakesh again welcomed Aḥmad b. Muḥriz. After a siege of two years (March 1675—June 1677), Ismā'il reoccupied Marrakesh and plundered it. He passed through it again in 1094 (1683) on his way to Sūs to fight Aḥmad b. Muḥriz who was still in rebellion. Marrakesh was no longer the capital. Mawlāy Ismā'il took an interest in it and destroyed the palaces of the ḡaṣba to use the materials for his works in Meknes. In 1114 (Feb. 1703), a son of Mawlāy Ismā'il, Muḥammad al-ʿĀlim, rebelled against his father, seized Marrakesh and plundered it. Zidān, brother of the rebel, was given the task of suppressing the rising, which he did, plundering the town once more.

Anarchy again broke out after the death of Ismā'il. Its centre was Meknes. Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī, proclaimed by the ʿAbid in 1738, was disowned by them in 1740 and replaced by his brother ʿAbd Allāh. He sought refuge in Marrakesh. His brother al-Naṣīr remained his *ḡhalifa* in Marrakesh till 1745, while al-Mustaḍī tried in vain to reconquer his kingdom. Marrakesh finally submitted in 1746 to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh who sent his son Sidi Muḥammad there as *ḡhalifa*. The governorship and then the reign of the latter (1757—1790) formed one of the happiest periods in the history of Marrakesh. Sidi Muḥammad completely restored the town, made it his usual residence, received many European embassies there, including a French one led by the Comte de Breugnon in 1767, and developed its trade. Peace was not disturbed during his long reign except for a riot raised by a marabout pretender named ʿUmar, who at the head of a few malcontents tried to attack the palace in order to plunder the public treasury. He was at once seized and put to death (between 1766 and 1772, according to the sources). On the death of Sidi Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the situation remained very unsettled for several years. After taking the oath of allegiance to Mawlāy Yazīd (May 3, 1790) the people of Marrakesh took in his brother Mawlāy Hishām and proclaimed him. On hearing this, Yazīd abandoned the siege of Ceuta, returned to Marrakesh, plundered it and committed all kinds of atrocities (1792). Hishām, supported by the ʿAbda and the Dukkālā, marched on Marrakesh. Yazīd, wounded in the battle, died a few days later in the palace (Feb. 1792). Marrakesh remained faithful to the party of Mawlāy Hishām, but very soon the Rḡamna abandoned him to proclaim Mawlāy Ḥusain, brother of Hishām. He established himself in the ḡaṣba (1209 = 1794—1795). While the partisans of the two princes were exhausting themselves in fighting, Mawlāy Slimān, sultān of Fās, avoided taking sides in the struggle. The plague rid him at one blow of both his rivals (July 1799) who had in any case to submit some time before. The last years of the reign of Mawlāy Slimān were overcast by troubles in all parts of the empire. Defeated at the very gates of Marrakesh, he was taken prisoner by the rebel Shṛāda. He died at Marrakesh on Nov. 28, 1822. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḡmān (1824—1859) did much for the afforestation of Agdāl and restored the religious buildings. His son Muḥammad completed his work by repairing tanks and aqueducts. These two reigns were a period of tranquillity of Marrakesh. In 1862 however, while Sidi Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḡmān was fighting the

Spaniards at Tetwan the Rḡamna rebelled, plundered the Sūḡ al-ḡhamīs and closely blockaded the town, cutting off communications and supplies, until the Sultān, having made peace with Spain, came to relieve the town (June 1862). Mawlāy al-Ḥasan hardly ever lived in Marrakesh but he stopped there on several occasions, notably in October 1875, to punish the Rḡamna and the Bū 'l-sba', who had rebelled, and in 1880 and 1885, to prepare his expeditions into Sūs.

During the last years of the reign of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1894—1908), it was at Marrakesh that the opposition to the European tastes and experiments of the Sultān made itself most strongly felt. The xenophobia culminated in the murder of a French doctor named Mauchamp (March 19, 1907), and the spirit of separatism in the proclamation as sultān of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥafīz, brother of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and governor of the provinces of the south (Aug. 24, 1907). But ʿAbd al-Ḥafīz becoming ruler of the whole empire (Aug. 24, 1907) and having signed the treaty of March 24, 1912 establishing the protectorate of France and of Spain over Morocco, the anti-foreign movement broke out again in the south. The Mauritanian marabout al-Ḥiba had himself proclaimed and established himself in Marrakesh. He only held out there for a brief period. His troops having been defeated at Sidi Bū 'Uḡmān on Sept. 6, 1912, the French troops occupied Marrakesh the next day.

Relations with Europe. Five minor friars sent by St. Francis were put to death at Marrakesh on Jan. 16, 1220, for having attempted to convert Muslims and having insulted the Prophet Muḥammad in their discourses. Their martyrdom attracted the attention of the Holy See to Marrakesh. A mission and a bishopric were established by Honorius III in 1225 to give the consolations of religion to the Christians domiciled in Morocco: merchants, slaves and mercenaries in the sultān's army. In the Almoravid period, the sultāns had Christian mercenaries recruited from prisoners reduced to slavery or from the Mozarab population of Spain whom they had from time to time deported to Morocco by entire villages. In 1227, Abu 'l-'Ulā Idrīs al-Ma'mūn having won his kingdom with the help of Christian troops lent by the king of Castile found himself bound to take up quite a new attitude to the Christians. He granted them various privileges, including permission to build a church in Marrakesh and worship openly there. This was called Notre Dame and stood in the ḡaṣba, probably opposite the mosque of al-Manṣūr: it was destroyed during a rising in 1232. But the Christian soldiery continued to enjoy the right to worship, at least privately, and the bishopric of Marrakesh filled by an episcopal board at Seville, existed so long as there was an organised Christian soldiery in Morocco, i.e. to the end of the xvth century. The title of Bishop of Marrakesh was borne till the end of the xvth century by the suffragans of Seville (cf. Father A. Lopez, *Los obispos de Marruecos desde el siglo XIII*, in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, N^o xlii., 1920). A Spanish Franciscan, the prior Juan de Prado, who came to re-establish the mission, was put to death in 1631 at Marrakesh. A few years later (1637), a monastery was re-established beside the prison for slaves in the ḡaṣba. It was destroyed in 1659 or 1660 after the death of the last Sa'dian. Henceforth the Franciscans were obliged to live in the *mellāḡ*

where they had down to the end of the xviiith century a little chapel and a monastery. As to the Christian merchants, they had not much reason to go to Marrakesh in the middle ages. Trade with Europe was conducted at Ceuta from which the Muslim merchants carried European goods into the interior of the country. In the xviith century, 'Abd Allāh al-Ḡhālīb had a *fondaḳ* or "bonded warehouse" built in the *sūḳ* where the Christian merchants were allowed to live; but the majority of those who came to Marrakesh preferred to settle in the Jewish quarter. It was here also that foreign ambassadors usually lodged, at least when they were not made to encamp in one of the gardens of the palace.

Monuments. The present enceinte of Marrakesh is a wall of clay about 20 feet high, flanked with rectangular bastions at intervals of 250 to 300 feet. Bāb Aghmāt, Bāb Ailān, Bāb Dabbāgh which still exist more or less rebuilt, are mentioned in the account of the attack on Marrakesh by the Almohads in 524 (1130). Bāb Yintān, Bāb al-Makhzen, mentioned at the same time, have disappeared. Bāb al-Ṣāliḥa (no longer in existence: it stood on the site of the *mellāḥ*) and Bāb Dukkāla (still in existence) figure in the story of the capture of the town by the Almohads (1147). The plan of the wall has therefore never changed. It has been rebuilt in places from time to time, as the clay crumbled away, but it may be assumed that a number of pieces of the wall, especially on the west and south-west, are original, as well as at least three gates all now built up, to which they owe their survival, but have lost their name. According to Abu 'l-Fidā' (xivth century), there were in Marrakesh seventeen gates; twenty-four at the beginning of the xviith century according to Leo Africanus. It would be very difficult to draw up an accurate list, for some have been removed, others opened, since these dates or the names have been altered. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari (beginning of the xviiith century) adds to the names already mentioned those of Bāb Nfis, Bāb Muḥriḳ, Bāb Messūfa, Bāb al-Raḥā all four of which have disappeared, Bāb Taghzūt, Bāb Fās (now Bāb al-Khamis), Bāb al-Rabb which still exist. The only important changes, which have been made in the walls of Marrakesh since they were built, have been the building of the ḳaṣba in the south and in the north the creation of the quarter of Sidi bel 'Abbās. The zāwiya, which as late as the xviith century stood outside the walls beyond the Bāb Taghzūt, was taken into the town with all its dependencies.

The ḳaṣba. The little ḳaṣba and the palace of Dār al-'Umma built by Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, lay north of the present "Mosque of the Booksellers" or Kutubiya. 'Alī b. Yūsuf added in the same quarter other palaces called Sūr al-Ḥadjjar, or Ḳaṣr al-Ḥadjjar because they were built with stones from the Gilliz, while all the other buildings in the town were of brick or clay. It was here that the first Almohads took up their quarters. According to a somewhat obscure passage of the *Istibṣār*, Abū Yaḳūb Yūsuf seems to have begun the building of a "fort" in the south of the town but it was Yaḳūb al-Manṣūr who built the new ḳaṣba (1189—97); that is to say he joined to the south wall of the town a new walled area within which he built palaces, a mosque, and a regular town. Nothing remains of the Almohad palaces, but one can from pieces of wall and other vestiges follow

the old wall, at least on the north and the east side. There also the line of the wall has hardly changed. The magnificent gateway of carved stone by which the ḳaṣba is now entered, must be one of al-Manṣūr's building. Its modern name of Bāb Agnāw (the Negro's Gate) is not found in any old text. It probably corresponds to Bāb al-Kuḥl (Gate of the Negroes), often mentioned by the historians.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari, in the xivth century, Leo Africanus and Marmol in the xvth, have left us fairly detailed descriptions of the ḳaṣba, in spite of a few obscure passages. In the Almohad period, the ḳaṣba was divided into three quite distinct parts. One wall in the northwest, around the mosque of al-Manṣūr which still exists, contained the police offices, the headquarters of the Almohad tribes and the barracks of the Christian soldiery. From this one entered through the Bāb al-Ṭubūl, a second enclosure in which around a huge open space, the "Cereque" of Marmol (*asārāg*), were grouped the guardhouses, the offices of the minister of the army, a guest-house, a madrasa with its library and a large building called *al-saḳā'if* (the porticoes), the "Acequife" of Marmol, occupied by the principal members of the Almohad organisation, the "Ten", the "Fifty" and the *ṣolbā*, the pages (*ahl al-dār*). The royal palace, sometimes called the Alhambra of Marrakesh, in imitation of that of Granada, was entered from the *Asārāg* and occupied the whole area east of the ḳaṣba. The palaces of al-Manṣūr were still in existence at the beginning of the xvth century when the Sa'dians took possession. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḡhālīb incorporated them in the new palaces which he was building. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr added, in the gardens to the north, the famous al-Badrī palace celebrated for its size and splendour. Only a few almost shapeless ruins remain of it, but its plan is perfectly clear. Mawlay Ismā'īl had it destroyed in order to use its materials. The ḳaṣba remained so completely in ruins that Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh when he became governor of Marrakesh in 1746, was obliged to live in a tent until his new buildings were finished. It is to him that we owe an important part of the present palace with its inner garden, 'Arṣat al-Nil. Other works were later undertaken by Mawlay Slimān and his successors. Some large unfinished buildings date only from Mawlay 'Abd al-Ḥafiz. A number of gates, in addition to the Bāb Agnāw give admittance to the ḳaṣba: these are Bāb Berrima and Bāb al-Aḥmar in the east, Bāb Ighli and Bāb Ḳṣiba in the west. The palace has vast gardens belonging to it: Dīnān al-'Āfiya, Agdāl, Dīnān Riḍwān, Ma'mūniya, Manāra. The latter, two miles west of the town, contained in the xvth century a pleasure house of the sultāns. The palace of Dār al-Baiḍā', situated in the Agdāl, took the place of a Sa'dian palace. It was rebuilt by Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh and has since been restored. As to the gardens of the Agdāl, they seem to have been created in the xiith century by 'Abd al-Mu'min.

Mosques. Nothing remains of the early Almoravid mosques, in the building of one of which Yūsuf b. Tāshfin himself worked along with the masons as a sign of humility. But the cathedral mosque of 'Alī b. Yūsuf, where Ibn Tūmart had an interview with the sultān, although several times rebuilt, still retains its name. The Almohads, on taking possession of Marrakesh, destroyed all the mosques on the pretext that they were wrongly

oriented. The mosque of 'Alī b. Yūsuf was only partly destroyed and was rebuilt. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb restored it in the middle of the xvth century. The present buildings and the minaret date from Mawlay Slimān (1792—1822).

Kutubīya. When the Almohads entered Marrakesh, Abd al-Mu'min built the first Kutubīya of which some traces still remain and it has been possible to reconstruct its plan. As it was wrongly oriented he built a new mosque, the present Kutubīya, in prolongation of the first but with a slightly different orientation. It takes its name from the 100 booksellers' shops which used to be around its entrance. It is a very large building with seventeen naves, which with its decoration in carved plaster, its stalactite cupolas, the moulding of its timberwork, its capitals and magnificent pulpit (*minbar*) of inlaid work, is the most important and the most perfectly preserved work of Almohad art. The minaret, begun by 'Abd al-Mu'min, was only finished in the reign of his grandson al-Manṣūr (1195). It is 230 feet high and its powerful silhouette dominates the whole town and the palm-groves. It is the prototype of the Giralda of Seville and of the tower of Hassān at Rabat. It is decorated with arcatures the effects of which were formerly heightened by paintings still visible in places, with a band of ceramic work around the top.

The mosque of the ḡasba or mosque of al-Manṣūr is the work of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. It was begun in 1189—95 and built in great splendour. It has been profoundly altered, first by 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb the Sa'dian, then in the middle of the xviii century by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, then more recently by Mawlay 'Abd al-Raḥmān (1822—1859). The minaret of brick is intact and magnificently ornamented with green ceramics. The lamp-holder supports a *djāmūr* of three bowls of gilt copper, which occupy a considerable place in the legends of Marrakesh. They are said to be of pure gold and to be enchanted so that no one could take them away without bringing on himself the most terrible misfortunes. This legend is often wrongly connected with the *djāmūr* of the Kutubīya.

Among the religious monuments of Marrakesh of archaeological interest, may also be mentioned the minarets of the mosque of Ibn Ṣālah (dated 731 = 1331) and of the sanctuary of Mawla 'l-Kṣūr, built in the Marinid period in the Almohad tradition, and two Sa'dian mosques: the mosque of al-Mwāsīn or mosque of the Sharifs, which owes its origin to 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb, and that of Bāb Dukkāla, built in 965 (1557—1558) by Lālla Mas'ūda, the mother of the Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr.

Madrasas. An Almohad madrasa, built "to teach the children of the king and others of his family in it", formed part of the buildings of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. This royal school was presumably different from what later were the Marinid madrasas. It stood on the great square in front of the palace and was still in existence in the time of Leo Africanus. The Marinid Abu 'l-Ḥasan in 1347 built another madrasa, also described by Leo. It lay north of the mosque of the ḡasba, where traces of it can still be seen. The madrasa of Ibn Yūsuf is not, as is usually said, a restoration of the Marinid madrasa. It was a new building by 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb, dated by an inscription of 972 (1564—1565), the only surviving example of a Sa'dian madrasa.

Sa'dian tombs. The two first founders of

the dynasty rest beside the tomb of Sīdī Muḥammad b. Slimān al-Djazzūlī in the Riyād al-'Arīs quarter. Their successors from 1557 were buried to the south of the mosque of the ḡasba. There was a cemetery there, probably as early as the Almohad period, which still has tombs of the xivth century. The magnificent ḡubbas which cover the tombs of the Sa'dian dynasty must have been built at two different periods. The one on the east under which is the tomb of Muḥammad al-Shaikh seems to have been built by 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb. The other, with three chambers, seems to have been erected by Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (d. 1603) to hold his tomb.

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Maroc, 1928; Cap. Begbéder, *Notes sur l'organisation administrative de la Région de Marrakech*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. du Maroc*, 1921; Voinot, *Les tribus guich du Haouz de Marrakech*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. et d'Archéologie d'Oran*, 1928; in *France-Maroc*, 1919—1921, a number of articles signed Aimel, Doulté, Guichard, etc.; Doctoresse Légey, *Contes et légendes populaires recueillis à Marrakech*, 1926. (PIERRE DE CÉNIVAL)

AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ. [See 'ABD AL-WĀKID.]

MARŞAD (A.), from *raşada*, "to wait on the road, to watch, to lie in wait", originally any place where a watch was kept, for example, a custom-house, then (with or without *al-kawākib*) an observatory. *Al-raşad* is also used in the latter sense. "To consult the stars for any one" is *raşada li-futānīn*, to take astronomical measurements with instruments is *ḥāsa* (cf. *ḥiyās* = ascertaining latitude and longitude and *miḳyās* = gnomon).

The Arab observatories had their models and predecessors in the Persian, Indian, Greek and Babylonian observatories. Very little is known about the construction of the oldest observatories. It is obvious however that when the advance was made from the observation and recording of isolated phenomena in the heavens, which were regarded as omens of good or ill fortune, to the exact following of the movements of heavenly bodies, simple instruments to calculate time and measure areas and angles in the heavens would become necessary. Such must have existed in the towers of Babylonian temples which were used as observatories, in the form of sundials, sand- and water-clocks measuring rods, and graduated circles. In the time of Ptolemy sundials and water-clocks were certainly in use, a circle divided parallel to the equator of the heavens which was used to calculate the equinox and length of the year, a meridian circle, the armillary sphere and the astrolabe or planisphere. The Arab astronomers, however, received their knowledge from the Hindus and Persians, among whom astrology and practical astronomy had reached a high level. When the first astronomical observations were made under the 'Abbāsids at Džundi-Sābūr and the first astronomical works were translated out of the Sanskrit and Pahlawi, there is no doubt that the observatories erected in Baghdād were also modelled on Indian and Persian prototypes. In his astronomical work, al-Battānī describes the construction of the sundial (*al-ruḥḥāma*), a globe of the heavens (*al-baiḍa*), a wall-quadrant (*al-ruḥ* or *al-libna*) and a triquetrum (*al-ṣiḍāda al-fawila* or *dhāt al-shu'batain*). The instrument most used in the Arab period however was the astrolabe which was portable (cf. above i., p. 501). The number of makers of astrolabes, observers and compilers of astronomical tables from the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period is immense and the rivalry of princes to obtain more and more accuracy in the astronomical foundations of astrology also led to the improvement of instruments and the arrangements in observatories generally. It is sufficient to mention out of the many observatories that of Cairo where Ibn Yūnus (d. 400—401 = 1009) completed the Ḥākīmī tables, the observatory of Nishāpūr where al-Khāzini (d. beginning of the viiith = xiith century) took observations, that of Marāgha which Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī erected

with many new instruments for the Mongol Khān Hūlāgū (1259) and the observatory of Samarkand, where Ulūgh Beg employed the astronomers of his time. Following him in many points but also stimulated by European astronomy Džai Singh in India built the great observatories, the remains of which still arouse admiration in Delhi, Džai-pūr, Uḍjain, Benares and Mathura.

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MARTHIYA (A., plur. *marāṭhi*), translated variously by elegy or dirge, is a poem in Arabic (and other languages following Arabic tradition) in memory of a deceased person. The word elegy is hardly applicable in most cases as such poems differ somewhat from the style of Greek and Latin poems bearing this name; some notable exceptions exist and the finest example of a real elegy is perhaps the poem of a woman named Barra al-Kināniya preserved in the *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāin*, and still unpublished. It was the custom of the ancient Arabs after the usual *nawḥ* or lamentation of women [q. v.] that a member of the family, gifted as a poet, should commemorate the noble qualities and deeds of the departed in a poem by enumerating them. These poems as a rule do not contain the *tashīb* or amatory introduction like ordinary *qaṣīdas* and in many cases have a peculiarity in their diction, the introduction of a kind of internal rhyme resembling *saḍḥ*, called *tarṣī*. This has been fully discussed by Rhodokanakis in his analysis of the poetry of al-Khansā', but is found in many other marthiyas. Many poets, remembering the widespread, nay universal, belief of the ancient Arabs in fatalism, embellish their poems with descriptions to show that nothing can escape inevitable fate. A typical example is the long poem by Abū Dhū'ayb (*Dhū'ayb*, N^o. 1; *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, N^o. 126) in which three vivid pictures are drawn of the impossibility of escaping death, both for man and beast. This tradition has been followed by Arabic poets from the times of paganism to the present date and the quantity of poems produced for example upon the death of the Egyptian statesman Zaḡhlūl Pāshā proves that the taste for them has not abated. The collected poems of al-Zahāwī, the most prominent living poet of

the 'Irāk, contain several pages mourning Zagh'lūl. As regards the earlier period, poems have been preserved in considerable numbers and from the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām downwards nearly every anthology has a special chapter devoted to marāṭhī. Several early scholars in addition made special collections of this class of literature and one such collection has come down to us, made by the Kūfī grammarian Ibn al-A'rābī, and published from an incomplete manuscript by W. Wright. The poet *par excellence* in this class of poetry however was a woman, al-Khansā' [q. v.].

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(F. KRENKOW)

MARTOLOSEN. Lexicons explain *martolos* and *martolos* as "Christian soldiers, volunteers in the Ottoman army". The word apparently is not to be found in Turkish authors, but is often met with in Western books and documents.

Leunclavius (*Annales*, p. 142) says that *martelos* means "robber"; Ricaut (Italian translation by C. Belli, *Istoria dello stato presente dell' Impero ottomano*) relates that Buda was garrisoned by 300 *martoloi* "who are like infantry"; M. Sanudo (*Diarīi*, xxxvi. 271) mentions one Sbolovach "a very brave man and great *martellosso*", who served the Turks and was killed in action near Zara in Dalmatia. According to Lazaro Soranzo (*L'Ottomanno*, 4th ed., Naples 1600, p. 110—111), *martelos* means spy and thief.

Sathas (*Monum. Historiae Hellenicae*, iv., lvi., No. 4) derives the word (*martolosi*, *martalosi*, *martelosi*, *martelossi*, *armatoli*) from ἀρματολός and says that they were soldiers of fortune serving the Turks, often opposed the "Stradioti", who fought for the Venetians.

Von Hammer (*G. O. R.*, iv. 211—212) observes that the *martolosi* were bands of brigands, armed by the Turks on the frontiers towards the Venetians and Dalmatians; while, quoting Pouqueville, who favours the etymology ἀρματολός, he inclines to an etymology from the Hungarian.

Pouqueville's and Sathas' explanations seem to us the most probable. The appellation was not limited to brigands on the western frontiers of the Ottoman empire, but was also given to armed bands of volunteers (xvith—xviih centuries) in the Danube region (Jorga, *Geschichte des osm. Reiches*, iii. 419; Hurmuzaki, *Documente* etc., xii., p. 130).

MAR'UF AL-KARKHĪ, ABU MAHFUZ B. FIRUZ or FIRUZĀN, who died in 200 (815—816), was a celebrated ascetic and mystic of the Baghdad school. The *nisba* al-Karkhī probably refers to Karkh Bādjaddā, a township in eastern 'Irāk (Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, p. 478b, l. 10; cf. Yākūt, *Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 369, l. 8 sqq.), though some authorities connect him with the Karkh quarter of Baghdad. His parents are generally said to have been Christians; according to Ibn Taghribirdi (ed. Juynboll and Matthes, i. 575), they were Šābi'ans belonging to the district of Wāsiṭ. Bakr b. Khunais al-Kūfī and Farḡad al-Sabakhī, also of Kūfa, are named as his teachers in Šūfism (Abū Ṭālib al-Makki, *Kut al-Kulūb*, i. 9; *Fihrist*, p. 183). Of those whom he taught or influenced the most

famous was Sari al-Sakaṭī [q. v.], who in his turn became the master of Djunaid. The story that Ma'ruf was a client of the Shī'ī Imām, 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, before whom he made profession of Islām and induced his parents to do the same, deserves no credence. Among the sayings attributed to him are the following: "Love is not to be learned from men; it is a gift of God and comes of His grace". "The saints are known by three signs: their cares are for God, their business is in God, and their flight is unto God". "Šūfism consists in grasping the realities (*ḥaqā'iq*) and renouncing that which is in the hands of created beings". Ma'ruf was venerated as a saint, and his tomb at Baghdad on the west bank of the Tigris is still a great resort for pilgrims. Kūshairī relates that the people used to go there in order to pray for rain, saying: "The tomb of Ma'ruf is an approved remedy (*tiryāk mudjarrab*)".

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MAR'UF RUŠAFĪ, one of the best of contemporary Arab poets, born in Baghdad of a Kurd father and a Beduin mother in 1292 (1875). His *kašidas* have been collected into a *Diwān* and edited by Muhyi al-Dīn al-Khaiyāt, Bairūt 1910, following quite an original classification 1. *Kawniyyāt*, 2. *Iḍtimā'iyāt*, 3. *Tārīkhiyyāt*, 4. *Wasfiyyāt*. Rušafīl Buṭṭī has devoted an excellent study to him (in *al-Adab al-Aṣrī fi 'l-'Irāk al-'Arabī*, Cairo, Salafiya 1922, p. 67—96).

(L. MASSIGNON)

MAR'UT. [See HĀRUT and MAR'UT.]

MARW. [See MERW.]

AL-MARWA. [See AL-ŠAFĀ.]

MARWĀN B. AL-HAKAM, the father of the Marwānid Caliphs, was born at Mecca or at Ṭā'if, probably several years before the Hidjra. Tradition, by placing his birth 2, 4, or 5 years later than the beginning of this era, aims at depriving him of a right to the title of "Companion" by showing that he could not have effectively accompanied the Prophet, as he must have followed his father who was exiled to Ṭā'if. Further, it endeavours in its hostility to give him the epithet of *ṭarīd ibn al-ṭarīd*, "the banished son of the banished man". After becoming Caliph, his grand-uncle 'Uḥmān adopted him as his secretary and under this title he is said to have governed in his name. Seriously wounded on the "day of al-Dār", at the siege of the palace of 'Uḥmān, he took part later in the battle of the Camel in which he received fresh wounds. All his life his health suffered from these terrible shocks. Mu'āwiya I used him alternately with Sa'id b. al-ʿĀṣ [q. v.], his cousin, to govern Medina and the Hidjāz. He showed in this function a capacity and vigour, far above the ordinary.

Finally dismissed from office, he passed into obscurity during the latter years of Mu'āwiya who dreaded his ambition. When Ḥusain b. 'Alī refused

to recognize the Caliph Yazīd, Marwān advised Walīd b. 'Utba, his successor at Medina, to employ force against the rebel. The revolt of the people of Medina caused him to be expelled with all his followers from this town. He returned to it in the train of Muslim b. 'Ukba [q. v.] whose military operations he was supporting. Put to flight once more after the death of Yazīd I, he took up his residence in Syria and attended the court of the Caliph Mu'āwīya II. After the disappearance of this prince, Marwān, despairing of the fortunes of the Omayyads, was disposed to recognize Ibn al-Zubair, when 'Ubaidallāh b. Ziyād persuaded him to set up himself as candidate. Acclaimed at the assembly of Djābiya, he defeated the Kaisis under Ḍahhāk b. Kaīs [q. v.] at Mardj Rāhiṭ [q. v.]. The submission of the whole of Syria was the first result of this victory.

The reign of Marwān may be epitomized as an uninterrupted series of battles. Immediately after his official installation at Damascus he was forced to take up the gauntlet. He laid it down only to die in his capital. His chief task was the conquest of Egypt. A rapid campaign gave him possession of it, while his lieutenant repelled a raid into Palestine by Ibn al-Zubair. At Djābiya he was compelled to recognize as his eventual successors, Khālīd the son of Yazīd I and the Omayyad 'Amr al-Ashdaq [q. v.]. After laborious negotiations, he was able to end them to the advantage of his own sons 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Aziz, the latter being nominated by him governor of Egypt. This was the last success of his adventurous career. Worn out, the septuagenarian caliph died at Damascus on the 27th Ramaḍān 65 (7th May 685). He is said to have been murdered by the wife of Yazīd I, the mother of the Sufyānid Khālīd, whom he had married after Mardj Rāhiṭ.

The estimates of the length of his reign vary between 8 and 11 months, according as they count the first recognition of him at Djābiya or the second — the exact date is not known — more ceremonious one at Damascus. We do not know his exact age any more definitely. The two extremes 61 and 81 years reveal the inconsistency of tradition. The 63 years sometimes given to Marwān are merely a lucky number which has been much abused to give the ages of the older caliphs. It has the advantage that it takes us back to the year 2, often said to be the year of his birth. Our texts describe him as an old man, *shaiḡh kabīr*, when he ascended the throne and contrast him with the *kahl*, middle-aged man, i. e. Ibn al-Zubair who, however, was nearly sixty. There must therefore have been an appreciable difference of age between the two competitors. Marwān, therefore, seems to us to have been over seventy. The last five years of his life, filled with rebellions, his two exiles, his share in the campaign against Medina, and in those of Syria and Egypt to reconquer these provinces of his empire finally wore out the constitution of this vigorous old man, who had never been completely cured of the effects of his terrible wounds he received in his youth. This long lean wizened old man — these physical characteristics earned him the nickname *khaiṭ būṭil* — was destined to fall a victim to the great epidemic that swept over the East. In 65 H. the plague reached Syria from the 'Irāk; it had begun by carrying off Mu'āwīya II, the

decrepit predecessor of Marwān, as well as Walīd b. 'Utba, a relative of both; it ended by laying low the first of the Marwānid caliphs.

Marwān showed himself a statesman worthy of the highest rank. A contemporary of the great Mu'āwīya, he had under the Sufyānids to accept — without ever resigning himself to it — the part of a brilliant second. He attained the caliphate, ever the object of his wishes, at the moment he had ceased to care about it. He allowed himself to be raised to the throne, rather than mounted it himself. But once at the top he regained that power of lucid decision and spirit of initiative which had earned Mu'āwīya's appreciation, though he feared his ambition. The new ruler remained on the throne just long enough to save the Omayyad fortunes from an imminent collapse and to save the future of the younger branch of this dynasty which bears his name. The work was continued by his favourite son 'Abd al-Malik. He early recognised the merits of this, the elder, man, and with a brutality and absence of scruple which was thoroughly Arab, he put him in the place of the young Khālīd b. Yazīd I, who was less well fitted for the difficulties of the restoration. This is sufficient to characterize his place among the Syrian caliphs. It will explain the hatred of 'Abbasīd and 'Alid historians, a hatred adopted by Muslim tradition. In energy and knowledge of the art of government, Marwān, recalled his illustrious relative Mu'āwīya. He would have equalled him, if to these eminent qualities he had been able to add that variety of political knowledge, a mixture of cunning and bonhomie, so appreciated by the Arabs, which they call *ḥilm*. He became Caliph in most critical circumstances and had to display firmness above all things, to put down rebellions, and to defend himself against the ambition and resentment of his relatives, frustrated in their attempts on the throne, or spoiled by him of their rights to it. If it had been given to him to live longer, we may well believe that he would have rivalled the first of the Omayyad Caliphs in nobility of soul.

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MARWĀN II b. MUḤAMMAD, the last of the Omayyad caliphs in Damascus. He was the grandson of the caliph Marwān b. al-Hakam. As governor of Mesopotamia and Armenia his

father Muḥammad for several years directed the campaigns against the Byzantines. His mother was a Kurdish slave-girl. Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik [q. v.] was one of those who followed Muḥammad b. Marwān to war; it is not till 115 (733—734) that we find Marwān coming to the front as governor of Armenia and Ḍḥarbaīdjan. In this position, which he held for 12 years, he fought with success against the peoples of the Caucasus and thus acquired military experience which enabled him to reorganise the Muslim army. In place of divisions consisting of the different tribes he created regular, paid troops under professional commanders; the men levied for military service were divided up into smaller divisions (*karādis*) which possessed much greater mobility and strength than the long Arab battle-lines. After the death in 126 (744) of Yazid III the succession passed to his brother Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid; the latter however was only recognised in the southern part of Syria. Under the pretext of protecting the interests of the sons of the murdered Walid II, Marwān crossed the Euphrates into Syria where the ʔaisis at once joined him. At 'Ain al-Djarr between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon he encountered the Kalbis under Sulaimān, a son of the caliph Hishām. In spite of his years of experience in war with the Byzantines the latter was no match for Marwān. He was defeated and fled to Damascus, where he put to death the two sons of Walid II. He then went with his father, the nominal caliph Ibrāhīm to Palmyra, the capital of the Kalbis, whereupon Marwān entered Damascus and received the homage of the people (ʔafar 26, 127 = Dec. 7, 744). After arranging matters in the capital he made his headquarters in Harrān, where he could rely upon the support of the ʔaisis who were devoted to him. The result was a rising of the Kalbis in Syria. Marwān soon succeeded in restoring order but when in the following year he was preparing a campaign against the 'Irāk not yet subject to him, he made the mistake of levying Syrian troops also who were to join the rest of the army on the march. On reaching al-Ruṣāfa where Sulaimān b. Hishām lived, the Syrians deserted from Marwān and proclaimed Sulaimān commander of the faithful. When Sulaimān occupied ʔinnasrīn, Marwān had to come back. A battle took place near the town, Sulaimān was defeated and fled first to Ḥimṣ and then to al-Kūfa. After a siege of several months Ḥimṣ was forced to surrender; Marwān razed its walls to the ground and also those of Ba'albek, Damascus, Jerusalem and other large towns of Syria. In the summer of 128 (746) peace was finally restored in Syria.

In the eastern provinces however complete anarchy reigned. The governorship of the 'Irāk had been given by Yazid III to a son of the caliph 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, named 'Abd Allāh [q. v.]. The latter of course did not recognise the claims of Marwān to the caliphate and the 'Alid 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [q. v.] also rebelled in al-Kūfa. Marwān appointed a new governor Naḍr b. Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī to restore peace and security; the latter however soon fell in battle with 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar and only the approach of a danger that threatened both sides, the Khāridjī movement brought the two opponents to terms. The Khāridjis a little later seized the town of al-Mawṣil: 'Abd Allāh, the son of the caliph, was defeated and had to retreat. In the late summer of 28 (746)

however the Khāridjī leader al-Daḥḥāk b. ʔais al-Shaibānī [q. v.] fell in battle with Marwān himself and in the following year the power of these dangerous rebels was finally broken after one of Marwān's generals Yazid b. 'Omar b. Habbaira had taken the 'Irāk from them.

Soon afterwards however a cloud that boded evil appeared in another direction. Naṣr b. Saiyār al-Laiṭhī, governor of Khorāsān, had long before warned the caliph of the seditious activities of the 'Abbāsids and urgently appealed for assistance to render their cunning agitators harmless. Marwān however had his hands full and could devote no attention to the distant east. In Ramaḍān 129 (June 747) the long prepared rebellion broke out in Khorāsān. Apart from a few isolated successes, the government troops were defeated by the rebels and after the fall of al-Kūfa, Abū 'l-'Abbās who with his brother Abū Dja'far had taken command of the 'Abbāsīd party had himself proclaimed caliph on the 12th Rabi' II, 132 (Nov. 28, 749). In Djumādā II of the same year (Jan. 750) Marwān was defeated on the upper Zab. He then fled from one place to another till he was overtaken at Būṣīr in the district of Ushmūnain in Upper Egypt. Here the last Damascus caliph of the Omayyad dynasty fell fighting bravely (end of 132 = Aug. 750).

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MARWĀNIDS, a Muḥammadan dynasty in Diyār Bakr, founded by the Kurd chief Bādh, who had begun his career as a shepherd and then took to brigandage. With the help of a body of men similarly inclined, he seized the town of Ardjīsh in Armenia with other strongholds on the Armenian frontier. After the death of the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla (372 = 983), he invaded the province of Diyār Bakr and captured Amid, Maiyāfāriḳin and Naṣībīn. The armies, which ʔam-ṣām al-Dawla sent against him, were defeated and al-Mawṣil also passed into his hands. But when he tried to seize the capital, Baghdād (ʔafar 373 = July—Aug. 983), he suffered a complete defeat and had to abandon al-Mawṣil. After vain attempts to retake this town, he took the field again in 380 (990—991) but was defeated by the Ḥamdānids, the lords of al-Mawṣil, and fell in the battle. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Marwān, his sister's son, then married his widow and thus came into possession of the lands conquered by Bādh and continued the war against the Ḥamdānids whom he twice defeated. After the murder of Abū 'Alī in 387 (997—998) in Amid, his brother Mumahhid al-Dawla Abū 'l-Manṣūr succeeded him. The third brother Naṣr al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Aḥmad at first attempted to dispute his authority but without

success. In 402 (1011—1012) Abū 'l-Manṣūr was poisoned by one of his generals, whereupon Abū Naṣr was recognised as lord of Diyār Bakr. During his rule of fifty years, peace and quiet as a rule prevailed, and poets and learned men found a hospitable welcome at his court. In 433 (1041—1042) the Ghuzz [q. v.] who had invaded Mesopotamia in the previous year, raided Ḍjazirat Ibn 'Omar; but Sulaimān, son of Abū Naṣr, succeeded in outwitting and capturing their leader whereupon the others dispersed; they soon returned however and continued their plundering, although Abū Naṣr released their chief and gave them a considerable sum to induce them to withdraw. They then occupied al-Mawṣil, which was completely sacked while the emīr there, Karwāsh b. al-Muḳallad [q. v.], saved himself by flight. In 435 (1044) he finally succeeded in driving out the Ghuzz whereupon they withdrew to Diyār Bakr and thence to Aḥḥarbaīdjān. When the Saldjūk Sultān Toḡhrul Beg in 448 (1056—7) advanced against Ḍjazirat Ibn 'Omar, Abū Naṣr gained him over by gifts and a friendly relationship was established between them. Abū Naṣr died in 453 (1061—1062) aged over 80. He was succeeded by his son Niẓām al-Dawla Naṣr, who had however to go through a hard struggle with his brother Sa'īd. The former was victorious in Maiyāfariḳin, while the latter had to be satisfied with Āmid. In 463 (1070—1071) Naṣr submitted to the Saldjūk Sultān Alp Arslān. After Naṣr's death (472 = 1080) his son Manṣūr was recognised as his successor. Soon afterwards the Saldjūks overthrew the Marwānid dynasty. In 478 (1085—1086) Ibn Ḍjahir, Malik-Ṣhāh's vizier, and his son Za'im al-Ru'asā' Abū 'l-Kāsim conquered the towns of Āmid, Maiyāfariḳin and Ḍjazirat Ibn 'Omar and then brought the whole province of Diyār Bakr under the rule of the Saldjūks. Manṣūr, the last Marwānid, died in Muḥarram 489 (Dec. 1095—Jan. 1096) in Ḍjazirat Ibn 'Omar.

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MĀRYĀ, a tribe in the Western zone of Eritrea. They are — for the most part — shepherds and inhabit the middle valley of the 'Ansabā river in the district of Karan. Their tribe is formed by two sections of nobles: Māryā Kayih "the Red Māryā" and Māryā Ṣallim "the Black Māryā"; and the families of the vassals. The "Red" Māryā have been traditionally in a lower position than the "Black" and they were obliged to pay on certain occasions special gifts to the "Black" as, for instance, when the chief of the "Black" died. The vassals were practically divided between the Red and the Black as every family of them lived under the patronage of the chief of a noble family. Both the paramount chiefs of the noble sections had some particular rights over all the vassals of the noble families of their sections as they had, for instance, the power to order that every vassal may give to them the same gift as to his individual patron or to oblige the patrons to pay, as a duty to the highest representative of the tribe, the tenth part of every gift or duty of their vassals.

The Māryā claim to be descendants of a warrior, Māryā, born from Saho stock, who emigrated with seventeen soldiers to the borders of the 'Ansabā and was received there as a guest by the natives. But, afterwards, the sons of Māryā had so greatly increased that they were able to occupy the whole land and to subdue the native tribes who became their vassals. These natives, who are called *tigrāy* on account of their origin, were really Abyssinians and Bedja. However, the Māryā and their vassals to-day speak only the Tigrē language; and the Saho, as the Bedja, has been wholly forgotten.

The Māryā were Christians but, about half a century ago, they were converted to Islām. Even their clans (as the 'Ad Te-mikā'el, a section of the "Red") and their ancestors till recent generations bore Christian names. In any case, Islāmic law has gradually gained great influence, among the Māryā; and this has been from many points of view a real profit to the population, as the laws of Islām may moderate in a good way the ancient rough customs which strongly assured the privileges of the nobles and their mastery on the vassals. As a matter of fact, in the hereditary law, the prevalent right of the first born son and the exclusion of the daughters from the succession of their father's estates became gradually disused on account of the Islāmic influences. In the same way, the custom of declaring slaves those vassals who could not pay their debts to the nobles and the great differences, in the penal law, as to the punishment of crimes perpetrated by the nobles or by the vassals, had already been diminished after the conversion of the Māryā to the Islām, when the occupation of Eritrea by Italy caused the complete abrogation of those rules.

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MARYAM, Mary. The Arabic form of the name is identical with مَرْيَمَ and μαριαμ which are used in the Syriac and in the Greek Bible; in the New as well as in the Old Testament. In the latter it corresponds to the Hebrew מרים. This

name, like other ones with the same suffix, such as 'Amram, Bil'am, points to the region between Palestine and Northwestern Arabia as its home. According to Muslim interpretation the name means "the pious" (*al-'ābida*; cf. the commentaries on sūra iii. 31). It occurs frequently in the Qur'ān in the combination ['Isā] Ibn Maryam ["Jesus] the son of Mary" (sūra ii. 81, 254; iii. 31 sqq.; iv. 156, 169; v. 19, 50, 76, 82, 109, 112, 114, 116; ix. 31; xix. 35; xxiii. 52; xxxiii. 7; xliii. 57; lvii. 27; lxi. 6, 14), no father being mentioned, because, according to Muslim tradition also, 'Isā had no earthly father. In the majority of these passages 'Isā is clearly regarded as the higher of the two. Yet Maryam's place is important from a dogmatical as well as from a historical point of view.

Maryam is mentioned in the Qur'ān, from the oldest parts down to the later Madinese sūras. To the first Makkān period belongs sūra xxiii. 52: "And we made the son of Maryam and his

mother a sign; and we made them abide in an elevated place, full of quiet and watered with springs". Here is possibly the first allusion in the Qur'an to the virgin birth. This idea is accentuated in sūra xix. 20, where Maryam gives the spirit (i.e. the angel) who announces to her the birth of a male child, this reply: "How should I have a male child, no human man having touched me?" In sūra lxvi. 12 the conception is ascribed to this divine spirit (cf. Luke i. 34 sq.: Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee).

The virgin birth is also mentioned in sūra lxvi. 12 (Madinian): "And Maryam bint 'Imrān who kept her body pure. Then we breathed into it from our spirit. She acknowledged the truth of the words of her Lord and of his book and she belonged to the obedient".

A third mention of the annunciation and the virgin birth is in sūra iii. 37: "When the angels said, O Maryam, verily Allāh has elected and purified thee and elected thee above the women of all created beings. O Maryam, be obedient unto thy Lord and prostrate thyself and bow down with those who bow down" (cf. Luke i. 28). Maryam is indeed reckoned as one of the four best women that ever existed, together with Āsiya [q.v.], Khadija [q.v.] and Fāṭima [q.v.] (Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 135), and the chief of the women of Paradise (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 64, 80).

According to tradition the annunciation took place in the following way: Djibril appeared to Mary in the shape of a beardless youth with a shining face and curling hair, announcing to her the birth of a male child. She expressed her amazement, but, on the angel's reassuring answer, she complied with the will of God.

Thereupon the angel blew his breath into the fold of her shirt, which she had put off. When the angel had withdrawn, she put on the shirt and became pregnant. The annunciation took place in the cavern of the well of Silwān, whither Maryam had gone, as usual, to fill her pitcher; she was then 10 or 13 years of age; and it was the longest day of the year. In Christian tradition also the voice of the angel was heard by Maryam for the first time when she had gone to fill her pitcher. According to a different tradition 'Isā's spirit entered Maryam through her mouth (Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, vi. 22).

A second important dogmatical feature is that Maryam belongs to the Trinity according to the Qur'an. A glimpse of this conception is given in sūra v. 79: "al-Masīh, the son of Maryam, is an Apostle only, who was preceded by other Apostles, and his mother an upright woman; and both were wont to take food". This verse is apparently meant as a refutation of the Christians who venerated 'Isā and his mother as divine persons, elevated above human needs. With this verse may be compared sūra iv. 169: "O people of the book, beware of exaggeration in your religion and say of Allāh nothing but the truth. 'Isā b. Maryam is only the Apostle of Allāh and His word, which He conveyed unto Maryam, and a spirit that came forth from Him. Believe, therefore, on Allāh and his Apostles and say not 'three'. Beware of this, this will be better for you. Allāh is but one God" etc.

Clearer is sūra v. 116: "And when Allāh said, O 'Isā b. Maryam, hast thou said to the people, Take me and my mother as two Gods besides Allāh? He answered: Far be it, that I should say to what I am not entitled. If I should have said it, Thou wouldst know it" etc.

The commentaries also describe the Trinity as consisting of Allāh, 'Isā and Maryam. Al-Baidāwī, however, admits that in sūra iv. 169 there could be an allusion to the Christian doctrine of one God in three hypostases: Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

The question how Muḥammad had come to conceive of Maryam as one of the persons of the Trinity, has often been asked. Maracci has made a reference to Epiphanius, *Adv. Haereses*, Haeres. lxxviii., § 23, where this author speaks of women in Arabia who venerated Mary as God, and offered to her cakes, from which the heresy is often called that of the Collyridians. Sale, in his *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 45, mentions the Mariamites, who worshipped a Trinity consisting of God, Christ and Mary, referring to a passage in the work of al-Makin. It may, however, be that Muḥammad's conception was not influenced by any sect, but by the veneration of which Mary was the object in the Church itself. Or it may be an inference due to the identification of 'Isā with the Holy Ghost (cf. sūra iv. 169 as translated above), which made a vacant place in the Trinity, which Mary seemed entitled to occupy. A different explanation is attempted by Sayous, *l.c.*, p. 61 (see *Bibliography*).

A comparatively large place is occupied in the Qur'an by the story of Maryam and 'Isā. Many of the features narrated agree, partly or wholly, with narratives in the apocryphal Gospels. Sūra xxiii. 52 (see above) mentions the elevated place that was prepared for 'Isā and his mother. It is not clear which tradition is here alluded to. According to St. Luke i. 39, Mary went to the mountains to visit Elisabeth. In the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (chap. xxii; Syriac text, p. 20) it is Elisabeth who flees together with John to a mountain, which opens to protect them against their persecutors. The Muslim commentators mention Jerusalem, Damascus, Ramla, Egypt as being possibly meant by the "elevated place". Maracci thinks of Paradise.

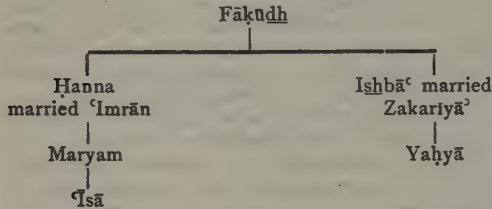
In two passages of the Qur'an there is a fuller narrative of 'Isā's birth and what is connected with it, viz. in sūra xix. (which bears the title of Maryam), vs. 1—35, and in sūra iii. 31—42.

Sūra xix. opens with the story of Zakariyā' and Yahyā (vs. 1—15); on this follows the story of Maryam and 'Isā (vs. 16—34). Sūra iii. 31—42 contains *a.* the birth of Maryam; *b.* the annunciation of Yahyā (vs. 33—36); *c.* the annunciation of 'Isā (vs. 37—41). The comparison of sūra xix. with sūra iii. makes it probable that Muḥammad became acquainted with the story of the birth of Maryam later than with those of Yahyā and 'Isā.

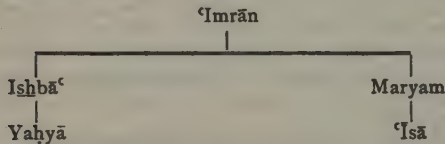
a. The birth of Maryam. This story goes back to a Christian tradition corresponding closely with that which is contained in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and *De nativitate Mariae*. Mary's father is called 'Imrān in the Qur'an, Ioachim in Christian tradition; Ibn Khaldūn (*Iḥwān*, ii. 144) is also acquainted with the name Ioachim. It has been supposed that the name of 'Imrān, which apparently corresponds with the Biblical 'Amram, the father of Moses, as well as the fact that Maryam is called

a sister of Hārūn (sūra xix. 29), is due to a confusion between the two Biblical Maryam's. Sale, Geroch and others think such a confusion improbable. At any rate Muslim tradition assures us that there is a distance of 1,800 years between the Biblical 'Amram and the father of Mary.

'Imrān's wife, 'Isā's grandmother, is not mentioned by name in the Qur'ān. In Christian as well as in Muslim tradition she is called Hanna. It is only in Muslim tradition that her genealogy is worked out. She is a daughter of Fākūdh and a sister of Ishbāc, the Biblical Elisabeth.



According to a different genealogy Ishbāc and Maryam were sisters, daughters of 'Imrān and Hanna (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 120 sq.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii. 144):



'Imrān and Hanna were old and childless. One day the sight of a bird in a tree, which was feeding her young, aroused Hanna's desire for a child. She prays God to fulfil her desire and vows, if her prayer should be heard, the child to the temple. She had however forgotten that, according to the Jewish law, it would be impossible, to accomplish her vow, if she should give birth to a female child (cf. *Protev. Jacobi*, chapters iii., iv.; Syriac text, p. 4). Compare with this Sūra, iii. 31: "How the wife of 'Imrān said, O my Lord, I have vowed to Thee what is in my womb. Now accept [this vow] from me, Thou art the hearing, the knowing. And when she had given birth to the child, she said, O my Lord, I have given birth to a female child . . . and I have called her Maryam".

Then the Qur'ān relates how she invoked on behalf of Maryam and her posterity Allah's protection from Satan. On this verse is based the well-known *ḥadīth*: "Every child that is born, is touched (or stung) by Satan and this touch makes it cry, except Maryam and her son" (Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, *bāb* 44; *Tafsīr*, Sūra 3, b. 2; Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, trad. 146, 147; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 233, 274 sq., 288, 292, 319, 368, 523). This tradition is used in support of the impeccability ('isma) of 'Isā, Maryam and the Prophets in general (cf. al-Nawawī *ad* Muslim, *l. c.* and al-Baiḍāwī *ad* sūra iii. 31).

The Qur'ān further relates (vs. 32) that the child grows up in a chamber in the temple (*miḥrāb*; cf. the *noṭrāv* in *Protev. Jac.*, vi.; Syr. text, p. 5 sq.) under the divine grace and under Zakariyā's care. According to Muslim tradition, 'Imrān had died before the birth of Maryam, and Zakariyā claimed authority over her on account of his being her uncle; the rabbis did not recognise his claim; his right was proved by an ordeal,

consisting in the parties throwing their pens or arrows in a river; the only one that floated was that of Zakariyā. Sūra iii. 39 refers to this. Christian tradition knows of an ordeal only in the case of Joseph, who, because a dove comes forth from his staff, is recognised as Maryam's guardian.

As often as Zakariyā enters Maryam's *miḥrāb*, he finds her being provided with food in a miraculous way (vs. 32). This feature also belongs to Christian tradition (*Protev. Jacobi*, chap. viii.; Syr. text, p. 7). The person of Joseph is not mentioned in the Qur'ān. In Muslim tradition he takes care of Maryam, his cousin, because Zakariyā is no longer able to do so, on account of old age. Maryam stays however in the temple, which she leaves during her monthly period only. According to Christian tradition, Joseph takes her into his house when she attains to womanhood, lest she should defile the temple.

b. The annunciation of Yahyā. See this art. and ZAKARIYĀ.

c. The annunciation and birth of 'Isā. The more detailed narrative is that of sūra xix. 16 sqq. Maryam retires to "a place situated eastward", where she hides herself behind a curtain. The commentaries do not know whether a place to the east of Jerusalem is meant, or the eastern part of her house, to which she retires every month. It is said that this is the origin of the *kibla* of the Christians.

In vs. 17—21 the story of the annunciation is given (cf. above), followed by that of 'Isā's birth, which, according to some Muslim traditions, followed the conception either immediately or very soon. The pains of childbirth came upon Maryam when she was near the trunk of a palm. "She said, would to God I had died before this, and had become a thing forgotten, and lost in oblivion. And he who was beneath her [i. e. the child, or Djibril, or the palm] called to her, saying, Be not grieved; God has provided a rivulet under thee; and shake the trunk of the palm and it shall let fall ripe dates upon thee, ready gathered. And eat and drink and calm thy mind". This story may, perhaps, be considered as a parallel to the Christian tradition in which it is related that, during the flight to Egypt, the babe Jesus ordered a palm in the desert to bow down in order to refresh Mary by its dates; whereupon the palm obeyed and stayed with its head at Mary's feet, till the child ordered it to stand upright again and to open a vein between its roots in order to quench the thirst of the holy family (Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew, chap. xx.). The Qur'ān goes on (vs. 26): "And when thou seest any man, say, I have vowed a fast unto the Merciful; so I may not speak to any man to-day". The commentaries say, this was meant to avoid importunate questions. This feature is not in Christian tradition; yet in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* it is said (chap. xii.; Syr. text, p. 11) that Mary, who was then 16 years of age, hid herself from the Israelites. According to Muslim tradition, she stayed in a cavern during forty days. "Then she brought him", continues the Qur'ān (xix. 28), "to her people, carrying him. They said, O Maryam, now thou hast done a strange thing. O sister of Hārūn, thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot. Then she pointed to the child". Then the child begins to speak, one of the wellknown

miracles ascribed to 'Isā. The "very shameful calumny" which the Israelites brought forth against Maryam, is also mentioned in sūra iv. 155.

As to the words "O sister of Hārūn" (cf. above), it may be added that, according to the commentaries, this Hārūn was not Moses' brother, but one of Maryam's contemporaries, who was either a wicked man, with whom she is compared in this respect, or her pious brother.

A legend about loaves of bread which Maryam gave to the Magi, is mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī, iv. 79 sq.

The flight to Egypt is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, unless the "elevated place" (sūra xxiii. 52; cf. above) should be an allusion to it. According to Muslim tradition which is acquainted with it, the abode lasts 12 years. After the death of Herod the holy family returns to Nāṣira.

After his alleged death 'Isā consoles his mother from heaven. According to others it was Mary Magdalene. The stories of the *Transitus Mariae* have not obtained a place in Muslim tradition. Instead of these, there is a narrative of how Maryam went to Rome in order to preach before Mārūt (Nero), accompanied by John (the disciple) and Shim'ūn, the coppersmith. When Shim'ūn and Tādāwus (Thaddaeus?) were crucified with their heads downward, Maryam fled with John. When they were persecuted the earth opened and withdrew them from their persecutors. This miracle was the cause of Mārūt's conversion.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 407; al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, 1st ser., p. 711 sqq.; do., *Tafsīr*, iii. 144 sqq.; vi. 21, 179; vii. 82; xvi. 28 sqq.; xviii. 17; al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 74 sqq.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, i. 120 sqq.; ii. 145; iv. 79 sq.; al-Kisā'ī, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg...; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, i. 211; al-Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-Maḍjālīs*, Cairo 1290, p. 326 sqq.; the commentaries on the Qur'ān; Maracci, *Prodromi*, Padua 1698, iv. 85—87, 104 sq., 178 sqq. and the notes to his translation of the Qur'ān; C. F. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Korans*, Hamburg and Gotha 1839, p. 22 sqq., 72 sqq.; G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Francfort 1845, p. 280 sqq.; E. Sayous, *Jésus-Christ d'après Mahomet*, Paris-Leipzig 1880; G. Smit, *Bijbel en legende bij den arab. schrijver Jaqubi*, Leyden 1907, p. 86 sqq.; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 138 sqq.; A. Pieters, *Circumstantial Evidence of the Virgin Birth*, in *M. W.*, xiv. (1929), 350 sqq.; *Evangelia apocrypha*, rec. C. de Tischendorf, second ed., Leipzig 1876; *Apocrypha syriaca*, the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and *Transitus Mariae*..., ed. and transl. A. Smith Lewis, *Studia Sinaitica*, No. xi, London 1902. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MARZUBÂN, Arabic form of the title of provincial governors in the Sāsānian empire, especially of the "wardens of the marches", the "markgraves". The word is derived from *marz* which still means in Persian a frontier district (Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, p. 218) and is found in Pehlevi in the form *marz-pān* (in the *Kār-nāmak*; cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, i., Upsala 1928, p. 54) which suggests a north Irānian origin (cf. Lentz, *Z. I. I.*, iv. 255, 295), as we find alongside of *marz* also *marzī* in Persian (Horn, *loc. cit.*). The

title is not found, however, before the Sāsānian period and in the great inscription of Paikuli, the wardens are called *bitakhsh* (Arm. *bdeashkh*), also a north Irānian title (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, Berlin 1924, p. 155; cf. also Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 165 sq.). In Syriac we find the forms *marzbānā* and *marzabānā* (Payne-Smith) and the Armenian has *marzpan* and *marz(a)van* (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 193). Persian finally has kept the word as *marabān*, *marzabān* or *marzawān* (cf. e.g. the *Burhān-i Kāfi*).

It is from Arab sources that we are more particularly informed of the duties of the *marzabān*. Al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, i. 201) says that it was the title of the *ra'is al-balad*, while the four great divisions of the empire were governed by *pādshahs*. The historians al-Ṭabari and al-Balādhuri tell us of the different *marzabān* encountered by the Arabs in their conquests (cf. the list of provinces ruled by a *marzabān*, drawn up by Balādhuri, and given by Nöldeke in *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, Leyden 1879, p. 446). In this period we find these governors acting independently of any higher authority and concluding truces and treaties. They sometimes retained their offices after the Arab conquest. Under the Sāsānians the *marzabān* were far from having such an independent position. We sometimes find them acting as generals under the command of the *spāhbad* (e.g. Joshua Stylites, ed. Wright, p. 61).

Although the title gradually fell into disuse, Muslim Persia still retained the word, used in its original sense of "warden of the marches". It is frequently found in literature (cf. Sa'dī, *Bustān*, ed. Graf, p. 73). On the other hand after the Sāsānian period, *marzabān* and its variants became a proper name (in Arabic sometimes *al-Marzabān*) among Muslims and also among Parsis (cf. the names of the copyists of Pahlavi manuscripts; cf. especially Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v. *Marzpan*).

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1907, p. 43 sq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MARZUBÂN B. RUSTAM, a prince of the Bāwand dynasty of Ṭabaristān [q. v.] regarded as the original author of the *Marzabān-nāma*, a work in Persian prose containing a series of short stories and fables of a moral and didactic character. This book is known in two versions in elegant Persian of the xiiith century, the author of one of which was Sa'd al-Dīn al-Warāwini; he dedicated it to Abu 'l-Kāsim Rabīb al-Dīn, vizier of Uzbek b. Muḥammad b. Ildegiz, Atābeg of Ādharbāidjān from 1210 to 1225. These dates give us probable limits for the composition of the book. The other version is the work of Muḥammad b. Ghāzī al-Malatyawī, secretary and later vizier of Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimān-shāh, Saldjūq of Rūm, who reigned from 1192 to 1204. It is called *Rawḍat al-'Uḳūl* and differs a good deal in form and contents from the other, which is called the *Marzabān-nāma*.

In the preface by Sa'd al-Dīn al-Warāwini we are told that the original work had been written in the language of Ṭabaristān and the ancient *Pārsī*, the popular language, but that thanks to him this valuable work had been given a new life after 400 years (p. 6 and 33 of Mirzā Muḥammad Kaẓwīnī's edition). In the first chapter *Marzabān* b. Sharwīn, descendant of Kayūs, brother of the Sāsānian king Anushirwān, is mentioned as *wāḍi-i*

kitab. The *Rawḍat al-ʿUḳūl* on the contrary attributed the original book to a descendant of the Ziyārīd Kābūs b. Waṣḥmīr and says simply that it is written in a coarse style. Apart from these, there are very few references to the book in Persian literature. The author of the *Ḳābūs-nāma* (composed in 1082) says that the grandmother of his mother was the daughter of the prince Marzubān b. Rustam b. Sharwīn, author of the *Marzubān-nāma*. Ibn Isfandiyyār in his *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān* (written in 1216) speaks of the *Iṣfahbād* Marzubān b. Rustam b. Sharwīn Parim as the author of the *Marzubān-nāma*, a work which is in every way better than the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. He adds that this same Marzubān composed a *diwān* in Ṭabarī verse called the *Nih-nāma* (cf. *An abridged Translation of the History of Tabaristān*, by E. G. Browne, Leyden 1905, p. 86); finally the Persian bibliographer Riḍā Kulī Khān in the *Farhang-i Nāṣiri* speaks of the *Marzubān-nāma* as having been written by Marzubān b. Rustam and dedicated to (*mansūb ba*) the emir Kābūs Shams al-Maʿālī; in the *Maḍjmaʿ al-Fuṣṣḥā* the same author incidentally mentions the *Marzubān-nāma*.

These very incomplete and sometimes contradictory statements have caused Mirzā Muḥammad Kazwīnī to suggest that the individual who gave the book its name was Marzubān, son of the "king" of Ṭabaristān, Rustam b. Shahriyār b. Sharwīn b. Rustam b. Surkhāt, a descendant of Bāw, son of Kayūs, brother of Anūshirwān. This genealogy is based on Ibn Isfandiyyār's work and seems more probable than that given by Schefer (*Chrest. pers.*, ii., p. 194), who thinks that Marzubān was the son of Rustam b. Surkhāt (d. 895). The date of Rustam b. Shahriyār b. Sharwīn, who was in all probability the father of Marzubān, is only known from a coin of the year 355 (966) (H. L. Rabino, *Masandarán and Astarābād*, London 1928, *G.M.S.*, N.S. vii., p. 135). Marzubān must have therefore flourished about 1000 A.D., i. e. during the period of the Persian renaissance.

In the first chapter of the *Marzubān-nāma* Marzubān is described as the brother of the reigning "king" (perhaps Dārā b. Rustam, who reigned for 8 years; cf. Rabino, *loc. cit.*) who begged to be allowed to live a life of seclusion and to compose a book containing "wise counsels and useful directions for the conduct of life in this world". In this connection he has a disputation with the king and his vizier in the course of which he relates several anecdotes. The other chapters continue in the same style. Several of the fables and anecdotes are found in other books just as we find similar stories in the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and in the *Arabian Nights*. The collection therefore belongs to an essentially Persian literary type, which has had considerable influence on Arabic literature. Since its contents have not been examined for comparison, it would be too hazardous to express an opinion on its relation to similar collections and popular Persian stories. It is very possible that a number of the stories are of Indian origin. On the other hand, we ought perhaps not to credit the statement that originally it was written in the Ṭabarī dialect; for then we should have to believe that the two authors of the new recension knew this dialect, about which however, we only have the notes in the *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān* of Ibn Isfandiyyār. Perhaps the reference is to a text in archaic Persian like the probable lang-

uage of the *Khudāi-nāmak* which Firdawsī used (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Artachšir i Pāpakān*, Göttingen 1879, p. 27) and the source of a poem like *Wis u-Rāmīn*, a text which no longer pleased the taste of the literary connoisseurs of the xiith century.

The *Marzubān-nāma* was published by Mirzā Muḥammad Kazwīnī in 1908 (*G.M.S.*, vii.) from a manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 6476) with the help of two other MSS. in the same collection, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale and another sent from Persia. The Paris manuscript had already been used for the publication of extracts from the *Marzubān-nāma* in Ch. Schefer's *Chrestomathie persane*, Paris 1885, p. 172—199. The *Rawḍat al-ʿUḳūl* is represented by a manuscript in Leyden (cf. M. Th. Houtsma, *Eine unbekannte Bearbeitung des Marzbān-nāme*, *Z. D. M. G.*, lii, 359—392) and another in Paris. Mirzā Muḥammad has given extracts from it in the preface to his edition. There is also an Arabic version of the same work from the pen of Ibn ʿArabshāh, based on a Turkish version of Saʿd al-Warāwīnī's recension; this Arabic text was lithographed at Cairo in 1278.

Bibliography: The philological data have been collected by Mirzā Muḥammad Khān in the preface of his edition; Schefer's observations (p. 194—211) are to be utilised with caution. Cf. also: H. Ethé, *Neuperische Litteratur*, in *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 328 sqq. and E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 115, 489. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MAS'Ā. [See SA'Y.]

MASAGAN. [See MAZAGHĀL.]

MASCARA, a town in Algeria (department of Oran), 50 miles S.W. of Mostaganem and 60 S.E. of Oran. Its position is 35° 26' N. Lat. and 8' E. of Greenwich. It lies on the southern slope of the Benī Shūgrān range, called by the Arabs Shārib al-Riḥ and is built on the edge of a ravine at the bottom of which runs the Wād Sidi Tadjiman on the other side of which to the N.W. lies the native faubourg of Bāb ʿAlī. Mascara commands the plain of Eghris, which measures 25 to 30 miles from W. to E. and 10 to 12 miles from N. to S. and is one of the most fertile regions of Algeria. The natives have grown cereals here from the earliest times and the Europeans have introduced tobacco and created vineyards, the produce of which is celebrated. It is the market for a region, becoming more and more prosperous, and by the census of 1926 had 30,669 inhabitants of whom 16,630 were natives.

Mascara is of considerable antiquity. According to Bakrī (*Masālik*, transl. de Slane, rev. by Fagnan, p. 160), it included among its inhabitants people who came from Tihert (Tiaret) some of whom went and settled at Ifgan, a day's journey S.E., when this town was founded by Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad, son of Šāliḥ the Ifrānīd, in 338 (949—950 A.D.). Ibn Hawḳal (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, *Journ. As.*, 1842) and Idrīsī (transl. de Goeje, p. 96) mention Mascara as a large well watered village rich in fruits. The Almohads seem to have built a fortress there. The Ziyānids of Tlemcen kept a governor and a garrison there. Leo Africanus (Bk. iv., ed. Schefer, vol. iii., p. 34) notes the importance of the market which was held at Mascara "one of the towns of the Beni Rasi" (Banū Rāshīd) where one could buy, along with cereals in large quantities, cloth and articles of

harness manufactured in the country. The rulers of Tlemcen drew considerable revenues from it: 40,000 pistoles, according to Marmol (*Africa*, vol. ii., p. 356).

The Turks established themselves at Mascara in the xvth century and placed a garrison there. In 1701 they made it the capital of the beylik of the west, which had hitherto been Mazūna in Dahra. The beys lived there till Oran was reoccupied by the Algerians in 1792. During this period, Mascara, which had hitherto only been an insignificant place, began to look like a regular town. The beys built two mosques and a madrasa, a wall and a kašba and brought in a water-supply. The manufacture of burnuses and *hā'iks*, celebrated throughout the Regency, enriched the inhabitants. This prosperity began to decline after the beys left Mascara and especially after the risings, which broke out in the province of the west in the beginning of the xixth century. The Darkāwī Ben Sherif seized the town in 1805 and held it for a time. In 1827 it was attacked by the marabout Muḥammad al-Tidjāni. Supported by the Hāshim he gained possession of the faubourg of Bāb 'Alī but was killed by the Turks when preparing to storm the town itself. At the end of Turkish rule, 'Abd al-Kādir [q. v.] who had been proclaimed Sultān by the tribes of the plain of Eghris, established his seat of government at Mascara, but rarely lived there. An expedition, in the month of December 1836 led by Marshal Clauzel, occupied Mascara which the French abandoned next day, after burning down part of it. The emīr returned to the town and held it till May 30, 1841, when a column under Bugeaud occupied it finally for the French. Mascara, then half in ruins, had only a population of 2,840 inhabitants.

Bibliography: Cès-Caupenne, *Mascara*, Paris 1856; Gorguon, *Notice sur Mohammed el Kebir*, *Rev. Africaine*, 1857; Lespinasse, *Notice sur les Hachem de Mascara*, *Rev. Africaine*, 1877; *Correspondence du capitaine Daumas*, Algiers 1912; *Tableau des Etablissements français dans l'Algérie*, year 1839. (G. YVER)

MASDJID (A.), Mosque.

I. (JOHS. PEDERSEN)

- A. Origin.
- B. Foundation of mosques after Muḥammad's death.
- C. The mosque as a religious centre.
- D. The building and its equipment.
- E. The mosque as a state institution.
- F. The mosque as a school.
- G. Administration.
- H. The staff.

II. (R. A. KERN)

The mosque in the Dutch Indies.

III. (E. DIEZ)

Architecture.

A. Origin of the Mosque.

The word מִסְבָּדָה is found in Aramaic, the earliest occurrence being in the Jewish *Elephantine Papyri* (ed. Sachau, pl. 32, ed. Ungnad, N^o. 33; Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the fifth Cent. B. C.*, N^o. 44), also frequently in Nabataean (*Corp. Inscr. Semit.*, ii. 161, 1, 176, 185, 188, 190, 218; cf. Schwally, *Z.D.M.G.*, lii., 1898, p. 134; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigr.*, p. 152, 328; Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 238). The word

formed from סָבַד "to prostrate oneself" seems to mean in Nabataean a stele, a sacred pillar, although the meaning "place of worship" has also been suggested. In the *Elephantine Papyri* where it is sworn by בְּמִסְבָּדָה וּבְעִנְיָהוּ both meanings are possible. The Syriac ܡܫܒܕܐ and ܡܫܒܕܐ

(cf. the Lexica) is like the Amharic *masgəd* derived from the Arabic, while the Ethiopic *məsgād* "temple, church" is perhaps a genuine formation from the verb (which is certainly borrowed from the Aramaic: cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachw.*, p. 36). The Arabic *masdjid* may have been formed independently from the corresponding verb, which also undoubtedly comes from the Aramaic; probably the above mentioned Aramaic substantive was simply taken over, although no links can be shown between the Nabataean inscriptions and the Qur'an.

The word in any case can hardly have been formed by Muḥammad himself from its specific connection with divine service ("place where one *sadjada* or prostrates oneself").

1. The Meccan period.

The word is used in the Qur'an especially of the Meccan sanctuary (*al-Masdjid al-harām*, Sūra ii. 139, 144, 145, 187, 192, 214; v. 3; viii. 34; ix. 7, 19, 28; xvii. 1; xxii. 25; xlviii. 25, 27); according to later sources, this was already the usage in the Meccan period (cf. Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 285, 12). According to tradition the term *al-Masdjid al-aḡṣā* (Sūra xvii. 1) means the Jerusalem sanctuary (according to Schrieke, *Isl.*, vi. 1 sqq.; cf. Horowitz, *ibid.*, ix. 159 sqq., the reference is rather to a place of prayer in heaven); and in the legend of the Seven Sleepers *masdjid* means a tomb-sanctuary probably Christian, certainly pre-Muḥammadan (Sūra xviii., 20). The word is also applied to pre-Islāmic sanctuaries, which belong to God and where God is invoked, although Muḥammad was not always able to recognise the particular cult associated with them. It is undoubtedly with this general meaning that the word is used in this verse of the Qur'an: "If God had not taken men under his protection, then monasteries, churches and places of prayer (*ṣalawāt*) and *masādjid* would have been destroyed" (Sūra xxii. 41). The word is also used in a *ḥadīth* of an Abyssinian church (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, 54; Muslim, *Masādjid*, Tr. 3) and in another of Jewish and Christian tomb-sanctuaries (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 55; Muslim, *Masādjid*, Tr. 3). Even Ibn Khaldūn can still use the word in the general meaning of a temple or place of worship of any religion (*Muḥaddima*, *faṣl* 4, 6 at the end). There is therefore no question of a word of specifically Muslim creation. This is in entire agreement with Muḥammad's original attitude to earlier religions. Just as Abraham was a Muslim, so David had a *masdjid* (Ṭabari, i. 2408, 7 sqq.).

To the Prophet the Meccan sanctuary always remained the principal mosque, known as *Bait Allāh* even before the time of the Prophet. It was a grave charge brought against the Qurāish in the Meccan period that they drove the believers out of *al-Masdjid al-harām* (Sūra ii. 214; v. 3; viii. 34; xxii. 25; xlviii. 25), which was considered all the more unjust as they worshipped the true lord of the sanctuary. To the true God belonged *al-masādjid* (Sūra lxxii. 18, Meccan); it is therefore an absurdity for the godless to prevent the wor-

ship of God in "God's own mosques" (Sūra ii. 108). The result was that it was revealed in the year 9: "It is not right for polytheists to frequent the mosques of God" (Sūra ix. 17 sq.) and the opponents of the new religion were therefore excluded from the sanctuary. The *Sira* agrees with the Qur'an, that the sanctity of *al-Masjid al-harām* to which Muḥammad had been used from childhood was always regarded by him as indisputable. Like other Meccans, he and his followers regularly made the *ṭawāf* around the Ka'ba and kissed the Black Stone (e. g. Ibn Hishām, p. 183, 12 sqq., 239, 8, 251, 15); it is frequently stated that he used to sit in the masjid like his fellow-citizens, alone or with a follower or disputing with an opponent (Ibn Hishām, p. 233, 16; 251, 15; 252, 14; 259, 260, 294, 18 sq.). It is related that he used to perform the ṣalāt between the Yaman corner and the Black Stone, apparently from the narrator's context very frequently (Ibn Hishām, p. 190, 9 sqq.). After his conversion, 'Umar is said to have arranged that believers performed the ṣalāt unmolested beside the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām, p. 224, 13 sq., 17 sq.). How strongly Muḥammad felt himself attached to the Arab sanctuary is evident from the fact that he took part in the traditional rites there before the Hijra (Sūra cviii., 2); in the year 1, one of his followers, Sa'd b. Mu'adh, took part in the pilgrimage ceremonies and in the year 2 he himself sacrificed on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijja on the muṣallā of the Banū Salima. He therefore, here as elsewhere, retained ancient customs where his new teaching did not directly exclude them. But when an independent religion developed out of his preaching, a new type of divine service had to be evolved.

In Mecca, the original Muslim community had no special place of worship. The Prophet used to perform the ṣalāt in secret in the narrow alleys of Mecca with his first male follower 'Alī and with the other earliest Companions also (Ibn Hishām, p. 159, 166, 13 sqq.). The references are usually to the solitary ṣalāt of the Prophet, sometimes beside the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām, p. 190, 9 sqq.), sometimes in his own house (Ibn Hishām, p. 203, 6 sq.). That the believers often prayed together may be taken for granted; they would do so in a house (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 202). Occasionally also 'Umar is said to have conducted the ritual prayer with others beside the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām, p. 224) because 'Umar was able to defy the Quraysh. When the Prophet recited in the mosque the revelation, later abrogated, recognising al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt, according to the legend, not only the believers but also the polytheists present took part in the *ṣudjūd* (Ṭabari, i. 1192 sq.). Abū Bakr is said to have had a private place of prayer (*masjid*) in Mecca in his courtyard beside the gate; the Quraysh, we are told, objected to this because women and children could see it and might be led astray by the emotion aroused (Ibn Hishām, p. 246; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 86; *Kaḥāla*, B. 14 etc.; *Maṣālim*, B. 22).

In the dogma taught by Muḥammad a sanctuary was not a fundamental necessity. Every place was the same to God and humility in the presence of God, of which the ritual prayer was the expression, could be shown anywhere; hence the saying of the Prophet that he had been given the whole world as a masjid, while earlier prophets could only pray in churches and synagogues

(Wāḳidī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 403; *Corpus juris di Zaid b. 'Alī*, ed. Griffini, p. 50 and clxxix; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 56; *Tayannum*, B. 1; Muslim, *Masūdījīd*, Tr. 1) and also the saying: "Wherever the hour of prayer overtakes thee, thou shalt perform the ṣalāt and that is a masjid" (Muslim, *Masūdījīd*, Tr. 1). That he nevertheless remained firmly attached to the traditional sanctuary of the Ka'ba, produced a confusion of thought which is very marked in Sūra ii. 136 sqq. When in Medina he was able to do as he pleased, it must have been natural for him to create a place where he could be undisturbed with his followers and where they could perform the ritual ṣalāt together.

2. The Foundation of the Mosque in Medina.

According to one tradition the Prophet came riding into Medina on his camel with Abū Bakr as *ridf* surrounded by the Banū Nadjdjār. The camel stopped on Abū Aiyūb's *finā'*. Here (according to Anas) the Prophet performed the ṣalāt, and immediately afterwards ordered the mosque to be built and purchased the piece of land from two orphans, Sahl and Suhail, who were under the guardianship of Mu'adh b. 'Afrā', for 10 dinārs, after declining to accept it as a gift; he lived with Abū Aiyūb until the mosque and his houses were completed. During this period he performed the ṣalāt in courtyards or other open spaces (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 48; Muslim, *Masūdījīd*, Tr. 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 212 above; Ibn Hishām, p. 336; Ṭabari, i. 1258 sq.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv. 140 sq.). According to this tradition, the building of the mosque was intended by the Prophet from the first and the choice of the site was left to the whim of his mount. According to another tradition the Prophet took up his abode with Abū Aiyūb, but during the first period of his stay in Medina he conducted the ṣalāt in the house of Abū Umāma As'ad, who had a private masjid, in which he used to conduct ṣalāts with his neighbours. The Prophet later expressed the desire to purchase the adjoining piece of ground and he bought it from the two orphans, who, according to this tradition, were wards of As'ad (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 6; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Stadt Medina*, p. 60). The site was covered with graves, ruins (*khirab*; also *harth*, Ṭabari, i. 1259, 17; 1260, 1; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 212, 7, perhaps due to an old misreading) and palm-trees and was used as a place for keeping camels (and smaller domestic animals, Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, B. 66). The site was cleared, the palms cut down and the walls built. The building material was bricks baked in the sun (*labīn*) (Ibn Hishām, p. 337; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 62, 65; according to one tradition they were baked at the well of Fāṭima, Wüstenfeld, *Stadt Medina*, p. 31); in places it was a courtyard surrounded by a brick wall on a stone foundation with three entrances: the gateposts were of stone. On the *qibla* side (i. e. the north wall) at first left open, the stems of the palm-trees which had been cut down were soon set up as columns and a roof was put over them of palm-leaves and clay. On the east side two huts of similar materials were built for the Prophet's wives Sawdā' and 'Ā'isha; their entrances opened on to the court and were covered with carpets: they were later increased so that there were nine

little houses for the Prophet's wives. When the *ḵibla* was moved to the south, the arbour at the north wall remained; under this arbour called *ṣuffa* or *ḡulla* the homeless Companions found shelter (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 48, 62; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 60 sq., 66; Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-Khamis*, Cairo 1302, i. 387 sqq.; on the *ṣuffa*, p. 387 in the middle; 391 after the middle; cf. L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 377 sq.). In seven months the work was completed (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 59), according to others in the month of Ṣafar of the year 2 (Ibn Hishām, p. 339, 18 sq.). The mosque was very simple. It was really only a courtyard with a wall round it; the *ṣuffa* already mentioned supplied a shelter on the north side, while on the south side, later the *ḵibla* side, an arbour was probably built also, for the Prophet used to preach leaning against a palm-trunk and this must have been on the *ḵibla* side. How large the arbours were cannot be ascertained. The mosque was the courtyard of the Prophet's houses and at the same time the meeting-place for the believers and the place for common prayer.

According to the sources, it was the Prophet's intention from the very first to build a mosque at once in Medina; according to a later tradition Gabriel commanded him in the name of God to build a house for God (*Khamis*, i. 387 infra); but this story is coloured by later conditions. It has been made quite clear, notably by L. Caetani (*Annali dell' Islām*, i. 432, 437 sqq.) and later by H. Lammens (*Mo'awia*, p. 8, note 5, 62 etc.; do., *Ziād*, p. 30 sqq., 93 sqq.) that the earliest masjid had nothing of the character of a sacred edifice. Much can be quoted for this view from *Hadith* and *Sira* (cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 440). The unconverted *Ṭhāqifis* were received by the Prophet in the mosque to conduct negotiations and he even put up three tents for them in the courtyard (Ibn Hishām, p. 916; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 382); envoys from Tamim also went freely about in the mosque and called for the Prophet, who dealt with them after he had finished prayers (Ibn Hishām, p. 933 sq.; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 386). Ibn Unais brought to the masjid the head of the Hudhaili Sufyān, threw it down before the Prophet and gave his report (Ibn Hishām, p. 981 sq.; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 225). After the battle of Uḥud the Medina chiefs spent the night in the mosque (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 149). The Awsīs tended their wounded here (*ibid.*, p. 215 sq.; Ṭabarī, i. 1491 sq.); a prisoner of war was tied to one of the pillars of the mosque (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 76, 82; cf. 75). Many poor people used to live in the *ṣuffa* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 58); tents and huts were put up in the mosque, one for example by converted and liberated prisoners, another by the Banū Ghifar, in whose tent Sa'd b. Mu'adh died of his wounds (*ibid.*, B. 77; *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, ii. 297). People sat as they pleased in the mosque or took their ease lying on their backs (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 6; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 85; Ibn Sa'd, i. 124, 14); even so late as the reign of 'Umar it is recorded that he found strangers sleeping in a corner of the mosque (*Kāmil*, p. 118, 15 sqq.); the Prophet received gifts and distributed them among the Companions (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 42); disputes took place over business (*ibid.*, bāb 71, 83) and in general people conducted themselves as they pleased. Indeed, on one occasion some Sudanese or Abyssinians with the approval of the Prophet gave a display with

shield and lance on the occasion of a festival (do., *Ṣalāt*, bāb 69; *ʿIdain*, bāb 2, 25; *Zihād*, bāb 81) and on another a stranger seeking the Prophet, rode into the mosque on his camel (do., *ʿIlm*, bāb 6). So little "consecrated" was this, the oldest mosque, that one of the *Munāṣṣikūn*, ejected for scoffing at the believers, could call to Abū Aiyūb "Are you throwing me out of the *Mirbad Banī Tha'laba*?" (Ibn Hishām, p. 362, 10 sq.).

All this gives one the impression of the headquarters of an army, rather than of a sacred edifice. On the other hand the mosque was used from the very first for the general divine service and thus became something more than the Prophet's private courtyard. Whatever the Prophet's intentions had been from the first, the masjid with the increasing importance of Islām was bound to become very soon the political and religious centre of the new community. The two points of view cannot be distinguished in Islām, especially in the earlier period. The mosque was the place where believers assembled for prayer around the Prophet, where he delivered his addresses, which contained not only appeals for obedience to God but regulations affecting the social life of the community (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 70, 71); from here he controlled the religious and political community of Islām. Even at the real old sanctuaries of Arabia, there were no restrictions on what one could do; what distinguished the mosque from the Christian church or the Meccan temple was that in it there was no specially dedicated ritual object. At the Ka'ba also people used to gather to discuss everyday affairs and also for important assemblies, if we may believe the *Sira* (Ibn Hishām, p. 183 sq., 185, 1, 229, 8, 248, 257, 19). Here also the Prophet used to sit; strangers came to visit him; he talked and they disputed with him; people even came to blows and fought there (Ibn Hishām, 183 sq., 185 sq., 187 sq., 202, 19, 257, 259; *Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 223, 11). Beside the Ka'ba was the *Dār al-Nadwa*, where important matters were discussed and justice administered (*ibid.*, see index). From the Medina mosque was developed the general type of the Muslim mosque. It depended on circumstances whether the aspect of the mosque as a social centre or as a place of prayer was more or less emphasised.

3. Other Mosques in the time of the Prophet.

The mosque of the Prophet in Medina was not the only one founded by Muslims in his lifetime and according to tradition not even the first, which is said to have been the mosque of Ḳubā'. In this village, which belonged to the territory of Medina (see Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 126), the Prophet on his Hidjra stopped with the family of 'Amr b. 'Awf; the length of his stay is variously given: 3, 5, 8, 14 or 22 days. According to one tradition, he found a mosque there on his arrival, which had been built by the first emigrants and the Anṣār and he performed the ṣalāt there with them (see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 1; Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-Khamis*, Cairo 1302, i. 380 sq.). According to another tradition, the Prophet himself founded the mosque on a site, which belonged to his host Kulthūm and was used as a *mirbad* for drying dates or according to others,

to a woman named Labba, who tethered her ass there (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 131; Ibn Hishām, p. 335; Ṭabarī, i, 1260, 6; Ibn Sa'd, i, 1, 6; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 139; Diyārбакри, *Khamis*, i, 381; *al-Sira al-Halabiya*, Cairo 1320, ii, 58 sq.). Out of this tradition arose a legend based on the story of the foundation of the principal mosque in Medina: The Prophet makes (first Abū Bakr and 'Umar without success, then) 'Alī mount a camel and at the place to which it goes builds the mosque with stone brought from the Ḥarra; he himself laid the first stone, and Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān the next ones (*Khamis*, i, 381). The Prophet is said to have henceforth visited the mosque of Ḳubā' every Saturday, either riding or walking and the pillar is still shown beside which he conducted the service (Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-Ṣalāt fī Masjīd Makka wa 'l-Madina*, bāb 2, 4; Muslim, *Ḥaḍīdj*, tr. 94; *Khamis*, i, 382; Balādhurī, p. 5). We are occasionally told that he performed his ṣalāt on the Sabbath in the mosque at Ḳubā' when he went to the Banū Naḍir in Rabī' I of the year 4 (Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 161).

It is obvious that the customs and ideas of the later community have shaped the legend of this mosque. The only question is whether the old tradition that the mosque was founded either by the Prophet himself or even before his arrival by his followers is also a later invention. We thus come to the question whether the Prophet founded or recognised any other mosques at all than that of Medina. L. Caetani, in keeping with his view of the origin of the mosque, is inclined to deny it, pointing to the fact that there was later an obvious tendency to connect mosques everywhere with the Prophet and that Sūra ix. 108 strongly condemns the erection of an "opposition mosque" (*M. al-Ḍirār*). The Ḳur'ān passage is as follows: "Those who have built themselves a masjid for opposition (*ḍirār*) and unbelief and division among the believers and for a refuge for him who in the past fought against God and his Prophet; and they swear: we intended only good. God is witness that they are liars! Thou shalt not stand up in it, for verily a masjid which is founded on piety from the first day of its existence has more right than thou shouldst stand in it; in it are men who desire to purify themselves and God loveth those who purify themselves" (Sūra ix. 108—109). According to tradition this was revealed in the year 9; when the Prophet was on the march to Tabūk, the Banū Sālim said to him that they had built a mosque to make it easier for their feeble and elderly people, and they begged the Prophet to perform his ṣalāt in it and thus give it his approval. The Prophet postponed it till his return, but then this revelation was announced, because the mosque had been founded by *Munāfiqūn* at the instigation of Abū 'Amir al-Rāhib, who fought against the Prophet. According to one tradition (so Ibn 'Umar, Zaid) the "mosque founded on piety" was that of Medina from which the people wished to emancipate themselves; according to another (Ibn 'Abbās) the reference was to that of Ḳubā'; Abū 'Amir and his followers were not comfortable among the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf and therefore built a new mosque. According to some traditions it was in Dhū Awān. The Prophet however had it burned down (Ṭabarī, i, 1704 sq.; Ibn Hishām, p. 357

sq., 906 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, i, 1, 6; Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 410 sq.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, xi, 17 sqq.; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 131; *al-Sira al-Halabiya*, ii, 60; Balādhurī, p. 1 sq.; Muslim, *Ḥaḍīdj*, tr. 93). If the connection with the Tabūk campaign is correct, the *Masjīd al-Ḍirār* is to be sought north of Medina; the "mosque founded on piety" would then be the mosque of Medina rather than that of Ḳubā' which lies to the south of it. There is in itself nothing impossible about the rejection in principle of any mosque other than that of Medina. We should then have to discard the whole tradition, for, according to it, the Prophet is at first not unfavourably disposed to the new mosque and his wrath, according to the tradition, arises from the fact that it had been founded by a refractory party. But as a matter of fact there are indications that a number of mosques already existed in the time of the Prophet; for example, the verse in the Ḳur'ān: "in houses, which God hath permitted to be built that His name might be praised in them, in them men praise Him morning and evening, whom neither business nor trade refrain from praising God and performing the ṣalāt and the giving of alms" etc. (Sūra xxiv. 36 sq.). If this revelation, like the rest of the Sūra, is of the Medina period, it is difficult to refer it to Jews and Christians, and this utterance is quite clear: "Observe a complete fast until the night and touch thou them (i.e. women) not while ye are in the mosques" (Sūra ii. 183). This shows that there were already in the time of the Prophet, several Muslim mosques which had a markedly religious character and were recognised by the Prophet.

That there were really public places of prayer of the separate tribes at a very early date is evident from the tradition that the Prophet in the year 2 offered his sacrifice on the 10th Dhū 'l-Hijja on the Muṣallā of the Banū Salima. In addition there are constant references to private *masājjid* where a few believers, like Abū Bakr in Mecca, made a place for prayer in their houses and where others sometimes assembled (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 46, 87; *Tahadjud*, bāb 30; cf. also *Adhān*, bāb 50).

B. Origin of Mosques after the time of the Prophet.

1. Chief Mosques.

What importance the Medina mosque had attained as the centre of administration and worship of the Muslims is best seen from the fact that the first thought of the Muslim generals after their conquests was to found a mosque as a centre around which to gather.

Conditions differed somewhat according as it was a new foundation or an already existing town. Important examples of the first kind are Baṣra, Kūfa and al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Baṣra was founded by 'Utba b. Nāfi' as winter-quarters for the army in the year 14 (or 16 or 17). The mosque was placed in the centre with the *Dār al-Imāra*, the dwelling of the commander-in-chief with a prison and *Diwān* in front of it. Prayer was at first offered on the open space which was fenced round; later the whole was built of reeds and when the men went off to war the reeds were pulled up and laid away. Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari, who later became 'Umar's Wālī, built the edifice of clay and bricks baked in the sun (*labīn*) and used grass

for the roof (Balādhuri, p. 346 sq., 350; *B. G. A.*, v. 187 sqq.; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, i. 642, 6-9; cf. Ṭabari, i. 2377, 14 sqq.). It was similar in Kūfa which was founded in 17 by Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ. In the centre was the mosque and beside it the *Dār al-Imāra* was laid out. The mosque at first was simply an open quadrangle, *ṣaḥn*, marked off by a trench round it. The space was large enough for 40,000 persons. It seems that reeds were also used for building the walls here and later Sa'd used *labin*. On the south side (and only here) there was an arbour, *ḡulla*, built (cf. Balādhuri, p. 348, 1: *ṣuffa*). The *Dār al-Imāra* beside the mosque was later by 'Umar's orders combined with the mosque (Ṭabari, i. 2481, 12 sqq., 2485, 16, 2487 sqq., 2494, 14; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 323, 10 sqq.; Balādhuri, p. 275 sqq.; cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, iii. 846 sqq.). The plan was therefore an exact reproduction of that of the mosque in Medina (as is expressly emphasised in Ṭabari, i. 2489, 4 sqq.); the importance of the mosque was also expressed in its position and the commander lived close beside it. There was no difference in al-Fuṣṭāṭ, which, although there was already an older town here, was laid out as an entirely new camp. In the year 21, after the conquest of Alexandria, the mosque was laid out in a garden where 'Amr had planted his standard. It was 50 *dhira'* long and 30 broad. Eighty men fixed its *kibla*, which however was turned too far to the east, and was therefore altered later by Qurra b. Sharik. The court was quite simple, surrounded by a wall and had trees growing on it; a simple roof is mentioned; it must be identical with the above mentioned *ḡulla* or *ṣuffa*. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣi lived just beside the mosque and around it the *al-Ra'ya*. Like the house of the Prophet, the general's house lay on the east side with only a road between them. There were two doors in each wall except the southern one (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 898 sq.; Maqrizi, *Khitāt*, iv., Cairo 1326, p. 4 sqq.; Ibn Duqmāḡ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, Cairo 1893, p. 59 sqq.; Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādḍara*, i. 63 sq.; ii. 135 sq.; cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 554, 557, 563 sqq.). We find similar arrangements made in al-Mawṣil twenty years earlier (Balādhuri, p. 331 sq.).

In other cases the Muslims established themselves in old towns either conquered or surrendered by treaty; by the treaty they received a site for their mosque (e.g. Balādhuri, p. 116, 14, 147. 2). But the distinction between towns which were conquered and those which were surrendered soon disappeared and the position is as a rule not clear. Examples of old towns in which the Muslims established themselves are al-Madā'in, Damascus and Jerusalem. — In al-Madā'in Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ after the conquest in 16 distributed the houses among the Muslims and Kisra's *Iwān* was made into a mosque, after Sa'd had conducted the *Ṣalāt al-Faṭḥ* in it (Ṭabari, i. 2443, 15 sq., 2451, 7 sqq.). In Damascus which was occupied in 14 or 15 by capitulation, according to tradition, the Church of St. John was divided so that the eastern half became Muslim from which Muslim tradition created the legend that the city was taken partly by conquest and partly by agreement (Balādhuri, p. 125; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 591; Ibn Djbair, *Rihla*, p. 262; *J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 376, 381, 404). As a matter of fact however, the Muslims seem to have laid out their own mosque here just beside the church

[cf. DAMASCUS]; and close beside it again was the *Khaḍrā'*, the commander-in-chief's palace, from which a direct entrance to the *maḡṣūra* was later made (*B. G. A.*, iii. 159, 4). Conditions here were therefore once more the same as in Medina. But the possibility of an arrangement such as is recorded by tradition cannot be rejected, for there is good evidence of it elsewhere; in Hims for example, the Muslims and Christians shared a building in common as a mosque and church, and it is evident from al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Hawḡal that this was still the case in the time of their common authority, al-Balkhi (309 = 921) (*B. G. A.*, i. 61, 7 sq.; ii. 117, 5; iii. 156, 15), and a similar arrangement is recorded for Dabil in Armenia (*B. G. A.*, i. 188, 3 sq.; ii. 244, 21; cf. iii. 377, 3 sq.).

There were special conditions in Jerusalem. The Muslims recognised the sanctuary there, as is evident from the earlier Kibla and from Sūra xvii. 1 (in the traditional interpretation). It must therefore have been natural for the conquerors, when the town capitulated, to seek out the recognised holy place. Indeed we are told that 'Umar in the year 17 built a mosque in Jerusalem on the site of the temple of Solomon (F. Baethgen, *Fragmente syr. u. arab. Hist.*, p. 17, 110, following Ishō'denah, metropolitan of Baṣra after 700 A.D.; cf. for the viith century Theophanes quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 91 note). That the *Kubbat al-Ṣakhra* [q. v.] which the Mosque of 'Umar replaced, stands on the old site of the Temple is undoubted. How he found the site is variously recorded [cf. AL-KUDS]. The building was, like other mosques of the time of 'Umar, very simple. Arculf who visited Jerusalem about 670 says "The Saracens attend a quadrangular house of prayer (*domus orationis*, i.e. *masdjid*) which they have built with little art with boards and large beams on the remains of some ruins, on the famous site where the Temple was once built in all its splendour" (*Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. P. Geyer, 1898, p. 226 sq.; transl. by P. Mickle, in *Das Land der Bibel*, ii/2, 1917, p. 19 sq.). It is of interest to note that this simple mosque, like the others, was in the form of a rectangle; in spite of its simple character it could hold 3,000 people, according to Arculf.

As late as the reign of Mu'āwiya we find a new town, *Ḳairawān*, being laid out on the old plan as a military camp with a mosque and *Dār al-Imāra* in the centre (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 213, 10 sqq.). As Balādhuri, for example, shows, the Muslim conquerors even at a later date always built a mosque in the centre of a newly conquered town, at first a simple one in each town, and it was a direct reproduction of the simple mosque of the Prophet in Medina. It was the exception to adapt already existing buildings in towns. But soon many additional mosques were added.

2. Tribal mosques and Sectarian mosques.

There were mosques not only in the towns. When the tribes pledged themselves to the Prophet to adopt Islām, they had also to perform the *ṣalā*. It is not clear how far they took part in Muslim worship, but if they concerned themselves with Islām at all, they must have had a Muslim place of meeting. Probably even before Islām they had, like the Meccans, their *maḡlis* or *nādī* or *dār ṣhūrā*, where they discussed matters of general importance (cf. Lammens, *Mōāwia*, p. 205; Ziād

b. *Abīhi*, p. 30 sqq., 90 sq.; *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 222 sqq.). As the mosque was only distinguished from such places by the fact that it was also used for the common *ṣalāt*, it was natural for tribal mosques to come into existence. Thus we are told that as early as the year 5 the tribe of Sa'd b. Bakr founded mosques and used *adhān* (Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 44, 7, not mentioned in Ibn Hishām, p. 943 sq.; Ṭabari, i. 1722); it is also recorded of the Banū Dījadhima who lived near Mecca that they built mosques in the year 8 and introduced the *adhān* (Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 351). How far one can rely on such stories in a particular case is however uncertain. A late writer like al-Diyārbakrī says of the Banū 'l-Muṣṭalik that they *aslamū wabanū masādjida* (*Ta'rikh Khamis*, ii. 132, 20; cf. *Annali dell' Islam*, ii. 221); in the early sources this is not found. Nor is the story, told by Ibn Sa'd at all probable, that envoys from the Banū Ḥanifa received orders to destroy their churches, sprinkle the ground with water and build a mosque (Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 56, 11 sqq. while Ibn Hishām, p. 945 sq.; Ṭabari, i. 1737 sqq. and Balādhuri, p. 86 sq. say nothing about it). But that there were tribal mosques at a very early date is nevertheless quite certain. The mosque at Kuḇā' was the mosque of the tribe of 'Amr b. 'Awf (Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 6, 6 and cf. above) and according to one tradition, the Banū Ḡhanm b. 'Awf were jealous of it and built an opposition mosque (Balādhuri, p. 3; Ṭabari, *Tafsir*, i. 21 infra). A Companion, who had taken part in the battle of Badr, 'Itbān b. Malik, complained to the Prophet that he could not reach the masjid of his tribe in the rainy season and wanted to build a mosque for himself (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 46; Muslim, *Masājid*, bāb 47). The Prophet himself is said to have visited the masjid of the Banū Zuraiḳ (Bukhārī, *Djihād*, bāb 56—58) and in the masjid of the Banū Salima during the prayer, there was revealed to him Sūra ii. 139, which ordered the new *qibla*, wherefore it was called *Masjid al-Qiblataini* (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 62).

The tribal mosque was a sign that the independence of the tribe was still retained under Islām. Indeed we hear everywhere of tribal mosques, for example around Medina that of the Banū Qurayza, of the Banū Hāritha, of the Banū Zafar, of the Banū Wā'il, of the Banū Ḥarām, of the Banū Zuraiḳ, said to have been the first in which the Qur'ān was publicly read, that of the Banū Salima etc. (see Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Stadt Medina*, p. 29, 37 sqq., 44, 50, 57, 136 sqq.); the "mosque of the two Kiblas" belonged to the Banū Sawād b. Ḡhanm b. Ka'b b. Salima (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 41). This then was the position in Medina: the tribes had usually their own mosques and one mosque was the chief mosque. This was probably the position within the Prophet's lifetime; for in the earliest campaigns of conquest, mosques were built on this principle. 'Umar is said to have written to Abū Mūsā in Baṣra telling him to build a mosque *li'l-djām'a* and mosques for the tribes, and on Fridays the people were to come to the chief mosque. Similarly he wrote to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ in Kūfa and to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in Miṣr. On the other hand in Syria where they had settled in old towns, they were not to build tribal mosques (Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv., Cairo 1326, p. 4 infra). It is actually recorded that the tribes in each *khiṭa* had their own mosques around the mosque of 'Amr in al-Fuṣṭāṭ (cf. Ibn Duḳmāk,

p. 62 infra sq.) and even much later a tribal mosque like that of the Rāshida was still in existence (Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv. 64, 4 sqq.). Even in the chief mosque, the tribes had their own places (*ibid.*, p. 9, 12 sq.). We have similar evidence from the 'Irāk. In Baṣra for example there was a Masjid Banī 'Ubād (Balādhuri, p. 356, 2), one of the Banū Rifā'a (*B. G. A.*, vii. 201, 16), one of the Banū 'Adī (*ibid.*, v. 191, 4) and one of the Anṣār (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 77, note 5); in Kūfa we find quite a number such as that of the Anṣār (Ṭabari, ii. 284, 13 sq.), of the 'Abd al-Kais (*ibid.*, ii. 657, 2, 9), of the Banū Duḥmān (*ibid.*, p. 670, 4), of the Banū Makhzūm (*ibid.*, p. 734, 19), of the Banū Hilāl (*ibid.*, p. 1687, 8), of the Banū 'Adī (*ibid.*, p. 1703, 4), of the Banū Dhūhl and Banū Ḥudjir (*ibid.*, p. 532, 8 sq.), of the Djuhaina (*ibid.*, p. 533, 8), of the Banū Ḥarām (*ibid.*, iii. 2509, 10) and the 'Absis even had several masājid (Balādhuri, p. 278, 12 sq., s. also p. 285 and Goldziher, *loc. cit.*).

During the wars these tribal mosques were the natural rallying points for the various tribes; the mosque was a *maḍjlis*, where councils were held (Ṭabari, ii. 532, 6 sqq.) and the people were taught from its minbar (*ibid.*, p. 284); battles often centred for this reason round these mosques (e.g. Ṭabari, ii. 130, 148, 6, 960). "The people of your mosque", *ahl masjdīdikum* (*ibid.*, p. 532, 19), became identical with "your party". Gradually as, new sects arose, they naturally had mosques of their own, just as Musailima before them is said to have had his own mosque (Balādhuri, p. 90, 4 from below; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 404 infra). Thus we read later of the mosques of the Ḥanbalis in Baghdād, in which there was continual riot and confusion (Hilāl al-Ṣābi, *Kitāb al-Wusarā'*, ed. Amedroz, p. 335). It sometimes happened that different parties in a town shared the chief mosque (*B. G. A.*, iii. 102, 5 sqq.) but as a rule it was otherwise. In particular the Sunnīs and Shī'īs as a rule had separate mosques (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 63). It sometimes even happened that Ḥanafīs and Shāfi'īs had separate mosques (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 509, 9; cf. *B. G. A.*, iii. 323, 11). These special mosques were a great source of disruption in Islām and we can understand that a time came when the learned discussed whether such mosques should be permitted at all. But the question whether one might talk of the *Masjid Banī Fulān* was answered by saying that in the time of the Prophet, the *Masjid Banī Zuraiḳ* was recognised (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 41; cf. *Djihād*, bāb 56—58 and Ṭabari, *Tafsir*, xi. 20 after the middle of the page).

3. Adaptation to Islām of Older Sanctuaries; Memorial Mosques.

According to the early historians, the towns, which made treaties with the Muslims, received permission to retain their churches (Balādhuri, p. 121, in the middle; Ṭabari, i. 2405, 2407) while in the conquered towns the churches fell to the Muslims without any preamble (cf. Balādhuri, p. 120 infra). Sometimes also it is recorded that a certain number of churches were received from the Christians, e.g. fifteen in Damascus according to one tradition (*ibid.*, p. 124, 8; otherwise p. 121; cf. *J. A.*, 9 Ser., vii. 403). It is rather doubtful whether the process was such a regular one; in any case the Muslims in course of time appropriated

many churches to themselves. With the mass-conversions to Islām, this was a natural result. The churches taken over by the Muslims were occasionally used as dwellings (cf. Tabari, i. 2405, 2407); at a later date it also happened that they were used as government offices, as in Egypt in 146 (Maḳrīzī, iv. 35; cf. for Kūfa, Balādhurī, p. 286). The obvious thing, however, was to transform the churches taken into mosques. It is related of 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣī that he performed the ṣalāt in a church (Maḳrīzī, iv. 6) and Zaid b. 'Alī says regarding churches and synagogues, "Perform thy ṣalāt in them; it will not harm thee" (*Corpus iuris di Zaid b. 'Alī*, ed. Griffini, N° 364). It is not clear whether the reference in these cases is to conquered sanctuaries; it is evident, in any case, that the saying is intended to remove any misgivings about the use of captured churches and synagogues as mosques. The most important example of this kind was in Damascus where al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik in 86 (705) took the church of St. John from the Christians and had it rebuilt; he is said to have offered the Christians another church in its stead (see the references above, B. 1; and also *J. A.*, 9 Ser., vii. 369 sqq.; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/i. 262 sqq. and the article DAMASCUS). He is said to have transformed into mosques ten churches in all in Damascus. It must have been particularly in the villages, with the gradual conversion of the people to Islām, that the churches were turned into mosques. In the Egyptian village there were no mosques in the earlier generations of Islām (Maḳrīzī, iv. 28 sq., 30). But when al-Ma'mūn was fighting the Copts, many churches were turned into mosques (*ibid.*, p. 30). It is also recorded of mosques in Cairo that they were converted churches. According to one tradition, the Rāshida mosque was an unfinished Jacobite church, which was surrounded by Jewish and Christian graves (Maḳrīzī, iv. 63, 64) and in the immediate vicinity al-Ḥākim turned a Jacobite and a Nestorian Church into mosques (*ibid.*, p. 65). When Djawhar built a palace in al-Kāhira, a *dār* was taken in and transformed into a mosque (*ibid.*, p. 269); similar changes took place at later dates (*ibid.*, p. 240) and synagogues also were transformed in this way (Masdjid Ibn al-Bannā', *ibid.*, p. 265). The chief mosque in Palermo was previously a church (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 719). After the Crusades several churches were turned into mosques in Palestine (Sauvaire, *Hist. de Jérus. et d'Hébron*, 1876, p. 77; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/ii. 40).

Other sanctuaries than those of the "people of the scripture" were turned into mosques. For example a Masdjid al-Shams between Ḥilla and Kerbelā' was the successor of an old temple of Shamash (see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 331 sq.). Not far from Iṣṭakhr was a Masdjid Sulaimān which was an old "fire-temple", the pictures on the walls of which could still be seen in the time of Mas'ūdī and al-Maḳdisī (ivth century) (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv. 77; *B. G. A.*, iii. 444). In Iṣṭakhr itself there was a *djāmi'*, which was a converted fire-temple (*ibid.*, p. 436). In Maṣīṣa, the ancient Mopsuestia, al-Manṣūr in 140 built a mosque on the site of an ancient temple (Balādhurī, p. 165 sq.) and the chief mosque in Dihlī was originally a temple (Ibn Baṭṭūta, iii. 151); as to Tā'if cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 10. Thus in Islām also the old rule holds that sacred places survive changes of religion. It was especially

easy in cases where Christian sanctuaries were associated with Biblical personalities who were also recognised by Islām: e.g., the Church of St. John in Damascus and many holy places in Palestine. One example is the mosque of Job in Shēkh Sa'd, associated with Sūra xxi. 83, xxxviii. 40; here in Silvia's time (fourth century) there was a church of Job (Mas'ūdī, i. 91; Baedeker, *Paläst. u. Syrien*¹, 1910, p. 147).

But Islām itself had created historical associations which were bound soon to lead to the building of new mosques. Even in the lifetime of the Prophet, the Banū Sālim are said to have asked him to perform the ṣalāt in their masdjid to give it his authority (see above A 3). At the request of 'Itbān b. Malik the Prophet performed the ṣalāt along with Abū Bakr in his house and thereby consecrated it as a muṣallā, because he could not get to the tribal mosque in the rainy season (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 47; *Tahadjud*, bāb 36; Muslim, *Masūdjid*, tr. 46; a similar story in Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 47, *Tahadjud*, bāb 33 is perhaps identical in origin). After the death of the Prophet, his memory became so precious that the places where he had prayed obtained a special importance and his followers, who liked to imitate him in everything, preferred to perform their ṣalāt in such places. But this tendency was only an intensification of what had existed in his lifetime; and so it is not easy to decide how far the above stories reflect later conditions. Mosques very quickly arose on the road between Mecca and Medina at places where, according to the testimony of his Companions, the Prophet had prayed (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 89; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 421 sqq.); the same was the case with the road which the Prophet had taken to Tabūk in the year 9 (Ibn Hishām, p. 907; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 394; there were 19 in all, which are listed in *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 246 sq.). Indeed wherever he had taken the field, mosques were built; for example on the road to Badr, where according to tradition Abū Bakr had built a mosque (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 39, also Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 135). The mosque of al-Faḍīkh was built on the spot where the Prophet had prayed in a leather tent during the war with the Banū Nadir in the year 4 (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 163; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 132). He is said to have himself built a little mosque in Khaibar during the campaign of the year 7 (Diyārbakrī, *Tā'rikh al-Khāmis*, ii. 49 sq.; cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 19). Outside Tā'if a mosque was built on a hillock, because the Prophet had performed the ṣalāt there during the siege in the year 8, between the tents of his two wives, Umm Salama and Zainab (Ibn Hishām, p. 872; sq.; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 369); in Liyya the Prophet is said to have himself built a mosque while on the campaign against Tā'if (Ibn Hishām, p. 872; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 368 sq.). Mosques arose in and around Medina, "because Muḥammad prayed here" (Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Stadt Medina*, p. 31, 38, 132 sqq.). It is obvious that in most of these cases later conditions are put back to the time of the Prophet; in connection with the "war of the Ditch" we are told that "he prayed everywhere where mosques now stand" (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 208). Since, for example, the Masdjid al-Faḍīkh is also called Masdjid al-Shams (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 132) we have perhaps here actually an ancient sanctuary.

Mosques became associated with the Prophet in many ways. In Medina, for example, there was the Masdjid al-Baghla where footprints of the Prophet's mule were shown in a stone, the Masdjid al-Iḍjaba where the Prophet's appeal was answered, the Masdjid al-Faṭḥ which recalls the victory over the Meccans, etc. (see Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 136 sqq.). In Mecca there was naturally a large number of places sacred through associations with the Prophet and therefore used as places of prayer. The most honoured site, next to the chief mosque, is said to have been the house of Khadija, also called Mawlid al-Saiyida Fāṭima, because the daughter of the Prophet was born there. This house, in which the Prophet lived till the Hidjra, was taken over by 'Ukail, 'Alī's brother, and bought by him through Mu'āwiya and turned into a mosque (*Chroniken d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 423; iii. 438, 440). Next comes the house in which the Prophet held his first secret meetings. This was bought by al-Khaizurān, mother of Hārūn al-Rašīd, on her pilgrimage in 171 and turned into a mosque (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 112, 440). She also purchased the Prophet's birthplace, *Mawlid al-Nabī*, and made it into a mosque (*ibid.*, i. 422; iii. 439). If Mu'āwiya really bought the Prophet's house from his cousin, it was probably the right one; but the demand for places associated with the Prophet became stronger and stronger and we therefore find more and more places referred not only to the Prophet, but also to his Companions. Such are the birthplaces of Ḥamza, 'Umar and 'Alī (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 445), the house of Māriya, the mother of the Prophet's son, Ibrāhīm (*ibid.*, i. 447, 466) who also had a mosque at Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 133). There were also a Masdjid Khadija (*ibid.*, i. 324) and a Masdjid 'A'isha (*ibid.*, iii. 454), a Masdjid of the "granted appeal" in a narrow valley near Mecca, where the Prophet performed the *ṣalāt* (*ibid.*, iii. 453), a Masdjid al-Djinn, where the Djinn overheard his preaching (*ibid.*, i. 424; iii. 453), a Masdjid al-Ra'ya, where he planted his standard at the conquest (*ibid.*, ii. 68 infra and 71 supra; iii. 13, 453), a Masdjid al-Bai'a where the first homage of the Medinese was received (*ibid.*, i. 428; iii. 441). In the Masdjid al-Khaif in Minā is shown the mark of the Prophet's head in a stone into which visitors also put their heads (*ibid.*, iii. 438). Persons in the Bible are also connected with mosques, Adam, Abraham and Ismā'īl with the Ka'ba, beside which the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm* is shown and in 'Arafa there is still a Masdjid Ibrāhīm (*ibid.*, i. 415, 425) and another in al-Zāhir near Mecca (Ibn Ḍjubair, *Rihla*, 1907, p. 112). To these memorial mosques others were later added, e.g. the Masdjid Abi Bakr, Masdjid Bilāl, the Mosque of the Splitting of the Moon (by the Prophet) etc. (s. Ibn Ḍjubair, *Rihla*, p. 114 sqq.; *B.G.A.*, iii. 102 sq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 27; al-Batanūnī, *al-Rihla al-Hidjāziya*², Cairo 1329, p. 52 sqq.).

In al-Hidjāz the Muslims thus acquired a series of mosques which became important from their association with the Prophet, his family and his Companions, and made Muslim history live. On the other hand, in lands formerly Christian, they took over sanctuaries which were associated with the Biblical history which they had assimilated (see Le Strange, *Palestine*, passim). Other mosques soon became associated with Biblical and

Muslim story. The mosque founded by 'Umar on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem was, as already pointed out, identified as *al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* mentioned in Sūra xvii. 1 and therefore connected with the Prophet's night journey and the journey to Paradise. The rock is said to have greeted the Prophet on this occasion and marks in a stone covering a hole are explained as Muḥammad's footprints (sometimes also as those of Idris; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 136; al-Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p. 165; Baedeker, *Palestine*, 1910, p. 52 sq.; cf. Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 311). The name *al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* was used throughout the early period for the whole Ḥarām area in Jerusalem, later partly for it, and partly for the building in its southern part (*B.G.A.*, v. 100; Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. Hébron*, p. 95, 121; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 96 sq.). Then there were the mosques which had specifically Muslim associations, like the Masdjid of 'Umar on the Mount of Olives where he encamped at the conquest (*B.G.A.*, iii. 172).

In Egypt not only was an old Christian sanctuary called Ma'bad Mūsā (Maḳrīzī, iv. 269), but we are also told, for example, that the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was built where Mūsā talked with his Lord (Maḳrīzī, iv. 36); according to al-Kuḍā'ī there were in Egypt four Masādjid of Mūsā (Ibn Ḍukmāḳ, ed. Vollers, p. 92); there was a Masdjid Ya'qūb wa-Yūsuf (*B.G.A.*, iii. 200) and a Joseph's prison, certainly dating from the Christian period (Maḳrīzī, iv. 315). There was also a Mosque of Abraham in Munyat Ibn al-Khaṣīb (Ibn Ḍjubair, p. 58). The chief mosque of Ṣan'a' was built by Shem, son of Noah (*B.G.A.*, vii. 110). The old temple near Iṣṭaḳḱr mentioned above was connected with Sulaimān (Ma'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv. 77; Yaḳūt, i. 299). In the mosque of Kūfa not only Ibrāhīm but one thousand other prophets and one thousand saints, described as *waṣī*, are said to have offered their prayers; here was the tree Yaḳṭīn (Sūra xxxvii. 146); here died Yaḡhūṭh and Ya'ūḳ, etc. (Yaḳūt, iv. 325; also Ibn Ḍjubair, p. 211 sq.) and in this mosque there was a chapel of Abraham, Noah and Idris (Ibn Ḍjubair, p. 212); a large number of mosques were associated with Companions of the Prophet. What emphasis was laid on such an association is seen, for example, from the story according to which 'Umar declined to perform the *ṣalāt* in the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, lest the church should afterwards be claimed as a mosque.

4. Tomb Mosques.

A special class of memorial mosques consisted of those which were associated with a tomb. The graves of ancestors and of saints had been sanctuaries from ancient times and they were gradually adopted into Islām. In addition there were the saints of Islām itself. The general tendency to distinguish places associated with the founders of Islām naturally concentrated itself round the graves in which they rested. In the Qur'ān, a tomb-masjdīd is mentioned in connection with the Seven Sleepers (Sūra xviii. 20) but it is not clear if it was recognised. As early as the year 6, the companions of Abū Baṣīr are said to have built a mosque at the place where he died and was buried (Wāḳidi-Wellhausen, p. 262). The Prophet is also said to have visited regularly at al-Baḳī' in Medina the tombs of the martyrs who fell at Uhud and paid reverence to them (*ibid.*, p. 143).

Whatever the exact amount of truth in the story, there is no doubt that the story of the tomb-mosque of Abū Baṣīr is ante-dated. The accounts of the death of the Prophet and of the period immediately following reveal no special interest in his tomb. But very soon the general trend of development stimulated an interest in graves which led to the erection of sanctuaries at them. The progress of this tendency is more marked in al-Wāḳidī, who died in 207 (823), than in Ibn Ishāq who died in 151 (768).

The collections of Ḥadīth made in the third century contain discussions on this fact which show that the problem was whether the tombs could be used as places of worship and in this connection whether mosques could be built over the tombs. The ḥadīths answer both questions in the negative, which certainly was in the spirit of the Prophet. It is said that "Ṣalāt at the graves (*fi 'l-makābir*) is *makrūh*" (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 52); "sit not upon graves and perform not ṣalāt towards them" (Muslim, *Ḍjanā'iz*, tr. 33); "hold the ṣalāt in your houses, but do not use them as tombs" (Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirin*, tr. 28). On the other hand it is acknowledged that Anas performed the ṣalāt at the cemetery (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48). We are also told that tombs cannot be used as *masājid* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48; *Ḍjanā'iz*, bāb 62). On his deathbed the Prophet is said to have cursed the Jews and the Christians because they used the tombs of their prophets as *masājid*. Ḥadīth explains this by saying that the tomb of the Prophet was not at first accessible (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, 55; *Ḍjanā'iz*, bāb 62; *ʿAnbiyā'*, bāb 50; Muslim, *Masājid*, tr. 3); as a matter of fact its precise location was not exactly known (*Ḍjanā'iz*, bāb 96). The attacks in Ḥadīth insist that tomb-mosques are a reprehensible Jewish practice: "When a pious man dies, they build a masjid on his tomb" etc. (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, 54; Muslim, *Ḍjanā'iz*, bāb 71). Although this view of tomb-mosques is still held in certain limited circles (cf. Ibn Taimiyya, the Wahhābīs), the old pre-Islāmic custom soon also became a Muslim one. The expositors of Ḥadīth like al-Nawawī (on Muslim, *Masājid*, tr. 3, lith. Dihli r319, i. 201) and al-ʿAsḳalānī, (Cairo 1329, i. 354) explain the above passages to mean that only an exaggerated *tāʿzim* of the dead is forbidden so that tombs should not be used as a *qibla*; otherwise it is quite commendable to spend time in a mosque in proximity to a devout man.

The name given to a tomb-mosque is often *qubba*, a word which is used of a tent (Bukhārī, *Ḍjanā'iz*, bāb 62; *Ḥadīdī*, bāb 64; *Farq al-Khums*, bāb 19; *al-Djizya*, bāb 15; Tarafa, *Diwān*, vii. 1), but later came to mean the dome which usually covers tombs and thus became the general name for the sanctuary of a saint (cf. Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 114, 115; cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.). *Maḳām* also means a little chapel and a saint's tomb (v. Berchem, *Corpus Inscr. Arab.*, i., No. 72, etc.; cf. index). The custom of making a *qubba* at the tomb of a saint was firmly rooted in Byzantine territory, where sepulchral churches always had a dome (Herzog-Hauch, *Realencyclopädie* 3, x. 784). The usual name however for a tomb-sanctuary was *maḥhad*; this is applied to places where saints are worshipped, among Muslim tombs particularly to those of the friends and relations of the Prophet (v. Berchem, *Corpus Inscr. Arab.*,

i., No. 32, 63, 417, 544; Maḳrīzī, iv., p. 265, 309 *sqq.*) but also to tombs of other recognised saints, e.g. Maḥhad Ḍjirdjis in Mawṣil (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 236) etc.

The transformation of the tombs of the Prophet and his near relatives into sanctuaries seems to have been a gradual process. Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are said to have been buried in the house of ʿĀ'isha; Fāṭima and ʿAlī lived beside it. ʿĀ'isha had a wall built between her room and the tombs to prevent visitors carrying off earth from the tomb of the Prophet. The houses of the Prophet's wives remained as they were until al-Walid rebuilt them. He thought it scandalous that Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī should live in Fāṭima's house and ʿUmar's family close beside ʿĀ'isha's home in the house of Ḥafṣa. He acquired the houses, had all the houses of the Prophet's wives torn down and erected new buildings. The tombs were enclosed by a pentagonal wall; the whole area was called *al-Rawḍa* "the garden"; it was not till later that a dome was built over it (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 66 *sqq.*, 72 *sq.*, 78 *sqq.*, 89). In the cemetery of Medina, *al-Baḳī'*, a whole series of *Maḥhad* came to be built where tombs of the family and of the Companions of the Prophet were located (*ibid.*, p. 140 *sqq.*; Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 195 *sqq.*). It is often disputed whether a tomb belonged to one or the other (e.g. Ṭabarī, iii. 2436, 2 *sqq.*). Such tomb-mosques were sacred (*muḳaddas*; Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 114, 13, 17), they were visited *li 'l-baraka*. The name *al-Rawḍa* of the Prophet's tomb became later applied to other sanctuaries (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 46, 16; 52, 11). Separate limbs were revered in some mosques, like the head of al-Ḥusain in Cairo, which was brought there in 491 from ʿAsḳalān (ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadida*, iv. 91 *sqq.*; cf. Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. Hébr.*, p. 16); his head was also revered for some time in the *Maḥhad al-Ra's* in Damascus (according to Ibn Shākir, *J. A.*, 9th ser., vii. 385).

Gradually a vast number of Muslim tombs of saints came into existence; and to these were added all the pre-Islāmic sanctuaries which were adopted by Islām. No distinction can therefore be drawn between tomb-mosques and other memorial mosques. It was often impossible to prove that the tomb in question ever really existed. In the Maḥhad ʿAlī for example, ʿAlī's tomb is honoured but Ibn Djubair leaves it in doubt whether he is really buried there (*Rihla*, p. 212) and many located his grave in the mosque at Kūfa and elsewhere (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv. 289; v. 68; *B. G. A.*, ii. 163). In ʿAin al-Baḳar near ʿAkkā there was also a Maḥhad ʿAlī (Yāḳūt, iii. 759) and also in the Mosque of the Umayyads (Ibn Djubair, p. 267); on this question cf. *B. G. A.*, iii. 46. Names frequently become confused and transferred. In Mecca between Ṣafā and Marwa there was a *Qubba*, which was associated with ʿUmar b. al-Ḳhaṭṭāb but Ibn Djubair says that it should be connected with ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (*Rihla*, p. 115, 11 *sqq.*). In Djiza there was a *Maḥhad Abī Huraira*, where the memory of this Companion of the Prophet was honoured; it is said to have been originally the grave of another Abū Huraira (Maḳrīzī, i. 335, 19). Wherever Shīʿis ruled, there arose numerous tomb-mosques of the *Ahl al-Bait*. In Egypt Ibn Djubair gives a list of 14 men and five women of the Prophet's

family, who were honoured there (*Rihla*, p. 46 sq.). Islām was always creating new tombs of saints who had been distinguished for learning or asceticism or miracle-working, e.g. the tomb of al-Shāfi'ī in Cairo and Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā. There were mosques, chiefly old established sanctuaries, of Biblical and semi-Biblical personages like Rubil (Reuben) and Āsiya the wife of Pharaoh (*ibid.*, p. 46). In and around Damascus were a number of mosques, which were built on the tombs of prophets and unnamed saints (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 273 sqq.). In Palestine could be seen a vast number of tombs of Biblical personages (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, Index and Conder in *Palestine Explor. Fund. Quarterly Statement*, 1871, p. 89 sqq.), usually mosques with a *ḡubba*.

After the sanctuaries of persons mentioned in the Bible came those of people mentioned in the Qur'ān. For example, outside the Dījami' in 'Akkā was shown the tomb-mosque of the prophet Šāliḥ (Nāšir-i Khusrāw, *Sefer-Nameh*, ed. Schefer, p. 15, 1 = 49), and in Syria that of his son (Ibn Djubair, p. 46); that of Hūd was also shown near 'Akkā (*Sefer-Nameh*, p. 16, 5 = 52), farther east that of Shu'aib and of his daughter (*ibid.*, p. 16, 12 = 53); the tomb of Hūd was also pointed out in Damascus and in Ḥadramawt (Yāqūt, ii. 596, 16); then we have peculiarly Muslim saints like Dhu 'l-Kifl, the son of Job (*ibid.*, p. 16, 4 = 52). Then there are the sanctuaries of saints who are only superficially Muslim but really have their origins in old popular superstitions, like al-Khaḍir who had a *mašhad* in Damascus (Yāqūt, ii. 596, 9), or a saint like 'Akk, founder of the town of 'Akkā, whose tomb Nāšir-i Khusrāw visited outside the town (*Sefer-Nameh*, p. 15, 6 from below = 51). Such tombs were much visited by pious travellers and are therefore frequently mentioned in literature (on *Mašhāhid* of the kinds mentioned here in the 'Irāq, see *B.G.A.*, iii. 130; for Mawṣil etc., *ibid.*, p. 146). In this way ancient sanctuaries were turned into mosques and it is often quite a matter of chance under what names they are adopted by Islām (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 325 sqq.). It therefore sometimes happens that the same saint is honoured in several mosques. Abū Huraira, who is buried in Medina, is honoured not only in the above-mentioned tomb-mosque in Dījza but also at various places in Palestine, in al-Ramla and in Yubnā south of Ṭabariya (Khalīl ed-Dāhīry, *Zoubdat Kachf el-Mamālik*, ed. P. Ravaisse, p. 42, 1 from below; *Sefer-Nameh* of Nāšir-i Khusrāw, ed. by Ch. Schefer, p. 17, 1 from below = 59; Yāqūt, iii. 512, 20; iv. 1007, 12; cf. *Symbolae Osloenses Fasc. Supplet.*, ii. [1928], 31). The tomb of the Prophet Jonah is revered not only in the ancient Niniveh but also in Palestine.

Just as the *ḡubba* under which the saint lay and the mosque adjoining it were sanctified by him so vice-versa a *ḡubba* and a mosque could cause a deceased person to become considered a saint. It was therefore the custom for the mighty not only to give this distinction to their fathers but also to prepare such buildings for themselves even in their own lifetime. This was particularly the custom of the Mamlūk sultāns, perhaps stimulated by the fact that they did not found dynasties in which power passed from father to son. Such buildings are called *ḡubba* (van Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i., No. 82 sqq., 95, 96, 126, 138 etc.), exceptionally

sāwiya (*ibid.*, No. 98), frequently *turba* (*ibid.*, No. 58, 66, 88, 106, 107, 116 etc.); the formula is also found: "this *ḡubba* is a *turba*" (No. 67); the latter word acquired the same meaning as *masjd*, partly saint's grave and partly sacred site (cf. Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 114, 196); but this word does not seem to be used of ordinary tomb-mosques, although the distinction between these and mosques in honour of saints often disappeared. In these *ḡubbās* the regular recitation of the Qur'ān was often arranged and the tomb was provided with a *kiswa*. The mausoleum might be built in connection with a great mosque and be separated from it by a grille (Yāqūt, iv. 509, 6 sqq.).

5. Mosques deliberately founded.

In the early period the building of mosques was a social obligation of the ruler as representative of the community and the tribes. Very soon a number of mosques came into existence, provided by individuals. In addition to tribal mosques, as already mentioned, there were also sectarian mosques and prominent leaders built mosques which were the centres of their activity, for example the *Masjd* Adī b. Ḥātim (Ṭabari, ii. 130), the *Masjd* Simāk in Kūfa (*ibid.*, i. 2653), the *Masjd* Adī al-Ash'ath etc. As old sanctuaries entered Islām, the mosque received more of the character of a sanctuary and the building of a mosque became a pious work; there arose a *ḥadīth*, according to which the Prophet said: "for him who builds a mosque, God will build a home in Paradise"; some add "if he desires to see the face of God" (*Corpus juris di Zaid b. 'Alī*, ed. Griffini, No. 276; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bab 65; Muslim, *Masāḥid*, tr. 4; *Zuhd*, tr. 3; Maḥrizī, iv. 36). Like other sanctuaries, mosques were sometimes built as a result of a revelation in a dream. A story of this kind of the year 557 is given by al-Samhūdī for Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 91 sq.); and a similar one of a mosque in Damascus (*J. A.*, Ser. 9, vii. 384); a mosque was also built out of gratitude for seeing the Prophet (*al-Madrasa al-Sharifīya*, Maḥrizī, iv. 209). It was of course particularly an obligation on the mighty to build mosques. Even in the earliest period, the governors took care that new mosques were built to keep pace with the spread of Islām (cf. Balāḍhūrī, p. 178 sq.). About the year 1000 the governor of Media, Badr b. Ḥasanawaihi, is said to have built 3,000 mosques and hostels (Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, 1922, p. 24). The collections of inscriptions, as well as the geographical and topographical works, reveal how the number of mosques increased in this way.

In Egypt, al-Ḥakīm in the year 403 had a census taken of the mosques of Cairo and there were eight hundred (Maḥrizī, iv. 264); al-Ḥudādī (d. 454 = 1062) also counted the mosques and his figure is put at 30,000 or 36,000 (Yāqūt, iii. 901; Ibn Duḡmāk, ed. Völlers, p. 92; Maḥrizī, iv. 264) which seems quite a fantastic figure (there is probably a *wa* lacking before *alif* i.e. 1,036). Ibn al-Mutawwajj (d. 730) according to al-Maḥrizī counted 480, and Ibn Duḡmāk (about 800) gives in addition to the incomplete list of *djāmi's* a list of 472 mosques, not including *madāris*, *khānakāhs* etc.; the figure given by Maḥrizī is smaller. The fantastic figure of 30,000 for Baghdād is found as early as Yāqūt (*B.G.A.*, vii. 250). It is also an exaggeration when Ibn Djubair was told in

Alexandria that there were 12,000 or 8,000 mosques there (p. 43). In Baṣra where Ziyād built 7 mosques (*B.G.A.*, v. 191), the number also increased rapidly, but here again an exaggerated figure (7,000) is given (*B.G.A.*, vii. 361). In Damascus, Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571=1176) counted 241 within and 148 outside the city (*J.A.*, Ser. 9, vii. 383). In Palermo Ibn Ḥawkal counted over 300 and in a village above it 200 mosques. In some streets there were as many as 20 mosques within a bowshot of one another; this multiplicity is condemned: everyone wanted to build a mosque for himself (Yāqūt, i. 719; iii. 409, 410). As a matter of fact, one can almost say that things tended this way; Yā'qūbī mentions in Baghdad a mosque for the Anbari officials of the tax-office (*B.G.A.*, vii. 245) and several distinguished scholars practically had their own mosques. It occasionally happened that devout private individuals founded mosques. In 672 Tādj al-Dīn built a mosque and a separate chamber in which he performed the ṣalāt alone and meditated (Maḳrīzī, iv. 90). The mosques thus founded were very often called after their founders, and memorial and tomb-mosques after the person to be commemorated. Sometimes a mosque is called after some devout man who lived in it (Maḳrīzī, iv. 97, 265 sqq.) and a madrasa might be called after its head or a teacher (*ibid.*, iv. 235; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 82). Lastly a mosque might take its name from its situation or from some feature of the building.

6. Al-Muṣallā.

In addition to the mosques proper, al-Maḳrīzī mentions for Cairo 8 places for prayer (*muṣallā*) mainly at the cemetery (iv. 334 sq.). The word *muṣallā* may mean any place of prayer, therefore also mosque (cf. Sūra, ii. 119; cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv. 25, 16; do., *Itti'āz*, ed. Bunz, p. 91, 17; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 326, 3—5) or a particular place of prayer within a mosque (Ṭabarī, i. 2408, 16; Bukhārī, *Ghusl*, bāb 17; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 91). In Palestine, there were many open places of prayer, provided only with a mihrāb and marked off, but quite in the open (cf. for Tiberias, *Sefer-Nāmeḥ*, transl. Schefer, p. 36). It is recorded of the Prophet that he used to go out at the two festivals (*al-Fiṭr* and *al-Aḍḥā*) to the place of prayer (*al-muṣallā*) of the Banū Salima. A lance which the Negus had presented to al-Zubair was carried in front of him and planted before the Prophet as *sutra*. Standing in front of it, he conducted the ṣalāt, and then preached a *khuṭba* without a minbar to the rows in front of him (Ṭabarī, i. 1281, 14 sqq.; Bukhārī, *Ḥaid*, bāb 6; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 90; *Idain*, bāb 6). He also went out to the *muṣallā* for the *ṣalāt al-istisḳā'* (Muslim, *Istisḳā'*, tr. 1). This *Muṣallā* was an open space and Muḥammad is even said to have forbidden a building on it (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 127 sqq.). This custom of performing the ṣalāt on a *muṣallā* outside the town on the two festivals became *sunna*. There is evidence of the custom for several towns. In Medina however, a mosque was later built on the *muṣallā* (*ibid.*, p. 128 sq.) which also happened in other places. An early innovation was the introduction of a minbar by Marwān (*ibid.*, p. 128; Bukhārī, *Idain*, bāb 6). When Sa'd b. Abi Waḳḳāṣ built a mosque in Kisrā's Iwān in al-Mada'in, at the festival in the year 16 it was expressly stated that

it was *sunna* to go out to it: Sa'd, however, thought it was a matter of indifference (Ṭabarī, i. 2451). Shortly after 300 a *muṣallā* outside of Hamadḥān is mentioned (Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ix. 23). There was al-Muṣallā al-'Atīk in Baghdad; here a dakka was erected for the execution of the Ḳarṣiyan prisoners (Ṭabarī, iii. 2244 sq.; cf. 1659, 18); in Kūfa, several are mentioned (*ibid.*, ii. 628, 16; 1704, 8; iii. 367, 8 sq.), two in Merw (*ibid.*, ii. 1931, 2; 1964, 19; cf. *Sefer-Nāmeḥ*, transl. Schefer, p. 274), one in Farghāna (*B.G.A.*, ii. 393, 11). In Tirmidh, the *muṣallā* was within the walls (*B.G.A.*, ii. 349, 18) which also happened elsewhere (*ibid.*, 378, 6 sq.). In Cairo the two festivals were celebrated on the *Muṣallā Khawlān* (a Yemen tribe) with the *Ḳhaṭīb* of the Mosque of 'Amr as leader: according to al-Ḳuḍā'ī the festivals were to be celebrated on a *muṣallā* opposite the hill Yaḥmūm, then on al-Muṣallā al-Ḳadim where Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn erected a building in 256. The site was several times changed (Maḳrīzī, iv. 334 sq.; cf. *B.G.A.*, iii. 200, 14 sq.). In 302, 306 and 308 the *ṣalāt al-id* was performed for the first time in the Mosque of 'Amr (Maḳrīzī, iv. 20, 8 sqq.; *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii. 137 infra; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii. 194, 9 sqq.). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes the custom in Spain (i. 20) and Tunis (i. 22) and also in India (iii. 154). Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d. 737) says that in his time the ceremonies still took place on the *muṣallā* but condemns the *bid'a*'s associated with them (*K. al-Madkhal*, ii., Cairo 1320, p. 82 sqq.). It is also laid down in Muslim law, although not always definitely (see Juynboll, *Handbuch d. Islām. Ges.*, 1910, p. 127; I. Guidi, *Il Muḥtaṣar*, i., 1919, p. 136). The custom seems in time to have become generally abandoned. In the ninth century the Masjdīd Aḳsonḳor was expressly built for the *khuṭba* at the Friday services and at festivals (Maḳrīzī, iv. 107, 17).

C. The Mosque as the Centre for Divine Service.

1. Sanctity of the Mosque.

The history of the mosque in the early centuries of Islām shows an increase in its sanctity which was intensified by the adoption of the traditions of the church and especially by the permeation of the cult of saints. The sanctity already associated with tombs taken over by Islām was naturally very soon transferred to the larger and more imposing mosques. The expression *Bait Allāh* "house of God", which at first was only used of the Ka'ba came now be applied to any mosque (s. *Corpus iuris di Zaid b. 'Alī*, N^o. 48, cf. 156, 983; *Chron. Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 164; v. Berchem, *Corpus Inscr. Arab.*, i., N^o. 10, l. 18; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *K. al-Madkhal*, i. 20, 23; ii. 64, 68; cf. *Bait Rabbihi*, *ibid.*, i. 23, 73; ii. 56). The alteration in the original conception is illustrated by the fact that the Mamluk al-Malik al-Zāhir Baibars declined to build a mosque on a place for tethering camels because it was unseemly, while the mosque of the Prophet had actually been built on such a place (Maḳrīzī, iv. 91; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 22).

In the house of God the Mihrāb and the Minbar (see below) enjoyed particular sanctity, as did the tomb, especially in Medina (Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-Ṣalāt fi Masjdīd Makka wa 'l-Madina*, bāb 5). The visitors sought *baraka*, partly by touching the tomb or the railing round it, partly by praying

in its vicinity; at such places "prayer is heard" (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 441, 442). In the Masjid al-Khaif in Minā the visitor laid his head on the print of the Prophet's head and thus obtained *baraka* (*ibid.*, iii. 438). A mosque could be built on a site, the sanctity of which had been shown by the finding of hidden treasure (Maḳrīzī, iv. 75). There were often places of particular sanctity in mosques. In the mosques at Ḳubā' and Medina, the spots where the Prophet used to stand at prayer were held to be particularly blessed (Balādhuri, p. 5; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 91; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 65, cf. 82, 109). In other mosques, places where a saint had sat or where a divine phenomenon had taken place e.g. in the Mosque of 'Amr and in the Azhar Mosque (Maḳrīzī, iii. 19, 52) or the Mosque in Jerusalem (Maḳdisī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 170) were specially visited. Pious visitors made *ṭawāf* [q. v.] between such places in the mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv. 20). Just as in other religions we find parents dedicating their children to the service of a sanctuary, so we find a Muslim woman vowing her child or child yet unborn to the mosque (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 74; Maḳrīzī, iv. 20). The fact that mosques, like other sanctuaries, were sometimes founded after a revelation received in a dream has already been mentioned (B. 5).

This increase in sanctity had as a natural result that one could no longer enter a mosque at random as had been the case in the time of the Prophet. In the early Umayyad period, Christians were still allowed to enter the mosque without molestation (cf. Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 13 sq.; Goldziher, in *W. Z. K. M.*, vi. 100 sq.). Mu'awiya used to sit with his Christian physician, Ibn Uthāl, in the mosque of Damascus (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, i. 117). According to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, the *Ahl al-Kitāb* (or *Ahl al-Aḥd*) and their servants, but not polytheists, were allowed to enter the mosque of Medina (*Musnad*, iii. 339, 392). At a later date entrance was forbidden to Christians and this regulation is credited to 'Umar (Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 13, note 6). A strict teacher of morality like Ibn al-Ḥādīdj thought it unseemly that the monks who wove the mats for the mosques should be allowed to lay them in the mosque (*Madkhal*, ii. 57). Conditions were not always the same. In Hebron, Jews and Christians were admitted on payment to the sanctuary of Abraham until in 664 (1265) Baibars forbade it (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/ii. 27).

According to some traditions, a person in a state of ritual impurity could not enter the mosque (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 92; Ibn Mādjā, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 123) and in any case only the pure could acquire merit by visiting the mosque (Muslim, *Masāḍīd*, tr. 49; *Corpus iuris di Zaid b. 'Alī*, No. 48), and in a later period it is specially mentioned that the *wuḍū'* cannot be undertaken in the mosque itself (*Madkhal*, ii. 47 infra) nor could shaving (*ibid.*, p. 58 sq.).

It is always necessary to be careful not to spit in a mosque, although some traditions which are obviously closer to the old state of affairs say, "not in the direction of the *qibla*, only to the left!" (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 33 sq.). The custom of taking off one's sandals in the mosque is found as early as the time of Abū 'Ubaida (second century) (Yāqūt, *Udabā'* v. 272, 13 sq.) and according to *al-Madkhal* (see below) is also mentioned by Abū Dāwūd. Al-Ṭabarī puts the custom back to

the time of 'Umar (i. 2408). That it is based on an old custom observed in sanctuaries is obvious (cf. on the history of the custom, F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 1926, p. 60 sq.). The custom however seems not to have been always observed. In the viiith century in the Mosque of the Umayyads the shoes were taken off only in the *maḳṣūra*, because the floor was covered with mats; but in 827 an Egyptian superintendent ordered that the mosque should only be entered with bare feet (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 211, 217). The visitor on entering should place his right foot first and utter certain prayers with blessings on the Prophet and his family (which Muḥammad is said to have done!) and when he is inside perform two rak'a's (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 47; *Tahādīdjūd*, bāb 25; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Muṣāfirin*, tr. 12 sq.; Ṭabarī, iii. 2464, 2532). Certain regulations for decent conduct came into being, the object of which was to preserve the dignity of the house of divine service. Public announcements about strayed animals were not to be made, as the Beduins did in their houses of assembly, and one should not call out aloud and thereby disturb the meditations of the worshippers (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 83; Muslim, *Masāḍīd*, tr. 18; more fully in *Madkhal*, i. 19 sq.). One should put on fine clothes for the Friday service, rub oneself with oil and perfume oneself (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 3, 6, 7, 19) as was also done with *ṭīb* for the Ḥādīdj (Bukhārī, *Ḥādīdj*, bāb 143).

A question which interested the teachers of morality was that of the admission of women to the mosques. That many did not desire their presence is evident from the *ḥadīth* that one cannot prevent them as there is no *fiṭna* connected with it, but they must not be perfumed (Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 29; Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 13; cf. *Chron. Mekka*, iv. 168). Other *ḥadīths* say they should leave the mosques before the men (al-Nasā'i, *Sahw*, bāb 77; cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 14, 48). Sometimes a special part of the mosque was railed off for them; for example, the governor of Mecca in 256 had ropes tied between the columns to make a separate place for women (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 197 infra). According to some, women must not enter the mosque during their menstruation (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 92, 103; Ibn Mādjā, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 117, 123). In Medina at the present day, a wooden grille shuts off a place for women (al-Batanūni, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāsiya*, p. 240). At one time the women stood at the back of the mosque here (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 400). In Jerusalem there were special *maḳṣūras* for them (*B. G. A.*, v. 100). Ibn al-Ḥādīdj would prefer to exclude them altogether and gives 'A'isha as his authority for this.

Although the mosque became sacred it could not quite cast off its old character as a place of public assembly and in consequence the mosque was visited for many other purposes than that of divine service. Not only in the time of the Umayyads was considerable business done in the mosques (Ṭabarī, ii. 1118; cf. Lammens, *Ziād*, p. 98) which is quite in keeping with the *ḥadīth* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 70 sq.) which, actually found it necessary to forbid the sale of wine in the mosque (*ibid.*, bāb 73), but a writer in the viiith century, Ibn al-Ḥādīdj, records with disapproval that business was done in the mosques: women sit in the mosques and sell thread, in Mecca hawkers even call their wares in the mosque. The list given by

this author gives one the impression of a regular market-place (*Madkhal*, ii. 54). Strangers could always sit down in a mosque and talk with one another (see *B.G.A.*, iii. 205); they had the right to spend the night in the mosque; according to some, however, only if there was no other shelter available (*Madkhal*, ii. 43 infra, 49 supra; see below D. 1b). It naturally came about that people also ate in the mosque; this was quite common, and regular banquets were even given in them (e.g. Maḳrīzī, iv. 67, 121 sq.; cf. in Ḥaḍīth: Ibn Mādja, *Aḥima*, bāb 24, 29; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 106, 10 from below). Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧī laments that in al-Aḳṣā people even threw the remains of their repast down in the mosque; animals were brought in, and beggars and water-carriers called aloud in them etc. (*Madkhal*, ii. 53 sq.). It is even mentioned as a sign of the special piety of al-Shīrāzī (d. 476 = 1083) that he often brought food into the mosque and consumed it there with his pupils (Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām Schāfiʿī*, iii. 298). Gradually the mosques acquired greater numbers of residents (see D. 2b). In the Azhar Mosque it was the custom with many to spend the summer nights there because it was cool and pleasant (Maḳrīzī, iv. 54). This was the state of affairs about 800 A.H. Similar conditions still prevail in the mosques.

2. The Mosque as a Place of Prayer. Friday Mosques.

As places for divine service, the mosques are primarily "houses of which God has permitted that they be erected and that His name be mentioned in them" (Sūra, xxiv. 36), i.e. for His service demanded by the law, for ceremonies of worship (*manāsik*), for assemblies for prayer (*djamaʿāt*) and other religious duties (cf. *Chron. Mekka*, iv. 164). The mosques were *maʿābid* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 117, 140). In Medina after a journey, the Prophet went at once to the mosque and performed two rakʿa's, a custom which was imitated by others and became the rule (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 59 sq.; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Muṣāfirīn*, tr. 11; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 412, 436). In this respect, the mosque played a part in public worship similar to that of the Kaʿba in Mecca at an earlier date and the Rabba sanctuary in Tāʾif. The daily ṣalāts, which in themselves could be performed anywhere, became especially meritorious when they were performed in mosques, because they expressed adherence to the community. A *ṣalāt al-djamaʿa*, we are told, is twenty or twenty-five times as meritorious as the ṣalāt of an individual at home or in his shop (Muslim, *Masāǧid*, tr. 42; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 87; *Buyūʿ*, bāb 49). There are even ḥadīths which condemn private ṣalāts: "Those who perform the ṣalāt in their houses abandon the *sunna* of their Prophet" (Muslim, *Masāǧid*, tr. 44; but cf. 48 and Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 52). If much rain falls, the believers may, however, worship in their houses (Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 14). In this connection a blind man was given a special *rukḥṣa*; it is particularly bad to leave the mosque after the *adhān* (Muslim, *Masāǧid*, tr. 45). It is therefore very meritorious to go to the mosque; for every step one advances into the mosque, he receives forgiveness of sins, God protects him at the last judgment and the angels also assist him (Muslim, *Masāǧid*, bāb 49-51; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 87; *Adhān*, bāb 36, 37; *Djumʿa*, bāb 4, 18, 31; *Corpus iuris di Zaid b. ʿAlī*, N^o. 48, 156, 983).

This holds especially of the Friday ṣalāt (*ṣalāt al-djumʿa*), which can only be performed in the mosque and is obligatory upon every free male Muslim who has reached years of discretion (cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 86; Guidi, *Sommario del Diritto Malechita*, i. 125 sq.). According to Ibn Hishām (p. 290) this ṣalāt, which is distinguished by the *khuṭba*, was observed in Medina even before the Hīǧra. This is hardly probable and besides is not in agreement with other ḥadīths (see Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 11) but the origin of this divine service, referred to in Sūra lxii. 9, is obscure. The assemblies of the Jews and Christians on a particular day must have formed the model (cf. Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 1). Its importance in the earlier period lay in the fact that all elements of the Muslim camp, who usually went to the tribal and particular mosques, assembled for it in the chief mosque under the leadership of the general. The chief mosque, which for this reason was particularly large, was given a significant name. They talk of *al-Masǧid al-aʿṣam* (Tabarī, i. 2494; ii. 734, 1701, 1702, Kūfa; Balāḍhūrī, p. 5; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xi. 21, centre; *ibid.* also *al-Masǧid al-aḥbar*, Medina; cf. *al-Masǧid al-kabīr*, *B.G.A.*, vii. 245) or *Masǧid al-Djamʿa* (Yāḳūt, iii. 896, *al-Fuṣṭāt*; also Tabarī, ii. 1119; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 106); *Masǧid li ʿl-Djamʿa* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 4); *Masǧid Djamīʿ* (Balāḍhūrī, p. 289, Madāʾin; Yāḳūt, i. 643, 647, Baṣra); then *Masǧid al-Djamīʿ* (Yāḳūt, iii. 899; iv. 885; *B.G.A.*, ii. 298, 315, 387; vii. 110 etc.). As an abbreviation we find also *al-Djamʿa* (Yāḳūt, i. 400; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv. 343; cf. *Masǧid al-Djamʿa*, Balāḍhūrī, p. 348) and especially *Djamīʿ*. As the *khuṭba* was the distinguishing feature, we also find *Masǧid al-Khuṭba* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 44, 64, 87), *Djamīʿ al-Khuṭba* (*ibid.*, iv. 55) or *Masǧid al-Minbar* (*B.G.A.*, iii. 316 for *Djamīʿ*, l. 8).

Linguistic usage varied somewhat in course of time with conditions. In the time of ʿUmar there was properly in every town only one Masǧid Djamīʿ for the Friday service. But when the community became no longer a military camp and Islām replaced the previous religion of the people, a need for a number of mosques for the Friday service was bound to arise. This demanded mosques for the Friday service in the country, in the villages on the one hand and several Friday mosques in the towns on the other. This meant in both cases an innovation, compared with old conditions, and thus there arose some degree of uncertainty. The Friday service had to be conducted by the ruler of the community, but there was only one governor in each province; on the other hand, the demands of the time could hardly be resisted and, besides, the Christian converts to Islām had been used to a solemn weekly service.

As to the villages (*al-ḥurā*), ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī in Egypt forbade their inhabitants to celebrate the Friday service for the reason just mentioned (Maḳrīzī, iv. 7). At a later period then the *khuṭba* was delivered exceptionally, without minbar and only with staff, until Marwān in 132 introduced the minbar into the Egyptian *ḥurā* also (*ibid.*, p. 8). Of a mosque in which a minbar had been placed, we are told *djuʿila masǧidan li ʿl-aʿyāa* (Tabarī, i. 2451) and a village with a minbar is called *ḥarya djamīʿa* (Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 15; cf. *Madīna Djamīʿa*, *B.G.A.*, ii. 321), an idea which was regarded by Bukhārī (d. 256 = 870)

as quite obvious. In introducing minbars into the Egyptian villages, Marwān was apparently following the example of other regions. In the fourth century, Ibn Ḥawkal mentions a number of *manābir* in the district of Iṣṭakh̄r (*B. G. A.*, ii. 182 *sqq.*) and a few in the vicinity of Marw (*ibid.*, p. 316) and in Transoxania (*ibid.*, p. 378; cf. p. 384), and al-Makdisi does the same for other districts of Persia (*B. G. A.*, iii. 309, 317) and he definitely says that the *ḡurās* of Palestine are *ḡḡāt manābir* (*ibid.*, p. 176; cf. i. 58); Balādhuri (p. 331) also uses the name minbar for a village mosque built in 239; in general, when speaking of the *ḡurās*, one talks of *manābir* and not of *ḡjawāmiʿ* (cf. *B. G. A.*, i. 63). Later however the term Masjdīd *Djāmiʿ* is used for a Friday mosque (Ibn Djbair, p. 217). The conditions of primitive Islām are reflected in the teaching of the Ḥanafis, who only permit the Friday service in large towns (cf. al-Māwardī, *al-Aḡḡām al-sulṡāniya*, ed. Enger, p. 177).

As to the towns, the *Shāfiʿis* on the other hand have retained the original conditions, since they permit the Friday service in only one mosque in each town (cf. *ḡJUMʿA* and *op. cit.*, p. 178 *sq.*), but with the reservation that the mosque is able to hold the community. The distinction between the two rites was of importance in Egypt. When in 569 Ṣalāḡ al-Dīn became supreme in Egypt, he appointed a *Shāfiʿi* chief *ḡādi* and the Friday service was therefore held only in the Ḥākim mosque, as the largest; but in 665 (1266) al-Malik al-Ṣāḡir Baibars gave the Ḥanafis preference and many mosques were therefore used as Friday mosques (Maḡrizī, iv. 52 *sq.*; al-Suyūṡi, *ḡusn al-Muḡḡadara*, ii. 140; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/ii. 39 *sqq.*). During the Umayyad period and to some extent in the ʿAbbāsīd period, the number of *ḡjawāmiʿ* in the towns were still very small. The geographers of the third and fourth centuries in their descriptions of towns as a rule mention only "the *djāmiʿ*". Ibn al-Faḡīḡ, c. 290 (903), sometimes says *masjdīd djāmiʿ wa-minbar*, *B. G. A.*, v. 304–306, also *minbar* simply, p. 305. In keeping with the oldest scheme of town planning, it was very often in the middle of the town surrounded by the business quarters (*B. G. A.*, ii. 298, 325; iii. 274 *sq.*, 278, 289, 314, 316, 375, 376, 413, 426, 427 etc.; Nāṣir-i *ḡhusraw*, ed. Schefer, p. 35, 41, 56) and the *dār al-imāra* was still frequently in the immediate vicinity of the chief mosque (*B. G. A.*, ii. 298, 314; iii. 426).

Iṣṭakh̄ri mentions as an innovation in Islām that al-Ḥadīdjādī built a *djāmiʿ* in al-Wāsiṡ on the west bank, although there was already one on the east bank (*B. G. A.*, i. 82 *sq.*; cf. iii. 118; vii. 322). Ibn Djbair (*Riḡla*, p. 211 *sq.*) mentions only one *djāmiʿ* in *Kūfa*, called *Masjdīd al-Kūfa* by Ibn al-Faḡīḡ, although he also mentions other mosques (*B. G. A.*, v. 173; cf. 174, 183 and iii. 116). In Baṣra where Yaḡḡūbī (278 = 891) already mentions 7,000 mosques (*B. G. A.*, vii. 361), al-Makdisi (375 = 985) gives 3 *ḡjawāmiʿ* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 117). In Ṣāmarrā, among many mosques, there was one *djāmiʿ* (*B. G. A.*, vii. 258, 259), which was later replaced by another (*ibid.*, p. 260 *sq.*); al-Mutawakkil also built one outside the original town (*ibid.*, p. 265; see also P. Schwarz, *Die ʿAbbasiden-Residenz Ṣāmarrā*, 1909, p. 32). In Baghdād, Yaḡḡūbī (278 = 891) mentions only one *djāmiʿ* for the eastern town and one for the western (*B. G. A.*, vii. 240, 245, 251, 253; the

almost contemporary Ibn Rosta just mentions the old western town and its *djāmiʿ*, *ibid.*, p. 109) although he gives the fantastic figures of 15,000 mosques in the east town (*ibid.*, p. 254) and 30,000 in the west (or in the whole town, *ibid.*, p. 250). After 280 there was added the *djāmiʿ* of the eastern palace of the caliph (Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 388 quoting al-Ḳhaṡib al-Baghdādī, *Taʿriḡḡ Baghdād*; a private *djāmiʿ* of Ḥārūn al-Raṡīd in the *Bustān Umm Mūsā* is mentioned by Ibn al-Ḳifṡi, *Taʿriḡḡ al-ḡḡukamāʿ*, ed. Lippert, p. 433 *infra*). These 3 *ḡjawāmiʿ* are mentioned about 340 (951) by Iṣṭakh̄ri (*B. G. A.*, i. 84), who also mentions one in the suburb of Kalwādḡā. Ibn Ḥawkal in 367 (977) mentions the latter and also the *Djāmiʿ* al-Barāṡḡā (*B. G. A.*, i. 164 *sq.*, of 329; Mez, *loc. cit.*), a fifth was added in 379, a sixth in 383 (Mez, p. 389); thus al-Ḳhaṡib al-Baghdādī in 460 (1058) gives 4 for West Baghdād, 2 for the east town (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 324). Ibn Djbair in 581 (1185) gives in the east town 3, and 11 *ḡjawāmiʿ* (*Riḡla*, p. 228 *sq.*) for the whole of Baghdād. For Cairo, Iṣṭakh̄ri gives two *djāmiʿ*: the ʿAmr and Ṣūlūn Mosques (*B. G. A.*, i. 49) besides that in al-Ḳarāfa, which was regarded as a separate town (cf. Ibn Rosta [c. 290 = 903], *B. G. A.*, vii. 116 *sq.*). Al-Makdisi, who writes (375 = 985) shortly after the Fāṡimīd conquest, mentions the ʿAmr and Ṣūlūn mosques, the new mosque in al-Ḳāḡira (al-Azhar), also one in al-Djazīra, in Djīza and in al-Ḳarāfa (*B. G. A.*, iii. 198–200, 209; the *djāmiʿ* in al-Djazīra, also *Djāmiʿ* Mikyās [cf. Maḡrizī, iv. 75], is mentioned in an inscription of the year 485; see van Berchem, *Corpus*, i. N^o. 39). As these places were all originally separate towns, the principle was not abandoned that each town had only one *djāmiʿ*. The Fāṡimīds however extended the use of Friday mosques and, in addition to those already mentioned, used the *Djāmiʿ* al-Ḥākim, al-Maḡs and Rāṡhīda (Maḡrizī, iv. 2 *sq.*). Nāṣir-i *ḡhusraw* in 439 (1047) mentions in one passage the *ḡjawāmiʿ* of Cairo, in another seven for Miṡr and fifteen in all (ed. Schefer, p. 134 *sq.*, 147). This was altered in 569 by Ṣalāḡ al-Dīn (see above) but the quarters, being still regarded as separate towns, retained their own Friday mosques (cf. for the year 607 in al-Ḳarāfa: Maḡrizī, iv. 86).

After the Friday service in Egypt and Syria was freed from restriction, the number of *ḡjawāmiʿ* increased very much. Ibn Duḡmāḡ (about 800) gives a list of only eight *ḡjawāmiʿ* in Cairo (ed. Vollers, p. 59–78), but this list is apparently only a fragment (in all he mentions something over twenty in the part of his book that has survived); al-Maḡrizī (d. 845 = 1442) gives 130 *ḡjawāmiʿ* (iv. 2 *sqq.*). In Damascus, where Ibn Djbair still spoke of "the *djāmiʿ*", al-Nuʿaimī (d. 927 = 1521) gives twenty *ḡjawāmiʿ* (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 231 *sqq.*), and according to Ibn Baṡṡūṡa, there were in all the villages in the region of Damascus *masāḡīd djāmiʿa* (i. 236). The word *djāmiʿ* in Maḡrizī always means a mosque in which the Friday service was held (vi. 76, 115 *sqq.*) but by his time this meant any mosque of some size. He himself criticises the fact that since 799 the *ṡalāt al-djūmʿa* was performed in al-Aḡmar, although another *djāmiʿ* stood close beside it (iv. 76; cf. also 86).

The great spread of Friday mosques was reflected in the language. While inscriptions of the viiith century still call quite large mosques *masjdīd*, in

the ninth most of them are called *djāmi'* (cf. on the whole question, van Berchem, *Corpus*, i. 173 sq.); and while now the madrasa begins to predominate and is occasionally also called *djāmi'* (see below, F. 4), the use of the word *masdjid* becomes limited. While, generally speaking, it can mean any mosque (e.g. Makrizi, iv. 137, of the Mu'ayyad mosque), it is more especially used of the smaller unimportant mosques. While Ibn Duqmāḡ gives 472 *masājid* in addition to the *djawāmi'*, *madāris*, etc., al-Makrizi only gives nineteen, not counting al-Karāfa, which probably only means that they were of little interest to him. *Djāmi'* is now on the way to become the regular name for a mosque of any size as is now the usage, in Egypt at least. In Ibn al-Hādjdj (d. 737) *al-djawāmi'* is occasionally used in this general meaning in place of *al-masājid* (*Madkhal*, ii. 50). Among the many Friday mosques one was usually distinguished as the chief mosque; we therefore find the expression *al-djāmi' al-a'zam* (Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 54, 94; cf. the older *al-masdjid al-a'zam*, *ibid.*, p. 53). The principal *djāmi'* decided in such questions as the beginning and ending of the Fast of Ramaḍān (*Madkhal*, ii. 68).

3. Other religious activities in the Mosque.

"The mentioning of the name of God" in the mosques, was not confined only to the official ritual ceremonies. Even in the time of the Prophet, we are told that he lodged Thakifi delegates in the mosque so that they could see the rows of worshippers and hear the nightly recitation (Wākidī-Wellhausen, p. 382). Although this story (which is not given in Ibn Hishām, p. 916) may simply be a reflection of later conditions, the recitation of the Qur'ān must have come to be considered an edifying and pious work at quite an early date. In the time of al-Makdisi the *ḡurrā'* of Nisābūr used to assemble on Fridays in the *djāmi'* in the early morning and recite till the *ḡuḡā'* (*B.G.A.*, iii. 328), and the same author tells us that in the Mosque of 'Amr in Egypt the *a'immat al-ḡurrā'* sat in circles every evening and recited (*ibid.*, p. 205). In the time of Ibn Djubair, there were recitations of the Qur'ān in the Umayyad mosque after the *Ṣalāt al-Ṣubḥ* and every afternoon after the *Ṣalāt al-Asr* (*Riḡla*, p. 271 sq.). Besides the recitation of the Qur'ān there were praises of God etc., all that is classed as *dhikr*, and which was particularly cultivated by Ṣūfism. This form of worship also took place in the mosque. The *Ahl al-Tawḥid wa 'l-Ma'rifa* formed *madjālīs al-dhikr*, who assembled in the mosques (al-Makki, *Kūt al-Kulūb*, i. 152). In the Mosque of the Umayyads and other mosques of Damascus, *dhikr* was held during the morning on Friday (Makrizi, iv. 49). In the *Masdjid al-Aḡṣā* the Ḥanafis held *dhikr*, and recited at the same time from a book (*B.G.A.*, iii. 182). In Egypt, Aḡmad b. Ṭūlūn and Ḳhumarawaih allowed twelve men quarters in a chamber near the minaret to praise God, and during the night four of them took turns to praise God with recitations of the Qur'ān and with pious *ḡaṣidas*. From the time of Ṣalāḡ al-Din an orthodox *aḡida* was recited by the mu'adhdhins in the night (*ibid.*, iv. 48). Ibn al-Hādjdj demands that the recitation of the Qur'ān aloud should take place in a mosque for the special purpose (*masdjid madjḡūr*) as otherwise pious visitors

are disturbed (*Madkhal*, ii. 53, 67). Mosques and particularly mausoleums had as a rule regularly appointed reciters of the Qur'ān. In addition there was, e.g. in Hebron and in a mosque in Damascus, a *shaikh* who had to read *Bukḡhārī* (or also Muslim) for three months (Sauvage, *Hist. Jérus. Hébr.*, p. 17; *J.A.*, ser. 9, iii. 261). In Tunis, al-Bukḡhārī was read daily in a hospital (Zarkashī, transl. Fagnan, *Rec. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, 1894, p. 188).

Sermons were not only delivered at the *ṣalāt al-djum'a*. In the 'Irāk, even in al-Makdisi's time, one was preached every morning, according to the *sunna* of Ibn 'Abbās (*B.G.A.*, iii. 130), it was said. Ibn Djubair, in the Niẓāmiya in Baghdad, heard the *Shāfi' ra'is* preach on Friday after the *asr* on the minbar. His sermon was accompanied by the skilled recitation of the *ḡurrā'* who sat on chairs; they were over twenty in number (Ibn Djubair, p. 219—222). In the same way, the calls of the mu'adhdhins to prayer to the Friday *ḡuḡba* were delivered to a musical accompaniment (see below, H. 4). The unofficial sermons, which moreover were not delivered in mosques alone, were usually delivered by a special class, the *ḡuṣṣās* (plur. of *ḡaṣṣ*) (on these cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 161 sqq.; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 314 sqq.; and the article *ḲIṢṢA*). The *ḡuṣṣās*, who delivered edifying addresses and told popular stories, were early admitted to the mosques.

Tamīm al-Dārī is said to have been the first of these; in Medina in the caliphate of 'Umar before the latter's decease, he used to deliver his orations at the Friday *ṣalāt* and under 'Umar he was allowed to talk twice a week in the mosque; in the reign of 'Alī and of Mu'āwiya the *ḡuṣṣās* were employed to curse the other side (Makrizi, iv. 16 sq.). In the Mosque of 'Amr in Cairo by the year 38 or 39, a *ḡaṣṣ* was appointed, named Sulaim b. 'Itr al-Tuḡjībī, who was also *ḡaḡdī* (*ibid.*, iv. 17 wrongly: Sulaimān; Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, ed. Guest, p. 303 sq.). There are other occurrences of the combination of the two offices (Ibn Ḥudjaira [d. 83], Kindī, p. 317; Ḳhair b. Nu'aim in the year 120, *ibid.*, p. 348; cf. *Ḥusn al-Muḡāḡara*, i. 131, Djbir, according to Thawba b. Nimr, *Ḥusn*, i. 130 infra; Ibrāḡim b. Ishāḡ al-Kārī [d. 204], Kindī, p. 427; see also Makrizi, iv. 18) which shows that the office of *ḡaṣṣ* was quite an official one. There is also evidence of the employment of *ḡuṣṣās* in the mosque of the 'Irāk in the 'Abbāsīd period (Yāḡūt, *Uḡabā'*, iv. 268; v. 446). The *ḡaṣṣ* read from the Qur'ān standing and then delivered an explanatory and edifying discourse, the object of which was to instill the fear of God into the people (Makrizi, iv. 18). Under the Fāṭimids also, *ḡuṣṣās* were appointed to the mosques; for example, in 403 the imām undertook the office in the Mosque of 'Amr (Makrizi, iv. 18 infra) and the rulers had ālso a *ḡaṣṣ* in the palace. The *ḡuṣṣās* were called *aḡḡāb al-ḡarāṣi*, because they delivered their discourses on the *ḡursi* (al-Makki, *Kūt al-Kulūb*, i. 152; Ibn al-Hādjdj, *Madkhal*, i. 159; cf. Makrizi, iv. 121). Their discourse was called *dhikr* or *wa'z* or *maw'iza*, whence the *ḡaṣṣ* was also called *mu-dhakkir* (*B.G.A.*, iii. 205) or *wa'iz*. Specimens of their discourses are given by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (*al-'Iḡd al-farīd*, Cairo 1321, i., p. 294 sqq.). It was not only the appointed officials who delivered such discourses in the mosque. Ascetics made

public appearances in various mosques and collected interested hearers around them (cf. e. g. Maḳrīzī, iv. 135). In the *Djāmi' al-Ḳarāfa*, a whole society, the Banū *Djawhari*, delivered wa'z discourses on a kursī for three months on end; their servant collected money in a begging-bowl during the discourse and the *shaiḫ* distributed some of it among the poor (*ibid.*, iv. 121).

The *ḳaṣaṣ* was completely taken over by popular Sūfism and later writers would hardly reckon, as al-Maḳrī does, the "story-tellers" among the *mutakallimūn* (*Kūt al-Ḳutūb*, i. 152). The whole system degenerated to trickery and charlatanry of all kinds, as may be seen in the Maḳāma literature (cf. thereon Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 167 sq. and see also Mez and Goldziher, *op. cit.*). Al-Maḳrīzī therefore distinguishes between *al-ḳaṣaṣ al-ḫaṣṣa*, the regular and seemingly edifying discourse in the mosque, and *al-ḳaṣaṣ al-ʿamma*, which consisted in the people gathering round all kinds of speakers, which is *maḳrūh* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 17). Others also have recorded their objections to the *ḳaṣṣāṣ*. Ibn al-Ḥājjidj utters a warning against them and wants to forbid their activities in the mosque completely, because they deliver "weak" narratives (*Madḫhal*, i. 158 sq.; ii. 13 sq., 50). He says Ibn ʿUmar, Mālik and Abū Dāwūd rejected them and ʿAlī ejected them from the masjīd of Baṣra. It is of little significance that al-Muṭaʿid in 284 forbade them to sit in the mosques and forbade people to gather round them, for he issued a similar interdict against the *fuḳaḫā'* and the reasons were evidently political (Ṭabari, iii. 2165); it was for political reasons also, but with a very different motive, that ʿAḍud al-Dawla forbade their appearing publicly in Baghdad shortly before 400, because they increased the tension between Sunnis and Shīʿis (Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 319). As late as 580 the *wasʿāṣ* still flourished in the mosques of Baghdad, as is evident from the *Riḥla* of Ibn Ḍjubar (p. 219 sqq., 224), and in the ninth century there was in the Azhar mosque a *maḍjālīs al-waʿz* as well as a *ḥalaḳ al-dhikr* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 54).

When Ibn al-Ḥājjidj denounces speaking aloud in the mosque, it is in the interest of the pious visitors who are engaged in religious works and meditation. *I'tikāf* [q. v.], retirement to a mosque for a period, was adopted into Islām from the older religions.

The word *ʿakf* means in the *Qurʾān* the ceremonial worship of the object of the cult (Sūra vii. 134; xx. 93, 97; xxi. 53; xxvi. 71; cf. *Hāshimiyāt*, ed. Horovitz, p. 86, 15) and also the ritual stay in the sanctuary, which was done for example in the Meccan temple (Sūra ii. 119; xxii. 25). In this connection it is laid down in the *Qurʾān* that in the month of Ramaḍān believers must not touch their wives "while ye pass the time in the mosques" (*ʿakifūn fi 'l-masājid*, Sūra ii. 183), an expression which shows, firstly that there were already a number of mosques in the lifetime of the Prophet and secondly that these had already to some extent taken over the character of the temple. The connection with the early period is evident from a ḥadīth, according to which the Prophet decides that ʿUmar must carry out a vow of *i'tikāf* for one night in the *Masājid al-Ḥarām* made in the *Djāhiliya* (Bukhārī, *I'tikāf*, bāb 5, 15 sq.; *Farq al-Ḳums*, bāb 19; *Maḡhāsi*, bāb 54; *Aimān wa 'l-Nuḍhūr*, bāb 29). It is completely in keeping with this that the Prophet,

according to the ḥadīth, used to spend ten days of the month of Ramaḍān in *i'tikāf* in the mosque of Medīna (Bukhārī, *I'tikāf*, bāb 1; *Faql Lailat al-Ḳadar*, bāb 3), and in the year in which he died as many as twenty days (*ibid.*, *I'tikāf*, bāb 17). During this period the mosque was full of booths of palm branches and leaves in which the *ʿakifūn* lived (*ibid.*, bāb 13; cf. 6, 7). The Prophet only went to his house for some very special reason (*ibid.*, bāb 3). This custom was associated with the asceticism of the monks. The faithful were vexed, when on one occasion he received Ṣafiya in his booth and chatted for an hour with her (Bukhārī, *Farq al-Ḳums*, bāb 4; *I'tikāf*, bāb 8, 11, 12). According to another tradition, his *i'tikāf* was broken on another occasion by his wives putting up their tents beside him and he postponed his *i'tikāf* till Shawwāl (Bukhārī, *I'tikāf*, bāb 6, 7, 14, 18). According to Zaid b. ʿAlī, the *i'tikāf* can only be observed in a chief mosque (*djāmi'*) (*Corpus iuris di Zaid b. ʿAlī*, N° 447). During the early period, it was one of the initiatory rites for new converts. In the year 14, ʿUmar ordered the retreat (*al-ḳiyām*) in the mosques during the month of Ramaḍān for the people of Medīna and the provinces (Ṭabari, i. 2377). The custom persisted and has always been an important one among ascetics. "The man who retires for a time to the mosque devotes himself in turn to ṣalāt, recitation of the *Qurʾān*, meditation, *dhikr* etc." says Ibn al-Ḥājjidj (*Madḫhal*, ii. 50). There were pious people, who spent their whole time in a mosque (*aḳāmū fihi*; Maḳrīzī, iv. 87, 97); of one we were told that he spent his time in the *manāra* of the Mosque of ʿAmr (*i'takafa*, *ibid.*, p. 44). Al-Samhūdī says that during the month of Ramaḍān, he spent day and night in the mosque (Wüstenfeld, *Medīna*, p. 95). Sa'd al-Dīn (d. 644) spent the month of Ramaḍān in the Mosque of the Umayyads without speaking (Ibn Abī Uṣaib'a, ii. 192). Nocturnal vigils in the mosque very early became an established practice in Islām. According to Ḥadīth, the Prophet frequently held nocturnal ṣalāts in the mosque with the believers (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 29) and by his orders ʿAbd Allāh b. Unais al-Anṣārī came from the desert for twenty-three successive nights to pass the night in his mosque in rites of worship (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 142 sq.). Out of this developed the *tahaddjud* [q. v.] ṣalāt, particularly recommended in the law and notably the *tarāwīḥ* ṣalāts [q. v.]. In Dihli on these occasions women singers actually took part (Ibn Baṭṭūta, iii. 155).

During the nights of the month of Ramaḍān there were festivals in the mosques and on other occasions also, such as the New Year, sometimes at the new moon, and in the middle of the month. The mosque on these occasions was illuminated; there was eating and drinking; incense was burned and *dhikr* and *ḳirā'a* performed.

The Friday Ṣalāt was particularly solemn in Ramaḍān, and in the Fātimid period, the caliph himself delivered the *ḫuṭba* (see Maḳrīzī, ii. 345 sqq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/i., ed. Juynboll, p. 482—486 and ii/i., ed. Popper, p. 331—333). The mosques associated with a saint had and still have their special festivals on his *mawlid* [q. v.]; they also are celebrated with *dhikr*, *ḳirā'a* etc. (cf. Lane, *Manners and Customs*, ch. xxiv. sqq.). The saint's festivals are usually local and there

are generally differences in the local customs. In the Maghrib for example in certain places the month of Ramaḍān is opened with a blast of trumpets from the manābir (*Madkhal*, ii. 69).

The mosque thus on the whole took over the role of the temple. The rulers from 'Umar onwards dedicated gifts to the Ka'ba (*B. G. A.*, v. 20 sq. and *Gl.*, s.v. *Shamsa*), and as in other sanctuaries we find women vowing children to the service of the mosque (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 74; Maḳrīzī, iv. 20). *Ṭawāf* was performed, as at the Ka'ba, in mosques with saints' tombs as is still done, e.g. in Hebron; Muḍjir al-Dīn sees a pre-Islamic custom in this (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 5). Especially important business was done here. In times of trouble the people go to the mosque to pray for help, for example during drought, for which there is a special ṣalāt (which however usually takes place on the *muṣallā*), in misfortunes of all kinds (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 19—20; Maḳrīzī, iv. 57); in time of plague and pestilence, processions, weeping and praying with Qur'āns uplifted, were held in the mosques or on the *muṣallā*, in which even Jews and Christians sometimes took part (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii., ed. Popper, p. 67; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 243 sq.; cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/i. 35, 40; ii/ii. 199) or for a period a sacred book like Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was recited (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, ii/ii. 35; al-Djābartī, *Merveilles Biographiques*, French transl., vi. 13). In the courtyards of the mosques in Jerusalem and Damascus in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa solemn penance was done on the day of 'Arafa (i. 44 sq.), an ancient custom which had already been introduced into Egypt in the year 27 by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (*ku'ūd* after the 'Aṣr; cf. Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 50). Certain mosques were visited by barren women (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 133). An oath is particularly binding if it is taken in a mosque (cf. Joh. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, p. 144); this is particularly true of the Ka'ba, where written covenants were also drawn up to make them more binding (*ibid.*, p. 143 sq.; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 160 sq.). It is in keeping with this idea of an oath that Jews who had adopted Islām in Cairo had to take oaths in a synagogue which had become a mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv. 265). The contract of matrimony (*'aḳd al-nikāḥ*) also is often concluded in a mosque (Santillana, *Il Muḥtaṣar*, ii. 548; *Madkhal*, ii. 72 infra; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 163 sq.), and the particular form of divorce which is completed by the *li'ān* [q.v.] takes place in the mosque (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 44; cf. Joh. Pedersen, *Der Eid* etc., p. 114).

It is disputed whether a corpse may be brought into the mosque and the ṣalāt al-djinnāza performed there. According to one ḥadīth, the bier of Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳās was taken into the mosque at the request of the Prophet's widow and the ṣalāt held there. Many disapproved of this, but 'A'isha pointed out that the Prophet had done this with the body of Suhail b. Baḍā' (Muslim, *Djānāz*, tr. 34; cf. also Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 14 sq.). The discussion on this point is not unconnected with the discussions regarding the worship of tombs. In theory this is permitted by al-Shāfi'ī, while the others forbid it (see Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 170; I. Guidi, *Il Muḥtaṣar*, i. 151). The matter does not seem to be quite clear, for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn says that only Abū Ḥanīfa forbids it, but he himself thought that

it might be allowable on the authority of a statement by Abū Yūsuf (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 208—210). In any case, it was a very general practice to allow it, as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn also points out. 'Umar conducted the funeral ṣalāt for Abū Bakr in the Mosque of the Prophet and 'Umar's own dead body was brought there; later it became a general custom to perform the ceremony in Medina close to the Prophet's tomb and in Mecca at the door of the Ka'ba; some even made a sevenfold *ṭawāf* with the corpse around the Ka'ba. This was for a time forbidden by Marwān b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam and later by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, *loc. cit.*; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 77). The custom was very early introduced into the Mosque of 'Amr (Maḳrīzī, iv. 7, 1 sqq.). That later scholars often went wrong about the prohibition is not at all remarkable; for it is not at all in keeping with the ever increasing tendency to found mosques at tombs. Even Ibn al-Ḥājjī, who was anxious to maintain the prohibition, is not quite sure and really only forbids the loud calling of the *ḥurra'*, *dḥākirin*, *mukabbirin* and *muridin* on such occasions (*Madkhal*, ii. 50 sq., 64, 81). When a son of Sulṭān al-Mu'ayyad died and was buried in the eastern ḳubba of the Mu'ayyad mosque, the *ḫaṭīb* delivered a *ḫuṭba* and conducted the ṣalāt thereafter and the *ḥurra'* recited for a week at the grave, while the amīrs paid their visits to the grave (Maḳrīzī, iv. 240, 2 sqq.). In Persia, it was the custom for the family of the deceased to sit in the mosque for three days after the death and receive visits of condolence (*B. G. A.*, iii. 440 infra).

4. Mosques as Objects of Pilgrimage.

As soon as the mosque became a regular sanctuary it became the object of pious visits. This holds especially of the memorial mosques associated with the Prophet and other saints. Among them three soon became special objects of pilgrimage. In a ḥadīth the Prophet says "One should only mount into the saddle to visit three mosques: al-Masjīd al-Harām, the Mosque of the Prophet and al-Masjīd al-Aḳṣā" (Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-Ṣalāt fī Masjīd Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, bāb 16; *Djānāz al-Ṣaid*, bāb 26; *Sawm*, bāb 67; Muslim, *Ḥādīdj*, tr. 93; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 303). This ḥadīth reflects a practice which only became established at the end of the 'Umayyad period. The pilgrimage to Mecca had been made a duty by the prescription of the Ḥādīdj in the Qur'ān. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was a Christian custom which could very easily be continued, on account of the significance of *al-Masjīd al-Aḳṣā* in the Qur'ān. This custom became particularly important when 'Abd al-Malik made it a substitute for the pilgrimage to Mecca (Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 311). Although this competition did not last long, the significance of Jerusalem was thereby greatly increased. Pilgrimage to Medina developed out of the increasing veneration for the Prophet. In the year 140 Abū Dja'far Maṣṣūr on his ḥādīdj visited the three sanctuaries (Tabarī, iii. 129) and this became a very usual custom. Mecca and Medina however still held the preference. Although those of Mecca and Jerusalem were recognised as the two oldest (the one is said to be 40 years older than the other; Muslim, *Masājid*, tr. 1; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 301), the Prophet however is reputed to have said "A ṣalāt in this

mosque is more meritorious than 1,000 ṣalāts in others, even the *al-Masjd al-Ḥarām*" (Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-Ṣalāt fī Masjd al-Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Ḥaḍḍaj*, tr. 89; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 303). The ḥadīth is aimed directly against Jerusalem and therefore probably dates from the Omayyad period. According to some, it was pronounced because someone had commended performing the ṣalāt in Jerusalem, which the Prophet was against (Muslim, *loc. cit.*; Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 349). The three mosques however retained their pride of place (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, faṣl 4, 6; Ibn al-Ḥaḍḍaj, *Madkhal*, ii. 55), and as late as 662 (1264) we find Baibars founding *awḳāf* for pilgrims who wished to go on foot to Jerusalem (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i./1, 248).

Although these three mosques officially hold a special position, others also are highly recommended, e.g. the mosque in Kūba [see *AL-MADĪNA*]. A ṣalāt in this mosque is said to be as valuable as an 'umra or two visits to the mosque in Jerusalem (Diyārbakrī, *Khamis*, i. 381 sq.). Attempts were also made to raise the mosque of Kūfa to the level of the three. 'Alī is said to have told some one who wanted to make a pilgrimage from Kūfa to Jerusalem that he should stick by the mosque of his native town, it was "one of the four mosques" and two rak'a's in it were equal to ten in others (*B. G. A.*, v. 173 sq.; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 325); in another tradition, ṣalāts in the provincial mosques are said to be generally worth as much as the pilgrimage (Maḳrīzī, iv. 4), and traditions arose about the special blessings associated at definite times with different holy places of Islām (*B. G. A.*, iii. 183) and especially about their superior merits (*B. G. A.*, v. 174). The Meccan sanctuary, however, always retained first place, which was marked by the Ḥaḍḍaj. It was imitated by al-Mutawakkil in Sāmarrā': he built a Ka'ba as well as a Minā and an 'Arafa there and made his amirs perform their ḥaḍḍaj there (*B. G. A.*, iii. 122).

D. Equipment of the Mosque.

1. The Development of the Edifice.

Except in the case of Mecca the earliest mosques as described above (B. 1) were at first simply open spaces marked off by a *ḡulla*. The space was sometimes, as in al-Fuṣṭāt, planted with trees and usually covered with pebbles; e.g. in Medina (Muslim, *Ḥaḍḍaj*, tr. 95; Balādhuri, p. 6) and al-Fuṣṭāt (Maḳrīzī, iv. 8; Ibn Duḳmāk, iv. 62; Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 77) which was later introduced in Baṣra and Kūfa the courtyards of which were otherwise dusty (Balādhuri, p. 277, 348). These conditions could only last so long as the Arabs retained their ancient customs as a closed corporation in their simple camps. The utilisation of churches was the first sign of a change and was rapidly followed by a mingling with the rest of the population and the resulting assimilation with older cultures.

'Umar made alterations in the mosques in Medina and in Mecca also. He extended the Mosque of the Prophet by taking in the house of 'Abbās; but like the Prophet, he still built of *labin*, palm-trunks and leaves and extended the booths (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 62; Balādhuri, p. 6). In Mecca also his work was confined to extending the area occupied by the mosque. He bought the surrounding

houses and took them down and then surrounded the area with a wall to the height of a man; the Ka'ba was thus given its *finā'* like the mosque in Medina (Balādhuri, p. 46; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 306 sq.; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 68 sq.). 'Othmān also extended these two mosques but introduced an important innovation in using hewn stone and plaster (*djaṣṣ*) for the walls and pillars. For the roof he used teak (*sādī*). The booths, which had been extended by 'Omar, were replaced by him by pillared halls (*arwiḳa*, sing. *riwāḳ*) and the walls were covered with plaster (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 62; Balādhuri, p. 46; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 70 sq.). Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳās is said to have already taken similar steps to relieve the old simplicity of the barely equipped mosque in Kūfa. The *ḡulla* consisted of pillars of marble adorned in the style of Byzantine churches (Ṭabarī, i. 2489; Yāḳūt, iv. 324).

This was little in keeping with the simple architecture of the original town, for Baṣra and Kūfa had originally been built of reeds and only after several great fires were they built of *labin* (see above bāb 1; cf. Ibn Kūtaiba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 279). As to Kūfa, Sa'd b. 'Omar's orders extended the mosque so that it became joined up with the *Dār al-Imāra*. A Persian named Ruzbeh b. Buzurdjmihr was the architect for this. He used bricks (*ādḡurr*) for the building, which he brought from Persian buildings and in the mosque he used pillars which had been taken from churches in the region of Hīra belonging to the Persian kings; these columns were not erected at the sides but only against the *Ḳibla* wall. The original plan of the mosque was therefore still retained although the pillared hall, which is identical with the *ḡulla* already mentioned (200 *dhirā'* broad), replaced the simple booth and the materials were better in every way (Ṭabarī, i. 2491 sq., 2494). Already under the early Caliphs we can therefore note the beginnings of the adoption of a more advanced architecture.

These tendencies were very much developed under the Omayyads. Even as early as the reign of Mu'āwīya, the mosque of Kūfa was rebuilt by his governor Ziyād. He commissioned a pagan architect, who had worked for Kisrā, to do the work. The latter had pillars brought from al-Ahwāz, bound them together with lead and iron clamps to a height of 30 *dhirā'* and put a roof on them. Similar halls, built of columns (here like the old booth in Medina called *ṣuffa*: Ṭabarī, i. 2492, 14; but also *ḡulla*, plur. *ḡilāl*: Ṭabarī, ii. 259 sq.) were added by him on the north, east and western wall. Each pillar cost him 18,000 dirhams. The mosque could now hold 60,000 instead of 40,000 (Ṭabarī, i. 2492, 6 sqq., cf. 2494, 7; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 324, 1 sqq.; Balādhuri, p. 276). Al-Ḥaḍḍajādī also added to the mosque (Yāḳūt, iv. 325 sq.). Ziyād did similar work in Baṣra. Here also he extended the mosque and built it of stone (or brick) and plaster and with pillars from al-Ahwāz, which were roofed with teak. We are told that he made *al-ṣuffa al-muḥaddima*, i.e. the *Ḳibla* hall, with 5 columns. This seems to show that the other sides also — as in Kūfa — had pillared halls. He erected the *Dār al-Imāra* close to the *Ḳibla* side. This was taken down by al-Ḥaḍḍajādī, rebuilt by others, and finally taken into the mosque by Hārūn al-Rashid (Balādhuri, p. 347, 348 supra, 349; Yāḳūt, i. 642, 643). In Mecca also in the same period

similar buildings were erected. Ibn al-Zubair and al-Ḥadīdjādī both extended the mosque, and Ibn al-Zubair was the first to put a roof on the walls; the columns were gilt by 'Abd al-Malik and he made a roof of teak (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 307, 309). The Mosque of 'Amr was extended in 53 with Mu'āwīya's permission by his governor Maslama b. Mukhallad to the east and north; the walls were covered with plaster (*nūra*) and the roofs decorated; it is evident from this that here also the original booth of the south side was altered to a covered hall during the early Omayyad period. A further extension was made in 79 in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (Maḳrīzī, iv. 7, 8; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv. 62). Thus we find that during the early Omayyad period and in part even earlier the original simple and primitive mosques were some extended, some altered. The alteration consisted in the old simple booth of the Mosque of the Prophet being gradually enlarged and transformed into a pillared hall with the assistance of the arts of countries possessing a higher degree of civilisation. In this way what had originally been an open place of assembly developed imperceptibly into a court, surrounded by pillared halls. Very soon a fountain was put in the centre of the court and we now have the usual type of mosque. The same plan is found in the peristyle of the houses and in the aithron of a basilica like that of Tyre (Herzog-Hauch, *Realencyclopädie* 3, x. 780).

The great builders of the Omayyads, 'Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walid I, made even more radical progress. The former entirely removed the original mosque in Jerusalem and his Byzantine architects erected the Dome of the Rock as a Byzantine building (cf. Sauvage, *Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 48 sqq.). Al-Walid likewise paid equally little attention to the oldest form of mosque, when, in Damascus, he had the church of St. John transformed by Byzantine architects into the Mosque of the Omayyads. As al-Maḳḍīsī distinctly states, they wanted to rival the splendours of the Christian churches (*B. G. A.*, iii. 159). The new mosques, which were founded in this period, were therefore not only no longer simple, but they were built with the help of Christians and other trained craftsmen with the use of material already existing in older buildings. Al-Ḥadīdjādī, for example, used materials from the surrounding towns when building his foundation of Wāsiṭ (Ṭabarī, iii. 321; Balāḍhūrī, p. 290). Columns from churches were now used quite regularly (e. g. in Damascus: Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii. 408; Ramlā: *B. G. A.*, iii. 165; cf. Balāḍhūrī, p. 143 sqq.; for Egypt see Maḳrīzī, iv. 36, 124 sq.). Sometimes remains of the older style remained alongside of the new. In Irānshahr, al-Maḳḍīsī found in the chief mosque wooden columns of the time of Abū Muslim along with round columns of brick of the time of 'Amr b. al-Laith (*B. G. A.*, iii. 316). The building activities of al-Walid extended to al-Fuṣṭāt, Mecca and Medina (cf. *B. G. A.*, v. 106 sq.) where no fundamental alterations were made, but complete renovations were carried out. With these rulers, the building of mosques reaches the level of the older architecture and gains a place in the history of art. There is also literary evidence for the transfer of a style from one region to another. In Iṣṭakhr, for example, there was a *djāmi'* in the style of the Syrian mosques with round columns, on which was a *baḳara* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 436 sq.; cf. for Shīrāz,

p. 430). Al-Walid also rebuilt the Mosque of the Prophet, in part in the Damascus style (*B. G. A.*, iii. 80; Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 71).

This revolution naturally did not take place without opposition any more than the other innovations, which Islām adopted in the countries with a higher culture which it conquered. After the Mosque of the Prophet had been beautified by Christian architects with marble, mosaics, shells, gold etc. and al-Walid in 93 was inspecting the work, an old man said: "We used to build in the style of Mosques; you build in the style of Churches" (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 74). The discussions on this point are reflected in ḥadīths. When 'Omar enlarged the Mosque of the Prophet, he is reported to have said: "Give the people shelter from the rain, but take care to make them red or yellow lest you lead the people astray", while Ibn 'Abbās said: "You shall adorn them with gold as the Jews and Christians do" (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 62). Ibn 'Abbās here takes up the Omayyad attitude and 'Omar that of old-fashioned people, according to whom any extension or improvement of the *qulla* was only permissible for strictly practical reasons. The conservative point of view is predominant in Ḥadīth. It is said that extravagant adornment of the mosques is a sign of the end of the world; the works of al-Walid were only tolerated from fear of the *fitna* (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 134, 145, 152, 230, 283; al-Nasā'ī, *Masāḍid*, bāb 2; Ibn Mādja, *Masāḍid*, bāb 2). The lack of confidence of pious conservatives in the great mosques finds expression in a ḥadīth, according to which the Prophet (according to Anas) said: "A time will come over my *umma* when they will vie with one another in the beauty of their mosques; then they will visit them but little" (al-Asḳalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, i. 362). In the Fīkh, we even find divergence from the oldest quadrangular form of the mosque condemned (Guidi, *Il Muḥ-taṣar*, i. 71). Among the types which arose later was the "suspended" (*mu'allāḳ*) i. e. a mosque situated in an upper storey (e. g. in Damascus, *J. A.*, ser. ix., vol. v. 409, 415, 422, 424, 427, 430).

2. Details of the Equipment of the Mosque.

a. The Minaret (see also MANĀRA).

The earliest primitive mosques had no minaret. When the *adhān* call was introduced, Bilāl is said to have summoned the faithful in Medina to the early ṣalāt from the roof of the highest house in the vicinity of the mosque (Ibn Hishām, p. 348; Wüstenfeld, p. 75); on the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet instructed Bilāl to utter the call to prayer from the Ka'ba, according to al-Azraqī, from the roof (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 192; cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 822). During the early days of Islām, the mu'adhḥin did not however utter his summons from an elevated position (cf. below G 2 d). It is doubtful in the first place when the minaret was introduced, and in the second whether it was adopted into Islām, expressly for the call to prayer.

The Omayyad caliph al-Walid (86—96) undoubtedly had considerable importance for the history of the minaret, although even earlier in 84 (703) Sidi 'Uḳba in Kairawān had been built by Ḥassān b. Nu'mān with a minaret (so according to Bakrī: H. Saladin, *La Mosquée de Sidi Okba*, 1899, p. 7, 19). There was also a minaret in the

Omayyad mosque in Damascus. At the present day, the mosque has 3 minarets as was the case in the time of Ibn Djbair, who mentions two on the west and one in the north (*Rihla*, p. 266), while Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also says there were three and adds that one was in the west, another in the east and another in the north (i. 203), which agrees with present day conditions. One of the earliest authorities, Ibn al-Fakīh (d. 289 = 902), however mentions only one minaret (*mi'dhana*) and says that in the days of the Greeks it had been a watch-tower (*nāṭūr*), which belonged to the church of St. John and was left standing by al-Walid (*B. G. A.*, v. 108, 5). Al-Maḳḍisī (d. 375 = 985) mentions only one minaret, which was above the Bāb al-Farādis; when he calls it a *manāra muḥdatha* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 159) he may perhaps mean a renovated minaret (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 229) and besides, his description does not exclude the existence of other minarets. The tradition that the minaret of the Omayyad mosque was taken over from the predecessors of the Muslims long survived; for Yāqūt, who mentions the east and west minarets, says that the western belonged to a fire-temple and a flame used to be visible on it (*Mu'djam*, ii. 596) and according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the east and west minarets had been built by the Byzantines while only the north one was built by the Muslims (i. 203 sq.; a story also given by al-Boṣrāwī [d. 1003 = 1594] quoting Ibn 'Asākir [d. 571 = 1176], see *J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 423; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/i. 273). In Mecca also, al-Walid built turrets (*shurrafat*; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 310), sometimes minarets (as is evident from *ibid.*, p. 310, 311). They were later increased so that Kuṭb al-Dīn mentions 7 minarets (*ibid.*, iii. 424—426). According to al-Samhūdī, he also built in Medina 4 towers but Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, in the year 97 had the southwestern tower taken down, because the shadow of the mu'adhdhin from it fell upon him, when he was in the house of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. While al-Samhūdī says that there were no minarets in Medina before al-Walid, he asserts on the other hand that 'Omar had already built towers in the four corners of the mosque (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 75; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 272). In the time of Ibn Djbair (in 580) there were still only 3 minarets there (*Rihla*, p. 195). It was not until 706 that Muḥammad b. Kaḷā'ūn rebuilt the fourth minaret (Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76).

After the time of al-Walid, minarets became more and more numerous. In Ramla his brother Hishām built a beautiful minaret (*B. G. A.*, iii. 165, 6). For the mosque in Jerusalem Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi about 400 mentions 4 minarets (*Ikḍ*, Cairo 1331, iv. 274 sq.) which Muḍjir al-Dīn claims to go back to the time of al-Malik (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 125). Ibn Ḥawḳal (367 = 977) expressly notes of the Djamī' in Fārayab in Khurasān that it did not have a minaret (*B. G. A.*, ii. 321) and he seems to consider it *bid'a* to build two minarets (*ibid.*, p. 13 sqq.). Apart from the isolated reference by al-Samhūdī to 'Omar's building activities, to which very little importance can be attached, it is probable from this evidence that al-Walid was the first to introduce the minaret into Syria and the Hīdžāz. That he introduced it into Islām itself, is however not certain. According to Balādhuri (d. 279 = 892), Ziyād in Baṣra, where he was governor in 45, built the minaret of stone, when he built the mosque of brick (p. 348). This

seems to suggest that there was already a minaret there. According to the Egyptian historians, Maslama b. Mukhallad in al-Fustāt by Mu'āwīya's orders in 53 built a tower at each corner of the mosque of 'Amr (*ṣawma'a*), which had not been done before (Maḳrīzī, iv. 7 sq., 44; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 77). The staircase leading up to the minaret was originally outside the mosque, but was later put inside it. Maslama is said to have introduced the minaret into other mosques in al-Fustāt (i. e. in all except those of Tujīb and Khawlān; cf. Maḳrīzī, iv. 44; Ibn Taghribirdī, *loc. cit.*). How old this story is, cannot be ascertained, but the view often put forward that al-Walid was the first to introduce the minaret (cf. Schwally, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lii, 1898, p. 143—146), is in any case not certain.

There are three names in common use for the minaret. *Ma'dhana* or *mi'dhana*, "place of the *adhān* call", which is in general use in Egypt and Syria at the present day, is frequently found in literature and inscriptions (*B. G. A.*, iii. 225, 15; v. 108, 5; Maḳrīzī, iv. 13, 10; 20, 4, 6, and *pass.*; Ibn A. Uṣaibi'a, ii. 204, 2 from below; v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i., No. 25, 63, 88, 89, 90 and others from the viith century onwards). *Ṣawma'a*, specially used in North Africa (Marçais, *Les Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, 1903, p. 45), is frequently found (Ibn Djbair, *Rihla*, p. 91, 100, 145, 195, 266; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 203, 272; ii. 2, 12, 13; Maḳrīzī, iv. 7 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 77). This word means also cloister or cell and in the older literature is used as the equivalent of *dair* (Sūra xxii. 41; Ibn Hishām, p. 115; Bukhārī, *al-'Amal fi 'l-Salāt*, bāb 7; *Maṣālim*, bāb 35; *Anbiyā'*, bāb 48; *B. G. A.*, ii. 154; Maḳrīzī, iv. 389; Ibn al-Farīd, *Ta'īya* v. 561). *Manāra* is the most usual word in literature (Maḳrīzī, iv. 7: *manār*; cf. v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i., No. 63; *K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 63, 67). This word has the same meaning as Syr. *menārtā* but is probably an analogous, independent formation. The word means light, position in which a light is put (Imru'ulḳais, *Diwān*, 148, 37; Abū Dhū'aib, *Diwān*, ed. Bell, i. 60; *B. G. A.*, vii. 132); also lighthouse (*B. G. A.*, iii. 177; Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 64; Ibn Djbair, *Rihla*, p. 41). *Manār(a)* also means a boundary stone or a signpost (*'alam*; *Lisān*, vii. 99, 1 from below; Kaīs al-Ruḳaiyāt, p. 37, 7, 70, 2; Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 135; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.*, ii. 12 and *Gl.*) or a watch tower (Ṭabarī, i. 864, 878); the boundary stones of the ḥaram area, for example, are called *Manār al-Ḥaram* (*B. G. A.*, ii. 25) and Abrahā was called *Dhu 'l-Manār*, because he put up signposts (*Lisān*, vii. 105, 11; Djawhari, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, i. 410); obelisks are also called *manāra* (*B. G. A.*, vii. 117, 20, 118, 1). The derivation of the last named *manār* from *miliarion* (Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, p. 283) is little likely and still less probable is a derivation from a Persian building for fire-worship (v. Berchem in E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i. [1908], 113 sqq. who distinguishes rather ingeniously between *manāra* "light" from *nūr* and *manār* "fire-tower" from *nār*). Probably there is only a single word in question and the signposts received their name from the watch-tower (note that *'alam* also is used of the minaret: Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, 1767, iii. 704). There are a number of references to the existence on the coasts of a series of *manā'ir* and each *manāra* gave warning by light-signals of the movements of the enemy (*B. G. A.*, iii. 177). According to al-Balādhuri

(p. 128: *manāṣir*), this was already the custom in 'Omar's time and was in all probability an inheritance from the Byzantines. Similar watch-towers (*semantērion*) were used inland in the Byzantine period e.g. in the eastern Hawrān, and the Persians had similar towers on their frontiers (*manāra*: Ṭabari, i. 864, 878); a similar *manāra* in the 'Irāk is described by Ibn Džubair (p. 210; cf. *B. G. A.*, v. 176); in the Maghrib also, fort-like towers are called *manāra*, e.g. in Tunis and Gabes (al-Tiǧāni, i. 706—708; *Ḥ. A.*, ser. 4, xx. [1852], 99, 144). That these towers used fire-signals is very probable and Musil gives evidence of this custom for the Edom territory (*Arabia Petraea*, ii. 2, 232). In the viiith (xivth) century again al-'Umari (*Ta'rif bi'l-Muṣṭalah al-sharif*, Cairo 1312, p. 199 sq.) refers to the use of a series of heights and towers for light-signals, including the *Ma'dhanat al-'Arūs*, one of the minarets of the Omayyad mosque of Damascus (on the whole question see R. Hartmann, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx., 1916, p. 486, 505; *Memnon*, iii. 221; *Isl.*, i. 388 sq.). It is obvious that the tower of the mosque was given the name *manāra* from its resemblance to similar watch-towers and it is possible that its use for fire-signals was more general in earlier times. In Fās the hours of prayer were indicated by lamps from the minarets (*Ḥ. A.*, ser. II, xii., 1918, p. 341).

This does not however answer the question why the minaret was introduced into Islām. From what has been said above it is probable that the minaret was introduced specially for the *adhān* call. According to Ibn al-Faḳīh and others, it was incorporated in the Mosque of the Omayyads, simply because it was already there as a part of the church (cf. above); this agrees with de Vogüé's observation that the use of towers in churches and the larger public buildings in Syria in the ivth and vth century was common (*La Syrie centrale*, i. 57). The tower in the mosque of Baṣra is thought to be an original church-tower (cf. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, p. 19 sq.). This indicates that the minaret in Syria became part of the mosque in a purely architectural way. But after its introduction, it was soon used as a place in which the *mu'adhdhin* could stand, which must have been an obvious thing to do. This did not happen at once however. From Ṭabari and others we can see that the call to prayer at a much later date could still be uttered in the street, and al-Farazdaq (d. about 110 = 728) who refers to the existence of *manār al-masāǧid* (*Kāmil*, p. 481; *Aghāni*, 2nd ed. Cairo, xix. 18) also speaks of *mu'adhdhins* on the city wall (Ṭabari, ii. 1302; *Naḳā'id*, p. 365; see J. Horowitz, in *Isl.*, xvi., 1927, p. 253, 255) with which we may compare the tradition that the Prophet considered whether he ought to permit the call to prayer to be uttered on the fortifications of Madīna (*'alā āfām al-Madīna*; cf. Ibn Sa'd, i. 7).

It is however by no means impossible that the minaret may have arisen elsewhere in a different way. If we can trust the account by al-Maḳrīzī and others (see above), the minaret was introduced into Egypt by Mu'āwīya's orders as a corner tower. Here it was at once used in a way which recalls the dwelling-towers of ascetics. It was used for the *adhān*, but not only for the five calls to prayer but also for vigils, in which the *mu'adhdhins* repeated litanies (Maḳrīzī, iv. 44 middle) and its

architect, Maslama b. Muḳhallad, used it for the *'itikāf* (*ibid.*, p. 44). An ascetic who died in 469 lived in the *manāra* of the Mosque of 'Amr (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv. 274). This suggests the meaning of minaret expressed by the word *ṣawma'a* (cf. also Maḳrīzī, iv. 7, 8) as a saint's cell. According to one source, rather late however, al-Walid is said to have found a monk in the tower of the church of St. John who lived in the *ṣawma'a* there (cf. *Ḥ. A.*, ser. 9, vii., p. 189; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/i. 264). This use of the minaret was kept up during the golden age of Islām. Thus Ibn Džubair records that he saw in the west minaret of the mosque of the Omayyads cells for devout Maghribis and in the topmost chamber, where al-Ghazālī had lived in *'itikāf*, there was now a *zāhid* (*Riḥla*, p. 266, 18 sq.); Ibn Tumart also lived there (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 596, 17 sq.) and 'Abd al-Laṭīf also found another devotee living there (Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a, ii. 204, 2 from below). According to al-Maḳrīzī, the Egyptian minaret was not introduced in a purely architectural way, but even from his account it appears most likely to be Syrian in origin.

If the minaret did not have a single origin, it is improbable that a single type of tower served as the model for it. Ziyād is said to have built the minaret in Baṣra of stone. The quadrangular Syrian Omayyad type (*B. G. A.*, iii. 182), which was taken over from the church-tower, was also of stone. In Egypt, on the other hand, according to al-Maḳrīzī, minarets for many centuries were only built of brick and the earliest stone minarets in this country were not built till shortly before 700 in al-Manṣūriya and al-Āḳbughāwiya (Maḳrīzī, iv. 224). In North Africa where the Omayyad, Syrian type was introduced, a round minaret of brick in 7 stories with pillars was built in 'Abbāsiya south of Kairawān in 184 (800) (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 119). Ibn al-Hādīdjī condemns minarets of his time as being built too high. It is interesting to note as throwing a light on what was considered *bid'a* that he regards the round form as the old and genuine one (*Madḫal*, ii. 61 below). — For literature see Fraenkel, Schwally, v. Berchem, R. Hartmann, Horowitz quoted above; Doutté, in *R. Afr.*, iv., 1900, p. 339 sq.; J. H. Gottheil, in *Ḥ. Am. O. S.*, xxx., 1909—1910, p. 132—154; K. A. C. Creswell, in *Burlington Magazine*, xlviii., 1926, p. 134—140, 252—258, 290—296.

6. The Chambers.

The old mosque consisted of the courtyard and the open halls running along the walls: these were called *al-mughattā* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 82, 158, 165, 182) because they were roofed over. When we are told that in Palestine, except in Jericho, towers were placed between the *mughattā* and the courtyard (*ibid.*, p. 182), this seems to suggest that the halls were closed, which would be quite in keeping with the winter climate of this region. The halls were particularly extensive on the *qibla* side, because assemblies were held here. The space between two rows of pillars was called *riwāḳ*, pl. *arwiḳa* or *riwāḳāt* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 158, 159; Maḳrīzī, iv. 10, 11, 12, 49). Extension often took the form of increasing the number of the *arwiḳa*. In some districts a sail-cloth was spread over the open space as a protection from the sun at the time of the service (*B. G. A.*, iii. 205, 430).

The courtyard was called *ṣahn*. The open space around the Ka'ba is called *Finā'* al-Ka'ba

(*Chron. Mekka*, i. 307; Ibn Hishām, p. 822; cf. *Finā' Zamsam*: Yāqūt, *Ubadā'* vi. 376). *Finā'* is also the name given to the open space around the mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv. 6). Trees were often planted in the courtyard: e.g. in the mosque of 'Amr (see B 1; when we read in Maḳrīzī, iv. 6 that it had no *ṣahn*, this probably means that this space, planted with trees, between the covered halls was very narrow). In Medina, at the present day, there are still trees in the *Rawḍa* (Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p. 240); in Ibn Djubair's time there were 15 palms there (*Rihla*, p. 194). Other mosques in Cairo had trees growing in them (Maḳrīzī, iv. 54, 64, 65, 120; in al-Masjdīd al-Kāfūrī, there were as many as 516 trees: *ibid.*, p. 266) as is still the case to-day. In other cases the court was covered with pebbles (see above D 1); but this was altered with a more refined style of architecture. Al-Maḳdisī mentions that this was only found in Tiberias, out of all the mosques in Palestine (*B. G. A.*, iii. 182). Frequently, as in Ramla, the halls were covered with marble and the courtyard with flat stone (*ibid.*, p. 165). In the halls also the ground was originally bare or covered with little stones; for example in the mosques of 'Amr until Maslama b. Muḳhallad covered it with mats (see below). The floor of the Mosque of 'Amr was entirely covered with marble in the Mamlūk period (Maḳrīzī, iv. 13 sq.; cf. in Shirāz: Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 53). But in the mosque of Mecca, the *ṣahn* is still covered with little stones (Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p. 99 below); 400 dinārs used to be spent annually on this (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 10 sq.). In Medina also little pebbles were used (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 190; Ibn Baṭṭūta, i. 263).

There were not at first enclosed chambers in the halls. A change in this respect came with the introduction of the *maḳṣūra* [q. v.] (on this word cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i., p. 164, note 46). This was a box or compartment for the ruler built near the mihrāb. Al-Samhūdī gives the history of the *maḳṣūra* in Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 71 sq., 89 sq.). The traditions all agree that the *maḳṣūra* was introduced to protect the ruler from hostile attacks. According to some men, 'Othmān built a *maḳṣūra* of *labin* with windows, so that the people could see the imām of the community (*ibid.* and Maḳrīzī, iv. 7). According to another tradition, Marwān b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, governor of Medina, after an attempt had been made on him by a Yamanī in the year 44, was the first to build a *maḳṣūra* of dressed stone with a window (Balādhuri, p. 6 below; Ṭabarī, ii. 70). Mu'āwiya is then said to have followed his example. Others again say that Mu'āwiya was the first to introduce this innovation. He is said to have introduced the *maḳṣūrat* with the accompanying guard as early as the year 40 or not till 44 after the Khārīdī attempt (Ṭabarī, i. 3465, 9; *B. G. A.*, v. 109, 3; Maḳrīzī, iv. 12, 11 sqq.); according to one story because he had seen a dog on the minbar (Baiḥaqī, ed. Schwally, p. 393 below; cf. on the whole question: H. Lammens, *Mo'āwiya*, p. 202 sqq.). This much seems to be certain, that the *maḳṣūra* was at any rate introduced at the beginning of the Omayyad period and it was an arrangement so much in keeping with the increasing dignity of the ruler that, as Ibn Khaldūn says, it spread throughout all the lands of Islām (*Muḳaddima*, Cairo 1322, p. 212 sq., *faṣl* 37). The governors built themselves compartments in the principal mosques

of the provinces, e.g. Ziyād in Kūfa and Baṣra (Balādhuri, p. 277, 348) and probably Ḳurra b. Sharik in al-Fuṣṭāṭ (Maḳrīzī, iv. 12). In Medina, we are told that 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz as governor (86—93) raised the *maḳṣūra* and built it of teak, but al-Mahdī had it taken down in 160 and a new one built on the level of the ground (*ibid.*, p. 7; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*; Balādhuri, p. 7 centre). We are further told that in 161, al-Mahdī prohibited the *maḳṣūr* of the provinces and al-Ma'mūn even wanted to clear all the boxes out of the *masājdīd ḍjāmi'a*, because their use was a *sunna* introduced by Mu'āwiya (Maḳrīzī, iv. 12; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 571). But this attempt did not succeed. On the contrary, their numbers rapidly increased. In Cairo, for example, the *Ḍjāmi'* al-'Askar built in 169 had a *maḳṣūra* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 33 sqq.) and the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn had a *maḳṣūra* beside the mihrāb which was accessible from the Dār al-Imāra (*ibid.*, p. 36, 37, 42; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii. 8, 14). The *maḳṣūra* was found in the larger mosques. In the *Ḍjāmi'* al-Kāfa, Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'un in 718 built a *maḳṣūra* of iron for the Sulṭān's ṣalāt (Maḳrīzī, iv. 132). According to Ibn Khaldūn, the *maḳṣūra* was an innovation of Islām's own. The question must however be left open, whether in its introduction and development there may not be some connection with the boxes of the Byzantine court, at least, for example, when the Turks in the *Yeshil Ḍjāmi'* in Brussa put the Sulṭān's box over the door (R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, p. 27).

Although the *maḳṣūra* was introduced with the object of segregating the ruler and was therefore condemned by the strict as contrary to the spirit of Islām (e.g. *Madḳhal*, ii. 43 sq.), *maḳṣūr* were probably introduced for other purposes. Ibn Djubair mentions three in the Mosque of the Omayyads: the old one built by Mu'āwiya in the eastern part of the mosque, one in the centre, which contained the minbar, and one in the west where the Ḥanafis taught and performed the ṣalāt. There were also other small rooms shut off by wooden lattices, which could be sometimes called *maḳṣūra* and sometimes *zāwiya*. As a rule, there were quite a number of *zāwiya* connected with the mosque which were used by students (*Rihla*, p. 265 sq.). We find the same state of affairs in other mosques.

While the groups of the *ḳurra'*, the students, the lawyers etc. had originally to sit together in a common room, gradually the attempt was made to introduce separate rooms for some of them. Small compartments were either cut off in the main chamber or new rooms were built in subsidiary buildings. In the former case we get the already mentioned *maḳṣūr* or *zāwiya*. Ibn al-Ḥādīdī says that a *madrasa* was often made by the simple process of cutting off a part of a mosque by a balustrade (*darbasin*) (*Madḳhal*, ii. 44). Thus in the halls of the Mosque of 'Amr there were several compartments for teaching, which are called *maḳṣūra* and *zāwiya*, in which studies were prosecuted (Maḳrīzī, iv. 20, 16, 25). In the Azhar Mosque a *Maḳṣūrat* Fāṭima was made in the time of the Fāṭimids, where she had appeared, and the emīrs in the following period made a large number of such *maḳṣūr* (*ibid.*, p. 52, 53). In the Aḳṣā Mosque about 300 A.H., there were three *maḳṣūras* for women (*B. G. A.*, v. 100). These divisions might be a nuisance at the great Friday assemblies and this is why al-Mahdī wanted to remove them in 161 from the *masājdīd al-ḍjāmi'āt* (Ṭabarī, iii. 486),

and Ibn al-Ḥādīdj condemned them as works of the *mulk* and numbers them like other embellishments with the *ashrāt al-sā'a* (*Madkhal*, ii. 43 sq.).

The mu'adhdhins not only lived in the minarets, where, at any rate in the Ṭūlūnid period, they held vigils (Makrizi, iv. 48). They had rooms (*ghuraf*, sg. *ghurfa*) on the roof and these rooms in time came to be numerous (*ibid.*, p. 13, 14). All kinds of rooms were put in subsidiary buildings, for the *khaṭīb* (*ibid.*, p. 13), for judges, for studies, etc. In addition there were dwelling-houses, not only for the staff but also for others. As already mentioned, devout men used to take up their residence in the mosque for a considerable period for *ʿitikāf* and any one at any time could take up his quarters in the mosque; he could sleep there and make himself at home. It therefore came quite natural to the devout to reside permanently in the mosque. Ascetics often lived in the minaret (see above), a *sāhid* lived on the roof of the Azhar mosque, others made themselves cells in the mosque, as a *shaikh* in Naṣībīn did (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 240; cf. in Ḥarrān, p. 245) and as happened in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's time in the mosque of the Omayyads (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ii. 182). It was however very usual for them to live in the side rooms of the mosque, as was the case for example, in the Mosque of the Omayyads (Ibn Djubair, p. 269; Ibn Baṭṭūta, i. 206). In particularly holy mosques like that in Hebron, houses for *al-mu'takifūn* were built around the sacred place (Sauvāire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 11 sq.) and also beside the *Masjid Yūnis* at the ancient Niniveh (*B. G. A.*, iii. 146). Kitchens were therefore erected with the necessary mills and ovens and cooked food (*djashisha*) and 14–15,000 loaves (*raḡhif*) were daily distributed to those who stayed there and to visitors (Sauvāire, p. 20 sq.; cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i., 231). Bread was also baked in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, i/i., 233) and kitchens were often found in the mosques (for al-Azhar, see Djabarti, *Merveilles*, iii. 238 sq.; Sulaimān Raṣād, *Kanz al-Djawhar fi Ta'rikh al-Azhar*, p. 71 sqq., 107 sqq.). Those who lived in and beside the mosque were called *muḍāwirūn* (cf. *B. G. A.*, iii. 146; for Jerusalem, Nāṣir-i Khosraw, p. 82, 91; for Mecca, Ibn Djubair, p. 149; for Medina, Ibn Baṭṭūta, i. 279, where we learn that they were organised under a *ḥaddim*, like the North Africans under an *amin* in Damascus; Ibn Djubair, p. 277 sq.). They were pious ascetics, students, and sometimes travellers. The students generally found accommodation in the madāris but large mosques like that of the Omayyads or al-Azhar had always many students who lived in them. The name of the halls *riwāḡ*, plur. *arwiḡa*, was later used for these students' lodgings (cf. v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i. 43, note 1; perhaps Makrizi, iv. 54, 23). Strangers always found accommodation in the mosques (cf. C 1). In smaller towns it was the natural thing for the traveller to spend the night in the mosque and to get food there (Yāqūt, iii. 385; al-Kifti, *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 252). Travellers like Nāṣir-i Khosraw, Ibn Djubair, Ibn Baṭṭūta, al-ʿAbdari (*J. A.*, ser. 5, iv., 1854, p. 174) were able to travel throughout the whole Muslim world from one mosque to the other (or *madrasa* or *ribāṭ*). The traveller could even leave his money for safe keeping in a mosque (*Safar-nāma*, p. 51). Large endowments were bequeathed for those who

lived in the mosques (Ibn Djubair, *op. cit.*; Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/i., 105 sq.).

In later times the rulers often built a lodge or pavilion (*maḡara*) in or near the mosque (Makrizi, ii. 345; iv. 13; cf. on the word: Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/i., 15).

There was often a special room with a clock in the mosques; this also is probably an inheritance from the church, for Ibn Rosta (290 = 903) talks of similar arrangements in Constantinople (*B. G. A.*, vii. 126 supra). Ibn Djubair (p. 270) describes very fully the clock in the Mosque of the Omayyads (cf. *J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 205 sq.). It was made in the reign of Nūr al-Dīn by Fakhr al-Dīn b. al-Sa'āti (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ii. 183 sq.; an expert was kept to look after it: *ibid.*, p. 191). There was a clock in the Mustanṣiriya in Baghdad (Sarre and Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 170) and the Mosque of 'Amr also had a *ghurfat al-sā'at* (Makrizi, iv. 13, 15). In the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn is still kept a sundial of the year 696 (1296–1297; cf. v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i., N^o 514) but the clocks were usually mechanical (see also Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *mindjāna* and on the clock generally E. Wiedemann, in *Nova Acta der K. Leop. Carol. Akad.*, vol. C, Halle 1915). In the Maghrib also we find mosque-clocks, e.g. in the Bū'anāniya (*J. A.*, ser. 11, xii. 357 sqq.).

The very varied uses to which the mosques were put resulted in their becoming storehouses for all sorts of things. In 668, the Mosque of the Omayyads was cleared of all such things; in the courtyard there were for example stores for machines of war and the *zāwiya* of Zain al-'Abidin was a regular *khān* (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vol. vii. 225 sq.).

c. Mihrāb [q.v.].

Whether the Prophet considered it necessary to erect an indicator of the direction of prayer in Medina may be considered doubtful. According to Tradition, when the revelation of the alteration of the *qibla* came to him, he turned round in the middle of the prayer without further investigation (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 41, 62; Ṭabari, *Tafsir*, xi. 25 centre; Muslim, *Masāḍid*, tr. 2). On the muṣallā however and on journeys he used a spear, which was stuck in the ground right in front of him, but this *sutra* [q.v.] was not intended so much to give the direction as to be a substitute for the wall, to mark off the area of the worshipper; it could therefore also be an animal or some living thing (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 18, 80, 90–92; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr. 46; Zurkāni on *Muwatta'*, i. 283; Abū Dāwūd, i. 69; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 106). At the present day the mihrāb is often called *qibla* (and as early as Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 351; Yāqūt, i. 642).

In al-Fuṣṭāṭ 'Amr is said to have ascertained the *qibla* very carefully with the help of many others (Makrizi, iv. 6 supra; *B. G. A.*, viii. 359; Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 75 sq.). But we are not told how it was indicated, probably by a pole or something of the kind. The *qibla* was however too far to the east, so that during the prayer the worshippers turned more to the south. At first they were probably content with the direction, roughly correct, in keeping with a ḥadīth of Abū Huraira, according to which the *qibla* in general lies between east and west (Tirmidhi, *Mawāṭi' al-Ṣalāt*, p. 139; Makrizi, iv. 24). The first mosque in Iṣfahān was built where Abū Mūsā had performed the *ṣalāt*, and a brick placed in position

by him was taken as the *qibla* (*B. G. A.*, vii. 200). But later the problem was tackled seriously. Makrīzī mentions the different solutions of it in Egypt (iv. 21—33). Al-Azhar had the *qibla* accurate; the *maḥarīb al-ṣaḥāba*, i. e. that of the Mosque of 'Amr and those of the mosques in Djiza, Bilbis, Alexandria, Kūš and Assuān were too far to the east, that of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was found by a committee to be 14 daradī too far west, those of the villages too far west. The direction was ascertained from the stars. Many however followed the *qibla* of Syria. In the transformation of churches into mosques, frequent under al-Ma'mūn, their orientation from east to west was decisive. The door on the east side as a rule was made the *miḥrāb* (Makrīzī, iv. 30).

The word *miḥrāb* before and after the beginning of Islām meant in the first place a palace or a part of one (Imru'ul-kais, p. 52, 33, South Ar.; *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, p. 21, 13, Persian; Buḥturi, *Ḥamāsa*, p. 404, 4; Kais al-Ruḳaiyāt, p. 2, 5, 49, 2), also women's apartment ('Omar b. Rabi'a, p. 136, 9, 247, 2; Makrīzī, iv. 378, 14), secondly a niche where a bust stood; e. g. before Islām (Ibn Kūtaiba, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, p. 356) and for the Muslim period (*Hudḥailitendwān*, p. 90, 14; Buḥturi, *Ḥamāsa*, p. 692), especially of a niche with an image of a Christian saint ('Omar b. Rabi'a, p. 262, 9). Perhaps the part of the palace, called *miḥrāb* in the above examples, is simply a niche with a throne in it (cf. esp. *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, p. 21, 13). The same use of the word is found in the *Qur'an*. In Sūra xxxviii. 20, it means the part of the palace where the king is; xxxiv. 12, most probably a place where images are put, and iii. 32 sq.; xix. 12, a temple or rather a cell in a temple where one prays. At a still later date we find expressions like *miḥrāb al-madḥbah*, apparently a name for the apse in the church behind the altar (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 189). *Miḥrāb* has been derived from *ḥarba* "spear" and from South Arabic *mikrāb*, Ethiop. *mekwerāb* "temple" but the etymology is not certain (see on the whole question: Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, p. 274; Rhodokanakis, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xix., 1905, p. 296—298; Prätorius, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxi., 1907, p. 621 sq.; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachw.*, p. 52, nota 2; Lammens, in *J. A.*, ser. xi., vi. 247; Becker, *Islāmstudien*, i. 492 sq.; J. Horowitz, in *Isl.*, xvi., 1927, p. 260 sq.).

If the word *miḥrāb* means the niche placed in the mosque in the direction of prayer, this connects quite well with the usual usage of the word. All are agreed that the *miḥrāb* did not originally belong to the mosque and that it was taken over from the church finds confirmation in Muslim literature (see Lammens, *Ziād*, p. 33, note 7; 94, note 1) and it is evident that the innovation found its way into the mosque by a purely architectural way. The *miḥrāb* became the place where the imām stood during the ṣalāt. It may therefore be assumed that it was one of the principal niches in the church, which was taken over into the mosque; it may have contained the bishop's throne or the image or picture of an important saint.

There is no unanimity as to the date when the *miḥrāb* was introduced into the mosque. Mu'āwiya is occasionally mentioned (*B. G. A.*, v. 109, 2) as a rule, however, and probably with greater right, al-Walīd. His governor 'Omar b.

'Abd al-'Azīz is said to have introduced it into Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 74; *B. G. A.*, iii. 80, 17 however takes it for granted that 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz only revived it); similarly his governor Qurra b. Sharīk (90—96) is recorded to have introduced the prayer niche (*miḥrāb mudjauwaf*) into Egypt (Makrīzī, iv. 6, 14, 9, 9; Ibn Duḳmāk, iv. 62, 12 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 76; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādḍara*, ii. 135 sq.). Only occasionally is Mu'āwiya's governor Maslama b. Mukhallad (47—62) or 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (65—84) mentioned as having introduced this innovation (Makrīzī, iv. 6). It therefore seems not to be wrong when one of the *maḥarīb* in the Mosque of the Omayyads is described as the oldest in Islām. But it is an anachronism to call it *miḥrāb al-ṣaḥāba* and attribute it to Mu'āwiya (Ibn Dju-bair, p. 265; Ibn Baṭṭūta, i. 203). The *miḥrāb* is however said not yet to have come into general use in the second century (see Lammens, *Ziād*, p. 94, note 1); on the other hand, Ṭabarī presupposes a *miḥrāb* in the Muslim sense as early as David (Ṭabarī, i. 2408, 7, 12; *B. G. A.*, ii. 112, 10 sq.; other prophets also had their *miḥrābs* in Jerusalem, *ibid.*).

In the larger mosques there were usually several *miḥrābs*, used by the different *madḥāhib*; in the mosque of 'Amr, for example (according to Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 79), in Hebron (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 17), in the mosque of the Omayyads (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 213 sqq.; Ibn Dju-bair and Ibn Baṭṭūta as above). They might be of wood, but as a rule they were built of masonry or put on pillars. They were often highly ornamented. In the *miḥrāb* of al-Walīd, a looking-glass that had belonged to 'Ā'isha is said to have been placed (Kāzwinī, ii. 71). A Fāṭimid adorned a *miḥrāb* in the mosque of 'Amr and one in the Azhar mosque with a silver girdle which weighed 5,000 dirhams (Makrīzī, iv. 52).

The general objections to adorning mosques were also applied to the *miḥrāb*. A ḥadīth is said to have forbidden this as an inheritance from the churches; it is compared with the altars (see Lammens, *Ziād*, p. 33, note 7), but even a puritan like Ibn al-Ḥadīd does not reject the *miḥrāb* in principle; he only condemns its adornment (*Madḥhal*, ii. 48). In fact the *miḥrāb* was held in special respect as the most important part of the mosque which found expression in the erection of a *qubba* over it (e. g. Makrīzī, iv. 91; cf. v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i., No. 79). The special importance of the *miḥrāb* is shown from the fact that its position was occasionally revealed in dreams, e. g. in Kairawān (Yāqūt, iv. 213) and in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn; here the Prophet appeared to Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and showed him the *miḥrāb* and the spot was surrounded by ants (Makrīzī, iv. 39). In the principal mosque of Ṣan'a' there was a prophet's tomb under the *miḥrāb* (*B. G. A.*, vii. 110), which recalls Christian altars. As the most sacred part of the mosque, the *miḥrāb* is compared not only with Christian altars, but the word is used of the sacred place of prayer in any sanctuary, e. g. in the pre-Christian temple, which stood on the site of the later mosque of the Omayyads (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 371). In Palestine, in keeping with this idea, very many *miḥrābs* are said to have been the *miḥrābs* of Biblical personalities (see Sauvaire, *Hist. Jér. et Hébr.*, p. 42, 76, 96 sq., 102; Le Strange, *Palestine*, Index).

d. Minbar [q.v.].

In contrast to the mihrāb, the *minbar* was introduced in the time of the Prophet himself. The word, often pronounced *minbar* (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 161), comes from the root *n-b-r* "high"; it could be derived from the Arabic quite easily with the meaning "elevation, stand", but is more probably a loanword from the Ethiopic (Schwally, *Z. D. M. G.*, lii, 1898, p. 146—148; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachw.*, 1910, p. 49). Its case is therefore somewhat similar to that of *masdjid*. It means "seat, chair" (e. g. *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 8; *Aghāni*², Cairo, xiv. 75) and is used, for example, for saddle (Ṭabari, *Gloss.*) and of a litter (*Aghāni*, xiii. 158; cf. Schwally). It is therefore identical with *maḍilis* (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, B. 23), with *sarir* (*Kāmil*, p. 20; *Aghāni*, iii. 3), *tuḥt* or *kursi* (*Usd*, i. 214; cf. also Becker, *Kansel*, p. 8). The use of the word for the pulpit is in keeping with its history.

When the *khaṭīb* [q.v.] spoke among the Arabs, he usually did so standing (cf. *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, xci. 23; *Djāḥiz*, *Bayān*, Cairo 1332, i. 129; ii. 143) frequently beating the ground with bow and lance (*ibid.*, i. 198; Labid, 7, 15, 9, 45); or he sat on his mount as did e. g. Ḳuss b. Sa'ida (*Bayān*, i. 25, 31; ii. 141). The Prophet did both of these things. In 'Arafa he sat on his camel during his *khuṭba* and on other occasions, when addressing the community during the early period, even as late as the day of the capture of Mecca, he stood (cf. *Sūra* lxii. 11). The people sat on the ground around him (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, B. 28; *Idain*, B. 6). In the mosque in Medina he had a particular place, as is mentioned in the stories of the introduction of the minbar. Sometimes, we are told, he stood beside a tree or a palm-tree (Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, B. 25; ed. Krehl, ii. 400); as a rule however, beside a palm-trunk (*djāḥ*, so Ibn Sa'd, i. 9, 10, 11, 12) and on a few occasions beside one of the pillars (Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, B. 25, ed. Krehl, ii. 401; *Diyaḥbakrī*, *Khamis*, ii. 75). This is undoubtedly the original tradition: the Prophet stood beside one of the palm-tree trunks used as pillars in the mosque. For "beside" (usually *kāma ilā*; Bukhārī, *Buyū'*, B. 32: 'inda') "up" (*kāma 'alā*; already in Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, B. 26) is sometimes found later and for the column or trunk, we find a stump on which he sat.

Various passages record how the minbar was introduced, notably the following: Ibn Sa'd, i. 9—13; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 18, 64, 91; *Djum'a*, B. 26; *Buyū'*, B. 32; *Hiba*, B. 3; *Manāḳib*, B. 25; Muslim, *Masāḍid*, tr. 10; s. also Wensinck, *Hand-book*, s. v. *Pulpit*; *Usd al-Ghāba*, i. 43 infra, 214; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 62 sq.; Ibn Baṭṭūta, i. 275 sq.; the whole material is in *Diyaḥbakrī*, *Khamis*, i. 129; ii. 75 sq. and *Sirat al-Halabī*, ii. 146 sqq. The details are variously given. The minbar, we are told, was built of ṭarāf wood or tamarisk from the woods near Medina; the builder was a Byzantine or a Copt and was called Bākūm or Bākūl, but the names Ibrāhīm (*Usd*, i. 43), Maimūn, Ṣabāḥ, Kulāb, Mīnā [see *KHAMIS*] are also given. He was a carpenter, but a slave of the wife of one of the Anṣār or (Bukhārī, *Hiba*, B. 3) of the Muhājirūn. Others say he belonged to al-'Abbās. The suggestion is sometimes credited to the Prophet and sometimes to others. The palm-trunk is said to have whined like a camel

or a child when the Prophet mounted his new seat but was calmed by stroking and kind words from the Prophet. Most stories take it for granted that the minbar was primarily intended for the *khuṭba*; in some it is added that the object was to enable the large assembly to hear him (Ibn Sa'd, i. 10, 11). We are told also that the Prophet performed the ṣalāt on it and, during the *sudjūd*, he came down from it. He also took care that the people could see his ṣalāt and follow him (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 18; *Djum'a*, B. 26). This last tradition however presupposes the later custom of standing upon the minbar (note that the same idea of the palm-stump occurs in *Djum'a*, B. 26).

In this connection it is interesting to note a tradition in Ibn al-Athīr, according to which the Companions asked the Prophet to take up a raised position as many *wuḥūd* were coming (*Usd al-Ghāba*, i. 43). Another tradition is in keeping with this, according to which the Prophet, when he was visited by a man named Tamīm, stood on a *kursi* and addressed him from it (*ibid.*, p. 214; cf. Lammens, *Moāwīa*, p. 204, note 5). Here we have a seat of honour on which the ruler sits. This is undoubtedly in keeping with the character of the minbar; while the raised seat was in general use among the northern Semites the Arabs usually sat on the ground, often leaning against a saddle. The raised seat was the special mark of the ruler or, what is the same thing, of the judge. We are told that Rab'a b. Muḥāshin was the first to sit on a *minbar* or *sarir* when acting as judge (*Aghāni*, 2nd Cairo ed., iii. 3; Maḳrīzī, iv. 6 sq.). Al-Ḥadjdjadī, for example, when he addressed the people (hardly in the mosque) sat on a chair which belonged to him (*kursi lahu*; Ṭabari, ii. 959) and when he tried and condemned his enemies, a *sarir* was erected for him (*ibid.*, p. 1119); in the same way a *kursi* was placed for Yazīd when he issued his orders for a battle (*ibid.*, p. 1107; see also Becker, *Kansel*, p. 8).

If tradition usually suggests that the minbar was introduced exclusively for the *khuṭba*, this seems to be a somewhat one-sided view. The minbar was primarily, as Becker was the first to point out, the throne of the mighty Prophet in his capacity as a ruler. In keeping with this is the tradition that it was introduced in the year 7, 8 or 9 (Ṭabari, i. 1591; *Khamis*, ii. 75; *Usd al-Ghāba*, i. 23). The Prophet used it for the publication of important announcements, for example, the prohibition of wine. That he should also make his public speeches to the community from the new seat was only natural. His *khuṭbas* however were not confined to the Friday service and he could still deliver a *khuṭba* without a minbar, e. g. at the festival on the muṣallā, where Marwān was the first to put up a minbar (Bukhārī, *Idain*, B. 6) and beside the Ka'ba after the capture of Mecca (Ibn Hishām, p. 823).

The Prophet's minbar is often called *a'wād* from its material (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 64; *Djum'a*, B. 26). It consisted of two steps and a seat (*maḍilis*: *Khamis*, ii. 75; Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, B. 23; *maḥad*: Ṭabari, i. 1591). After the time of the Prophet, it was used in the same way by Abū Bakr, 'Omar and 'Othmān (see below). Its significance as a throne is seen from the fact that in the year 50 Mu'āwiya wanted to take it to Syria with him; he was not allowed to do so but he raised it by 6 steps. At a later date, 'Abd al-

Malik and al-Walid are said to have wanted to take the Prophet's minbar to Damascus (Ṭabarī, ii. 92 sq.; *Khamīs*, ii. 75; Ya'kūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 283; *B. G. A.*, v. 23 sq.; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 63). In the time of the Prophet, it stood against the wall so that a sheep could just get past (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, p. 91). In the time of al-Makdisī, in the centre of the Muḡhattā there was pointed out the position of the old minbar, above which Mu'āwīya was said to have built his new one (*B. G. A.*, iii. 82; cf. ii. 26 and Ḳazwinī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 71). According to some ḥadīths, it was over the *ḥawḍ* of the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* fi Makka, B. 5; *Faḍā'il al-Madīna*, B. 5, 12 and *pass.*). At a later date, new minbars were erected in the mosque (see Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 64, 96).

That the Omayyads should have a minbar of their own was natural; they sat on it, just as their predecessors had done (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 42). Mu'āwīya took it with him on his journey to Mecca (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 333); he also had it taken to the festivals on the muṣallā (Ya'kūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 265), just as Marwān used to do in Medina (see above); it was therefore still portable and indispensable for the sovereign, when he wished to make a public appearance as such. In Ibn Djbair's time, the minbar *al-khuṭba* in Damascus was in the central maṣṣūra (*Riḥla*, p. 265). According to Ibn Khaldūn, Mu'āwīya was the first in Islām to use the throne (*sarīr*, minbar, *taḥt*, *kursī*) but he is clearly not referring to the minbar of the mosque (*Muḡaddima*, Cairo 1322, p. 205 sq., *faṣṭ*, 3, No. 37).

The minbar taken to Mecca by Mu'āwīya remained there till the time of al-Rashīd; when the latter visited Mecca on his ḥajj in the year 170 or 174 a minbar *manḡūsh* with 9 steps was presented to him by the emir of Egypt and the old one was put up in 'Arafa. At a later date, al-Wāthik made minbars for Mecca, 'Arafa and Minā (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 333; iii. 114). The Meccan minbar was a portable one. It usually stood beside the *maḡām* but was put beside the Ka'ba during the *khuṭba* (Ibn Djbair, p. 95, 97; cf. *Chron. Mekka*, iii. 429). According to al-Batanūnī, this custom was kept up until Sulṭān Sulaimān Ḳānūnī (926—974) built a marble minbar, north of the *maḡām* (*al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziya*, p. 100).

It seems at first to have been doubtful whether *manābir* should be put up in the provinces or not. According to al-Ḳudā'i, 'Amr had a minbar made in al-Fuṣṭāṭ but 'Omar ordered him to take it away: he was not to raise himself above the Muslims so that they would have to sit below his heels (Makrizī, iv. 6 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 76; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḡāḍara*, i. 63; ii. 135). The idea obviously was that the throne belonged to the caliph alone. After 'Omar's death however, 'Amr is said to have used a minbar (Makrizī, iv. 8, 27). It stood there till Ḳurra b. Sharik rebuilt the mosque. During the rebuilding it was put in the Ḳaisāriya, which was used as a mosque; only when the mosque was completed in the year 92, did Ḳurra put up a new minbar. Tradition however is uncertain. The minbar removed by Ḳurra perhaps dated from 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwān, who had taken it from a church or had been presented with it by the Nubian King (Makrizī, iv. 8; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 78). Ḳurra's minbar remained till 379 when the Fāṭimid vizier Ya'kūb b. Killis replaced it by a gilded one. A large new minbar

was placed in the mosque of 'Amr in 405 by al-Ḥākim (Makrizī, iv. 8; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 78 sq.).

We hear of no objections in other places to the *manābir* in the amṣār. In al-Madā'in as early as the year 16 Sa'd erected a minbar in the mosque improvised in the Iwān of Kisrā (Ṭabarī, i. 2451, 9). In Baṣra, Abū Musā put up a minbar in the middle of the mosque. This was however found inconvenient because the Inām had to cross from the minbar to the *ḳibla* "over the necks" of the (seated) believers. Ziyād then placed the minbar against the south wall (Yāḳūt, i. 642). On the other hand, we are told that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās (governor of Baṣra 36—40) was the first to mount the minbar in Baṣra (Djāhīz, *Bayān*, i. 179). When Ziyād had to fly from Baṣra he saved the minbar which he put up in his Masjid al-Huddān (Ṭabarī, i. 3414 sq.). The minbar was the symbol of the ruler and the governor sat upon it, as representative of the ruler. It therefore formed a feature of the Masjid al-Djama'a, where the community was officially addressed. In the year 64 therefore, there were minbars in all the provinces. In this year homage was paid to Marwān b. al-Ḥākim not only in the capital but in the other *manābir* in the Ḥidjāz, Miṣr, Sha'm, Djazīra, 'Irāḳ, Ḳhurāsān, and other amṣār (*B. G. A.*, viii. 307). Special mention is made of the fact that Ṭabariya had no minbar.

In the first century and beginning of the second, we find the *walī* in the smaller towns, delivering the *khuṭba* standing, with the staff only. But in 132 the governor 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had *manābir* put up in the *ḳurā* of Egypt (Makrizī, iv. 8, 17 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 350 sq.). When the *khuṭba* became purely a divine service and the ruler was no longer the *khaṭīb* [q. v.], the minbar became the pulpit of the spiritual preacher and every mosque in which the Friday service was celebrated was given a minbar. At the same time, i. e. after al-Rashīd, the change was gradually completed and the preacher spoke, standing on the pulpit. Ḥadīths therefore came into existence, according to which the Prophet used to deliver two *khuṭbas* on Friday, standing "just as is done to-day" (Bukhārī, *Djumi'a*, p. 27, 30 and 'Omar, *ibid.*, p. 2).

The minbar was thus now quite analogous to the Christian pulpit. It is very probable that this latter also influenced its form. We have already noted above, of a minbar in the mosque of 'Amr, that it was said to be of Christian origin. The same thing came to be said of the Prophet's minbar (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 63). Mu'āwīya made the Medina minbar larger, while the one brought by him to Mecca had only 3 steps and was of course portable. We again hear of portable minbars later, which did not exclude their being large (cf. above on the minbar of Mecca). Thus the *manābir* in al-Maghrib are said to have been portable. Ibn al-Ḥādīd regards this (the oldest) custom as *bid'a* and therefore ascribes it to al-Ḥādīdī (Madkhal, ii. 47, 13 sq.). The oldest minbars were all of wood. There is however one ḥadīth which says that the Prophet had a *kursī* of wood with iron legs made for the reception of Tamīm (*Usd*, i. 214, 8 from below; cf. Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 273, note 3); it is however uncertain what relation this had to the minbar. A minbar of iron was made as early as the Omayyad period (Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 78, 8: *al-minbar al-ḥadīd* probably correct in

spite of Becker, *Kansel*, p. 10, note; cf. 79, 4, see below); and also of stone (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 42, note 5 with a reference to Ibn Ḥajjār); later they were also built of bricks (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 64, 96). As a rule the minbar stood against the kibla wall beside the mihrāb. Al-Mahdī had tried to reduce the *manābir* to their original small size (Ṭabarī, iii. 486, 12; Maḳrīzī, iv. 12, 13 sqq.), but he could not arrest the development. In the larger mosques several *manābir* were even built. Ibn al-Faḳīh about 300 A. H. already mentions 5 minbars in the mosque in Jerusalem (*B. G. A.*, v. 100, 8 sq.). In the Sulṭān Ḥasan mosque in Cairo 4 were planned and 3 erected when a minaret fell down in 762 and diverted attention to other work (Maḳrīzī, iv. 117, 18 sq.).

The importance, which the minbar already had in the time of the Prophet, caused special reverence to be paid to it and the sanctity of the mosque was concentrated round this and around the mihrāb. The governor of Kūfa Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kasrī (105—120) received a letter of censure from the caliph because he had prayed for water on the minbar (*Kāmil*, p. 20, 15 sqq.). A false oath taken on or beside the minbar of the Prophet led to hell absolutely (Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 10, 3 sq., 12, 19 sq.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 329; cf. Johs. Pedersen, *Der Eid*, p. 144, 147). Legends grew up which represented the Prophet seeing into the future from the minbar (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 29) and being able to follow the battle of Mu'ta from it (cf. Wāḳidī—Wellhausen, p. 311; Ibn Hishām, p. 796) and also telling how his prayers on the minbar were specially efficacious.

Just as the Ka'ba was covered (*kasā*) so was the same thing done to the minbar. 'Othmān is said to have been the first to cover the minbar of the Prophet with a *kaṭiṣa* (*Khamis*, ii. 75, 1 from below). Mu'āwīya did the same thing when he had to give up his attempt to abolish it (*ibid.*, p. 76, 4; Ṭabarī, ii. 92, 4). It was not quite the same thing when al-Ḥākim rediscovered the already mentioned iron minbar and covered it with gilt leather because it was covered with dirt (read: *kaḍḥar*) i. e. rust (Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 79, 5 sq.). Under the 'Abbāsids a new *kisra* was sent every year for the minbar of the Prophet from Baghdād; the Sulṭāns later did not renew it so frequently (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 64). We find other references to the covering of the minbar on special occasions (Ibn Djubair, p. 149, 16). Ibn al-Ḥādīdj (*Madkhal*, ii. 74) demands that the imām should put a stop to the custom of putting carpets on the minbar. — (On the question of the minbar see: C. H. Becker, *Die Kansel im Kultus des alten Islām, Nöldeke-Festschrift*, i. 331—351 = *Islāmstudien*, i. 450—471; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 533, 739; ii. 68 sq., 87, 213 sq.; H. Lammens, *Mo'āwīa*, p. 63, 204—208, 273; J. Horowitz, in *Isl.*, xvi., 1927, p. 257—260).

e. Dakka.

In the larger mosques there is usually found near the minbar a platform to which a staircase leads up. This platform (*dakka*, popularly often *dikka*) is used as a seat for the mu'adhdhins when pronouncing the call to prayer in the mosque at the Friday service. This part of the equipment of a mosque is connected with the development of the service (cf. below under H 4 and C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, iii., 1912, p. 374—399 = *Islāmstudien*, i. 472—500; E.

Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, Abh. Pr. Ak. W., 1913, Phil.-Hist. Cl., N° 2). The first *adhān*-call is pronounced from the minaret, the second (when the *khāṭib* mounts the minbar) and the third (before the *ṣalāt*, *iḡāma*) in the mosque itself. These calls were at first pronounced by the mu'adhdhin standing in the mosque. At a later date raised seats were made for him.

Al-Ḥalabī records that Maslama, Mu'āwīya's governor in Egypt, was the first to build platforms (here called *manābir*) for the calls to prayer in the mosques (*Sira Ḥalabīya*, ii. 111 below). This story however, given without any reference to older authorities, is not at all reliable. It seems that a uniform practice did not come into existence at once. In Mecca the mu'adhdhins for a time uttered the second call (when the preacher mounted the minbar) from the roof. As the sun in summer was too strong for them, the emir of Mecca, in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, made a little hut (*ḡulla*) for them on the roof. This was enlarged and more strongly built by al-Mutawakkil in 240, as his contemporary al-Azraḳī relates (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 332 sq.). The position in the mosque of 'Amr in Cairo was similar. Here also the *adhān* was uttered in a chamber (*ḡurfa*) on the roof and in 336 there is a reference to its enlargement (Maḳrīzī, iv. 11). As late as the time of Baibars, when the many chambers were removed from the roof of the Mosque of 'Amr, the old *ḡurfa* of the mu'adhdhin was left intact (*ibid.*, p. 14; cf. al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, ed. Guest, p. 469, note 2). In the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn the *adhān* was pronounced from the cupola in the centre of the *ṣahn* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 40). Al-Maḳḍisī records in the fourth century as a notable thing about Khurāsān that the mu'adhdhins there pronounced the *adhān* on a *sarir* placed in front of the minbar (*B. G. A.*, iii. 327). The *dukkān* "platform" in front of the minbar in the mosques of Shahrastān must have had the same purpose (*ibid.*, p. 357).

In the viiith century, Ibn al-Ḥādīdj mentions the *dakka* as a *bid'a* in general use, which should be condemned as it unnecessarily prevents freedom of movement within the mosque (*Madkhal*, ii. 45 above). In the year 827 a *dakka* in the mosque of al-Ḥākim is mentioned (Maḳrīzī, iv. 61); the *dakkas* mentioned in inscriptions from Cairo all date from the period before and after 900 A. H. Ibn al-Ḥādīdj mentions that in addition to the large *dakka* used for the Friday service there was sometimes a lower one for ordinary *ṣalāts* (*Madkhal*, ii. 46 sq.) and says that in the larger mosques there were several *dakkas* on which mu'adhdhins pronounced the *adhān* in succession so that the whole community could hear it (*tabligh*; *ibid.*, p. 45 sq.). Lane also mentions several *muballighs* in the Azhar Mosque (*Manners and Customs, Everyman's Library*, p. 87, note 2).

f. Kursī, Qur'āns and Relics.

In the mosques there is usually a *kursī*, that is a wooden stand with a seat and a desk. The desk is for the Qur'ān, the seat for the *ḡaṣṣ*, or reader, *ḡārī*?. Ibn Djubair attended a divine service in Baghdād at which a celebrated preacher spoke from the minbar, but only after the *ḡurra*, sitting on *karāsī* had recited portions of the Qur'ān (*Rihla*, p. 219, 222). The *wāṣṣ*, often identical with the *ḡaṣṣ* sat on a *kursī* made of teak (Ibn Djubair, p. 200; Yāḳūt, *Udabā*, ii. 319; Maḳrīzī, iv. 121);

sometimes he spoke from the minbar to which the wā'iz often had access (cf. Ibn Djubair: see Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 320). The kuṣṣās are called by al-Makktī *aṣḥāb al-karāsi* which is in keeping with this (*Kūt al-Kulūb*, i. 152, quoting *K. al-Madkhal*, i. 159). Several karāsi are often mentioned in one mosque (cf. for the Mosque of 'Amr, Maḳrīzī, iv. 19). Whether the karāsi mentioned for the earlier period always had a desk cannot be definitely ascertained. The karāsi with dated inscriptions given by van Berchem in his *Corpus* all belong to the ixth (xvth) century (N^o. 264, 302, 338, 359bis, 491). According to Lane, at the Friday service while the people are assembling, a *ḳārī* on the kursi recites the 18th Sūra up to the *adhān* (*Manners and Customs*, p. 86). The same custom is recorded by Ibn al-Ḥādīdj and condemned because it has a disturbing effect (*K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 44, middle).

The Qur'an very soon received its definite place in the mosque like the Bible in the church (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 91: they prayed at a pillar beside *al-muṣḥaf*). According to one tradition, 'Othmān had several copies of his Qur'an sent to the provinces (e.g. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qur.*, ii. 112 sq.); al-Ḥādīdjādī, a little later, is said to have done the same thing (Maḳrīzī, iv. 17). The mosques had many other copies beside the one kept on the kursi. Al-Ḥakīm put 814 *maṣāḥif* in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn, where the founder had already put boxes of Qur'ans (Maḳrīzī, iv. 36, 40; cf. *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 138) and in 403 he presented 1,289 copies to the Mosque of 'Amr, some of which were written in letters of gold (Maḳrīzī, iv. 12; *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 136). Even earlier than this there were so many that the *ḳāḍī al-Ḥārith* b. Miskīn (237—245) appointed a special *amin* to look after them (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 469); there are still a very large number in the Mosque of the Prophet (see Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p. 241 above). Of particular value was the *Muṣḥaf Asmā*, belonging to the Mosque of 'Amr, prepared by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, later bought by his son and afterwards by his daughter Asmā; her brother left it in 128 to the mosque and it was used for public readings (see its whole history in Maḳrīzī, iv. 17 sq.). Besides it, another copy was for some time also used for reading, which was said to have lain beside 'Othmān, when he was killed and to have been stained with his blood, but this one was removed by the Fātimids (*ibid.*, p. 19). In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, a Qur'an for which the same claims were made was kept in Baṣra (ii. 10). On New Year's Day when the Fātimid caliphs used to go in procession through the town, the Caliph at the entrance to the Mosque of 'Amr took up in his hands a muṣḥaf said to have been written by 'Alī and kissed it (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/i., p. 472 middle); it was perhaps the *Muṣḥaf Asmā*. In Syria, Egypt, and the Ḥidjāz, in the fourth century, there were Qur'ans which were traced back to 'Othmān (*B. G. A.*, iii. 143; cf. ii. 117). One of the Qur'ans made for 'Othmān was shown in the Mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus in the time of Ibn Djubair. It was produced after the daily ṣalāts and the people touched and kissed it (*Rihla*, p. 268). It was brought there in the year 507 from Tiberias (Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, Ḥaidarābād, 1337, ii. 25). Other Qur'ans of 'Othmān were shown in Baghdād and Cordova (see Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 327)

and Ibn Djubair saw another in the Mosque of the Prophet; it lay in a desk on a large stand, here called *miḥmal* (*Rihla*, p. 193; cf. thereon Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.). The Fāḍiliya Madrasa also had a *Muṣḥaf 'Uthmān*, bought by the *Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil* for 30,000 dinārs (Maḳrīzī, iv. 197) and there is one in Fās (*Archives Marocaines*, xviii., 1922, p. 361). Valuable Qur'ans like these had the character of relics and belonged to the *khizāna* of the mosque. They were often kept in a chest (*ṣandūq*) (Ibn Djubair, *op. cit.*; for *al-muṣḥaf*, Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 95, Muslim has *al-ṣandūq*; see al-'Askalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, i. 385), also called *tābūt* (Ibn Djubair, p. 104). In the Ka'ba, Ibn Djubair saw two chests with Qur'ans (p. 84, 3). Ibn al-Fakīh mentions 16 chests with Qur'ans in the Jerusalem mosque (*B. G. A.*, v. 100). In the mosques there were also *ṣanādīḥ* for other things, such as lamps (Maḳrīzī, iv. 53; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 82 = Ibn Djubair, p. 194), a *tābūt* for alms (*K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 44, *infra*), for the *bait al-māl* or the property of the mosque (see below). There were also chests for rose-wreaths (*Madkhal*, ii. 50) which were in charge of a special officer. In the Mosque of 'Amr there was a whole series of *tawābit* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 9).

The Qur'ans were not the only relics to be kept in the mosques. Bodies or parts of the bodies of saints (cf. B 4, C 1) and other *ūthar* were kept and revered in mosques: the rod of Moses, (in Kūfa, Yāqūt, iv. 325, previously in Mecca, see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 361), the Prophet's sandals (in Hebron, *B. G. A.*, v. 101, also in Damascus, where the Ashrafiya Madrasa had his left and the Dammāghiya his right sandal; *J. A.* ser. 9, iii. 271 sq., 402), his cloak (in Adhruh, *B. G. A.*, iii. 178), hair from his beard (in Jerusalem among other places, Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p. 165) and many other things (see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 358 sq.; Mez, *Renaissance d. Islams*, p. 325 sq.). These relics were often kept in valuable reliquaries. The head of Ḥusain was buried in a *tābūt* in his mosque in Cairo (Ibn Djubair, p. 45). There was a black stone like that in the Ka'ba in a mosque in Shahrastān (*B. G. A.*, iii. 433).

On the other hand, pictures and images were excluded from the mosques, in deliberate contrast to the crucifixes and images of saints in churches, as is evident from Ḥadīth (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, 54; *Ḍjanā'iz*, bāb 71; Muslim, *Masāḍid*, tr. 3; cf. on the question Becker, *Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung*, Z.A., xxvi. = *Islāmstudien*, i. 445 sq.). It is of interest to note that in the earliest period, Sa'd b. Abi Waḳḳās had no scruples about leaving the wall-paintings in the Iwān of Kisra at Madā'in standing, when it was turned into a mosque (Tabarī, i. 2443, 2451). The case was somewhat different, when, before the chief mosque in Dehli which had been a Hindu temple, two old copper idols formed a kind of threshold (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 151) although even this is remarkable (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 451 sq. = *Z. D. M. G.*, lxi., 1907, p. 186 sqq.). In some circles the opposition to pictures extended to other relics also. Ibn Taimiyya condemned the reverence paid to the Prophet's footprint, which was shown, as in Jerusalem, in a Damascus mosque also (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii. 246).

g. Carpets.

Carpets were used to improve the appearance of the mosques. The custom of performing the

ṣalāt upon a carpet is ascribed by Ḥadīth to the Prophet himself. Anas b. Mālik performed the ṣalāt with him in his grandmother's house and the Prophet used a cloth or mat (*ḥaṣīr*), which had become black through wear; as a rule, he used a mat woven of palm leaves, *khumra* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 19, 20, 21; *Haid*, bāb 30; Muslim, *Masājid*, tr. 47; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 145). In any case, it is clear from Balādhuri that the ṣalāt was at first performed in the mosque simply in the dust and then on pebbles (Balādhuri, p. 277, 348; cf. al-Zurkāni, *Sharḥ 'ala 'l-Muwaffā*, i. 283 sq.). Later, when the halls were extended, the ground, or the paving, was covered with matting.

The first to cover the ground in the Mosque of 'Amr with *ḥuṣur* instead of *ḥaṣbā* was Mu'āwiya's governor Maslama b. Mukhallad (Maḳrīzī, iv. 8; *Husn al-Muḥādāra*, ii. 136; Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 77). The different groups which frequented the mosque (cf. above) had their places on particular mats: when a *qāḍī* (middle of the third century) ejected the Ṣhāfi'is and Ḥanafis from the mosque, he had their *ḥuṣur* torn up (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 469). Ibn Tūlūn covered his mosque floor with 'Abbadānian and Sāmānian mats (Maḳrīzī, iv. 36, 38). For the mosque of al-Ḥākim in the year 403, al-Ḥākim bought 1,036 *dhīrā'* of carpeting for 5,000 dinārs (Maḳrīzī, iv. 56; cf. for al-Azhar, *ibid.*, p. 50). In the year 439 in the Mosque of 'Amr, there were ten layers of coloured carpets one above the other (Nāṣir-i Khosraw, ed. Schefer, p. 31 [text], p. 149 [transl.]). In the Mosque at Jerusalem 800,000 *dhīrā'* of carpets were used every year (*B. G. A.*, v. 100). In the Mosque in Mecca they were renewed every Ramaḍān (*B. G. A.*, v. 100). On ceremonial occasions the minbar was also draped with a carpet (*saqīdjāda*, q.v.); in Medina, the minbar and the sacred tomb was always covered like the Ka'ba in Mecca (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 83; cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/i. 91) and some, especially the teachers, had their skins (*farwa*), in some cases also a cushion to lean upon. The doors were also covered with some material (Maḳrīzī, iv. 56). On feast-days, the mosques were adorned with carpets in a particularly luxurious fashion (see Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/i. 483). The Puritans rejected all this as *bid'a* and preferred the bare ground (*Madkhal*, ii. 46, 49, 72, 74, 76) as the Wahhābis still do.

h. Lighting.

Where evening meetings and vigils were of regular occurrence, artificial lighting became necessary. Al-Azraqī gives the history of the lighting of the Meccan Mosque. The first to illuminate the Ka'ba was Uḫba b. al-Azraq, whose house was next to the Mosque, just on the Maḳām; here he placed a large lamp (*miṣbāḥ*). 'Omar, however, is said previously to have placed lamps upon the wall, which was the height of a man, with which he surrounded the mosque (Balādhuri, p. 46). The first to use oil and lamps (*kanādīl*) in the mosque itself was Mu'āwiya (cf. *B. G. A.*, v. 20). In the time of 'Abd al-Malik, Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī placed a lamp on a pillar of the Zemzem beside the Black Stone, and the lamp of the Azraq family disappeared. In the reign of al-Ma'mūn in 216 a new lamp-post was put up on the other side of the Ka'ba and a little later two new lanterns were put up around the Ka'ba. Hārūn al-Rashīd (268—271) placed ten large lamps around

the Ka'ba and hung two lanterns on each of the walls of the mosque (*thuraiyāt*; cf. Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 149, 150, 155, 271; v. Berchem, *Corp. Inscr. Arab.*, i., No. 506). Khālīd al-Ḳasrī had the *mas'ā* also illuminated during the pilgrimage and in 219 the torches called *nafāṭāt* were placed here and 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ordered the people, who lived in the streets of Mecca, to put up lamps on the 1st Muḥarram for the convenience of those visiting the Ka'ba (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 200—202, cf. 458 sq.). In 253 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Manṣūrī erected a wooden pole in the centre of the *ṣahn* and *kanādīl* on ropes were hung from it. This was however very soon removed (*ibid.*, ii. 196 sq.). About 100 years later, al-Maḳḍīsī saw around the Ṭawāf wooden poles on which hung lanterns (*kanādīl*) in which were placed candles for the kings of Egypt, Yemen, etc. (*B. G. A.*, iii. 74). Ibn Djubair describes the glass *kanādīl*, which hung from hooks in the Meccan Ḥaram (*Rihla*, p. 103) and lamps (*mashā'il*) which were lit in iron vessels (*ibid.*, p. 103, cf. p. 143). Similar silver and gold *kanādīl* were seen by him in Medina (*ibid.*, p. 192 at the top; see also Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 83 sq.). According to al-Faḳīh (before 300), 1,600 lamps were lit every evening in Jerusalem (*B. G. A.*, v. 100) and in the next century al-Maḳḍīsī says that the people of Palestine always burn *kanādīl* in their mosques, which were hung from chains as in Mecca (*B. G. A.*, iii. 182). The illumination was thus very greatly increased. In the year 60, when Ibn Ziyād was searching for his enemies in the mosque of Kūfa, the lamps were not sufficient, and large torches had to be used in searching the pillared halls (Ṭabari, ii. 259 sq.). This, like what has already been said about Mecca, shows out of what modest beginnings this part of the mosque's equipment developed.

In the time of the 'Abbāsids, lamps and lanterns were part of the regular furniture of the mosque. Al-Ma'mūn is said to have taken a special interest in this. He ordered lamps to be put in all the mosques, partly to assist those who wanted to read and partly to prevent crime (Baihaḳī, ed. Schwally, p. 473). For this purpose, the *kanādīl*, already mentioned, hung on chains were used, as at the building of the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn (Maḳrīzī, iv. 36, 38), in the Azhar Mosque and elsewhere; they were often of silver (*ibid.*, p. 56, 63). Golden *kanādīl* were also used and were of course condemned by Ibn al-Ḥādīdj (*Madkhal*, ii. 54) as ostentatious. At the same time, candles (*sham'* or *shama'*) were used in large numbers, the candlesticks (*atwār*, sing. *tawr*) often being of silver (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 45, 151, 194; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 95, 100). About 400, large candelabra were made in Egypt, which from their shapes were called *tannūr*, stoves. Al-Ḥākim presented the Mosque of 'Amr with a *tannūr* made out of 100,000 dirhams of silver; the mosque doors had to be widened to admit it. He also gave it two other lamps (Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥādāra*, ii. 136 infra; cf. Nāṣir-i Khosraw, ed. Schefer, p. 51 [text]; p. 148 [transl.]; Ibn Taghribirdi, ed. Popper, ii/ii., p. 105). In the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, in addition to lamps and candle-lanterns, he also put 4 silver *tannūr* and he made similar gifts to the Azhar and other mosques: the lamps were of gold or silver (Maḳrīzī, iv. 51, 56, 63; cf. Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/ii. 105). The *tannūr* and other lanterns could also be made of copper (see v. Berchem,

Corpus, i., N^o. 502, 503, 506, 507, 511), as, for example, the celebrated candelabrum of the Mosque of Mu'ayyad (Maḳrīzī, iv. 137) which was made for the mosque of Ḥasan but sold by it (*ibid.*, p. 118).

This great interest in the lighting of the mosque was not entirely based on practical considerations. Light had a significance in the divine service and Islām here, as elsewhere, was taking over something from the Church. When, in 227, the caliph was on his deathbed, he asked that the ṣalāt should be performed over him with candles and incense (*bi 'l-sham' wa 'l-bukhūr*) exactly after the fashion of the Christians (Ibn Abi Usaib'a, i. 165; cf. ii. 89). The dependence of Islām on Christianity is also seen in the story that 'Othmān, when he was going to the evening ṣalāt in Medina, had a candle carried in front of him, which his enemies condemned as *bid'a* (Yaḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 187). The Shi'a bias does not affect the significance of this story. A light was used particularly in the mihrāb, because it represented the holy cell, to which light belongs (cf. Sūra xxiv. 35). Then, in Mecca, lamps were placed before the imāms in the mihrābs and there were considerable endowments for such mihrāb lamps (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 103, 144). Light, as was everywhere the custom in ancient times, was necessary in mausoleums and the documents of endowment show that a large number of oil-lamps were used in this way (cf. e.g. the document for al-Malik al-Ashraf's mausoleum, v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i., N^o. 252). But in the mosque generally the use of lights had a devotional significance and lamps might be endowed for particular individuals (cf. *B. G. A.*, iii. 74, quoted above). The lamps so given by al-Ḥākim were therefore placed in the mosques with great ceremony, with blasts of trumpets and beating of drums (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii. 105).

On ceremonial occasions a great illumination was therefore absolutely necessary. In the month of Ramaḍān, says Ibn Djubair, the carpets were renewed and the candles and lamps increased in number, so that the whole mosque was a blaze of light (*Rihla*, p. 143); on certain evenings trees of light were made with vast numbers of lamps and candles and the minarets were illuminated (*ibid.*, p. 149—151, 154, 155). In the Mosque of the Prophet in the time of Samhūdī, forty wax candles burned around the sacred tomb, and three to four hundred lights in the whole mosque (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 100). On the *mawlid al-nabi*, says Kutb al-Dīn, a procession went from the Ka'ba in Mecca to the birthplace of the Prophet with candles, lanterns (*fawānis*) and lamps (*maṣā'il*; see *Chron. Mekka*, iii. 439). In the ḥaram of Jerusalem, according to Mudjir al-Dīn, 750 lamps were lit by night and over 20,000 at festivals (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 138). In the dome of the Ṣakhra in 452 a chandelier and 500 lamps fell down (*ibid.*, p. 69); at the taking of the town in 492 (1099) the Franks carried off 42 silver lamps, each of 3,600 dirhams, 23 lamps of gold and a *tannūr* of 40 *riḳl* of silver (*ibid.*, p. 71). It was similar and still is in Cairo and elsewhere in the Muslim world. For the *lailat al-wuḳūd* in the Mosque of 'Amr, 18,000 candles were made for the Mosque of 'Amr and every night eleven and a half *kinḅār* of good oil were used (Maḳrīzī, iv. 21 and more fully ii. 345 *sqq.*). The four "nights of illumination" fell in the months of Rajab and Sha'bān, especially *Nuṣf*

Sha'bān (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii. 131; cf. also Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 77). Quite recently (1908) electric light has been introduced into the Mosque of the Prophet (al-Batanūnī, *Rihla*, p. 245 *sq.*).

[On the question in general see Clermont-Ganneau, *La lampe et l'olivier dans le Coran*, in *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, viii., 1924, p. 183—228; on the copper candelabra see A. Wingham, *Report on the Analysis of various examples of Oriental Metal-Work etc. in the South Kensington Museum etc.*, London 1892; F. R. Martin, *Altäre Kupferarbeiten aus dem Orient*, Stockholm 1902; on glass lamps see G. Schmoranz, *Allorientalische Glass-Gefässe*, Vienna 1898; v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. 678 *sqq.*; Max Herz Bey, *La Mosquée du Sultan Hasan (Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe)*, 1899, p. 8 *sqq.*; see also the Bibliography in *Isl.*, xvii., 1928, p. 217 *sqq.*].

i. Incense.

According to some traditions, even the Prophet had incense burned in the mosque (Tirmidhī, i. 116; see Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 367, note 8) and in the time of 'Omar, his client 'Abd Allāh is said to have perfumed the mosque by burning incense while he sat on the minbar. The same client is said to have carried the censer (*miḍjmar*: cf. Lammens, *loc. cit.*) brought by 'Omar from Syria before 'Omar when he went to the ṣalāt in the month of Ramaḍān (A. Fischer, *Biographie von Gewährsmännern etc.*, p. 55, note). According to this tradition, the use of incense was adopted into Islām very early as a palpable imitation of the custom of the Church. In keeping with this is the tradition that in al-Fuṣṭāṭ as early as the governorship of 'Amr, the mu'adhdhīn used to burn incense in the mosque ('Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 132; cf. *Annali dell' Islam*, iv. 565). The Ṣakhra Mosque had incense burned in it during the consecration ceremony (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 53).

Under the Omayyads, incense was one of the regular requirements of the mosque (*ṣīb al-masdjid*: Ṭabarī, ii. 1234, 10). Mu'āwīya is named as the first to perfume the Ka'ba with perfume (*khalūḳ*) and censer (*ṭaiyaba*: *B. G. A.*, v. 20, 12). It became the custom to anoint the sacred tombs with musk and *ṣīb* (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 150, 10; Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 191, 9). Baibars washed the Ka'ba with rose-water (Maḳrīzī, iv. 96, 14). Incense, as well as candles, was used at burials (cf. de Goeje, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1905, p. 403 *sq.*; Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 436, note 9). Al-Mu'taṣim's desire to be buried with candles and incense (*bukhūr*) exactly like the Christians (Ibn Usaib'a, i. 165, 12 *sq.*, cf. above) shows that they were aware that the custom bore much the same relation to the Christian usage, as the mosque building did to the church. The consumption of incense in the mosques gradually became very large, especially at festivals (see for the Fāṭimids: Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/i., 484, 12; ii/ii., ed. Popper, p. 106, 3; Maḳrīzī, iv. 51; on vessels for holding incense see the Bibliography in *Isl.*, xvii., 1928, p. 217 *sq.*).

j. Water-Supply.

Nothing is said of a water-supply in connection with the oldest mosques. The Mosque of Mecca occupied a special position on account of the Zemzem well. In the early days of Islām, two basins (*hawḍ*) are said to have been supplied by it, one behind the well, i. e. just at the side of the mosque for *wuḍū'* and one between the well

and the *rukn* for drinking purposes; the latter was moved nearer the well by Ibn al-Zubair. In the time of Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, a grandson of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās for the first time built a *ḡubba* in connection with the Zemzem (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 299). At the same time, the governor Khālīd al-Ḳasrī laid down lead-piping to bring water from the well of al-Thabir to the mosque, to a marble basin (*fiskiya*) with a running fountain (*fawwāra*) between the Zemzem and the *rukn*, probably on the site of the earlier *ḥawḍ*. It was intended to supply drinking-water in place of the saltish water of Zemzem, but a branch was led on to a *birka* at the Bāb al-Ṣafā, which was used for ritual ablutions. The people, however, would not give up the Zemzem water and immediately after the coming to power of the 'Abbāsids, the provision for drinking-water was cut off, only the pipe leading to the *birka* being retained (*ibid.*, i. 339 sq.). In Ibn Djabair's time, there was, in addition to the Zemzem, a supply of water in vessels and a bench for performing the *wuḍū'* (*Rihla*, p. 89). Khālīd's plan, arrangements for ablutions at the entrance and a running fountain in the ṣaḥn, seems to have been a typically Omayyad one and to have been introduced from the north. Such fountains were usual in the north, not only in private houses, but also for example in the *aitrion* (*atrium*) surrounded by pillars, which, from Eusebius's description, formed part of the church of Tyre (see Hauch in Herzog-Hauch, *Realencycl. f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche*³, x. 782).

The usual name for the basin, *fiskiya* (in Egypt now *faskiya*) is *piscina*, which in the *Mishna* and in Syriac takes the form *piskin* (see Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Jald. Wörterbuch*, iv. 81; Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, p. 124; *fiskina*, found in al-Azrakī, *Chron. Mekka*, i. 340 is probably due to a slip). At the same time, however, *birka* or *siḡāya* or *ṣihridj* which probably comes from the Persian (cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 287) or the old Arabic *ḥawḍ* are also used. The arrangements for ablutions were called *maṭāhir* or *mayādī'u*, sing. *niḡḍa'a* (now usually *mīda*), "place for *wuḍū'*". The accommodation in Mecca just mentioned was later extended. Ibn Djabair mentions a building at al-Zāhir, 1 *mil* north of Mecca which contained *maṭāhir* and *siḡāya* for those performing the minor *umra* (*Rihla*, p. 111).

In Medina, Ibn Djabair mentions rooms for *wuḍū'* at the western entrance to the mosque (*Rihla*, p. 197, 13 sq.; cf. the plan in al-Batanūnī, *Rihla*, facing p. 244). At the same time Ibn Zābāla mentions seventeen receptacles for water in the ṣaḥn in the year 199, probably for drinking-water; later (viiith century) a large basin surrounded by a railing is mentioned in the centre of the court. It was intended for drinking purposes, but became used for bathing and was therefore removed. Baths and latrines were built anew by al-Nāṣir's mother (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 99 sqq.).

In Damascus, where every house, as is still the case, was amply supplied with water, Yāḳūt (d. 626 = 1229) found no mosque, madrasa or *khānaḡāh* which did not have water flowing into a *birka* in the ṣaḥn (Yāḳūt, ii. 590). Ibn Djabair describes the arrangements in the Mosque of the Omayyads. In the ṣaḥn, as is still the case, there were three *ḡubbas*. The centre one rested on four marble columns, and below it was a basin with a spring of drinking-water surrounded by an iron grille. This was called *ḡafaṣ al-mā'* "water-cage".

North of the ṣaḥn was a Masjid al-Kallāsa in the ṣaḥn of which there was again a *ṣihridj* of marble with a spring (Ibn Djabair, *Rihla*, p. 267). There was also running water in an adjoining *maṣḡhad* (p. 269), in the *khānaḡāh* and madrasa (p. 271), and in a hall beside the living apartments there was again a *ḡubba* with a basin (*ḥawḍ*) and spring water (p. 269). There were also *siḡāyāt* against the four outer walls of the mosque, whole houses fitted up with lavatories and closets (p. 273); a century earlier, we are told that at each entrance to the mosque there was a *niḡḍa'a* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 159). The whole arrangements correspond exactly to those made by Khālīd al-Ḳasrī in Mecca in the Omayyad period and must therefore date from the Omayyads.

It was the same in other Syrian and Mesopotamian towns. In Sāmarrā', al-Mutawakkil built in his new *djāmi'* a *fawwāra* with constant running water (*B. G. A.*, vii. 265). In Naṣībīn, the river was led through the ṣaḥn of the mosque into a *ṣihridj*; there was also a *ṣihridj* at the eastern entrance with two *siḡāyāt* in front of the mosque (Ibn Djabair, *Rihla*, p. 239). In Mawṣil in the mosque, which dated from the Omayyad period, there was a spring with a marble cupola over it (*ibid.*, p. 235). In Ḥarrān, there were in the ṣaḥn three marble *ḡubbas* with *bi'r* and drinking-water (*ibid.*, p. 246), in Ḥaleb two (*ibid.*, p. 253). In Kūfa there were three *ḥawḍ* with Euphrates water in front of the *djāmi'* (*ibid.*, p. 212) but in the mosque in a *zāwiya* a domed building with running water (Yāḳūt, iv. 325, 326, here called *tannūr*; cf. *B. G. A.*, v. 173; Ibn Djabair, p. 89, 267). It was the same in Amid (Nāṣir-i Ḳhosraw, ed. Schefer, p. 28) and in Zarandj in Sidjistan (*B. G. A.*, ii. 298 sq.). The principal mosques of the 'Irāk had *mayādī'u* at the entrances, for which, according to a remarkable note by Maḡdisi, rents were paid (*B. G. A.*, iii. 129, read *karāsi*?; cf. *maṣṭaba*: Ibn Djabair, p. 89). In Palestine also, in al-Maḡdisi's time, there were conveniences for ablutions at the entrances to the *djāwāmi'* (*maṭāhir*: *B. G. A.*, iii. 182; *Mayādī'u*: *ibid.*, i. 58) and in Ṣan'a' in the fourth century, beside each mosque, there was water for drinking and for *wuḍū'* (*B. G. A.*, vii. 111). In Persia also, it was the custom to have a *ḥawḍ* in front of the mosque (*B. G. A.*, iii. 318) and there was drinking-water in the mosque itself on a bench (*kursi*) in iron jars into which ice was put on Fridays (*ibid.*, p. 327). Not only at the Zemzem well but also in the mosques of the 'Irāk, men were appointed whose duty it was to distribute drinking-water (Ṭabarī, iii. 2165).—The regular custom, therefore, was to have at the entrance to, or in front of the mosque, conveniences for *wuḍū'*, in the court of the mosque itself a fountain as the traditional ornament and for drinking water. It was the exception for the *wuḍū'* to take place in the mosque itself.

In Egypt at first the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was arranged similarly to the Syrian mosques. In the centre of the ṣaḥn there was a gilt dome, supported by sixteen marble columns and surrounded by a railing. This upper storey was supported by nineteen marble columns and below was a marble basin (*ḡaṣ'a*) with a running fountain (*fawwāra*); the *adḡān* was called from the dome (Maḡrizī, iv. 37; the description is not quite clear). People complained that there were no arrangements for washing (*niḡḍa'a*) there. Ibn Ṭūlūn replied that

he had not made them because he had concluded the mosque would be polluted thereby. He therefore made a *miḍḍa'a* with an apothecary's shop behind the mosque (*ibid.*, p. 38, 39; *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii. 139; Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/i. 10). This suggests that previously in Egypt the washing arrangements had been directly connected with the mosque. After the fire of the year 376, the *fawwāra* was renovated by al-ʿAziz (Maḳrīzī, iv. 40), in 696 again by al-Lāḍīn, whose inscription still exists (*C. I. A.*, i., N^o. 16). A new *miḍḍa'a* was built in 792 beside the old one on the north, outside the mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv. 42).

The Mosque of 'Amr first got a *fawwāra* in the time of al-ʿAziz. In 378—379 his vizier Ya'qūb b. Killis installed one in the cupola, already in existence for the *bait al-māl*. Marble jars were put there for the water (probably drinking-water) (Maḳrīzī, iv. 9, 11; cf. *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii. 136; Yāqūt, iii. 899). A new water basin was installed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn beside his *manzara* in the mosque. The water was led to the *fawwārat al-fisḳiya* from the Nile. This was prohibited in the reign of Baibars al-Bunduqdārī (658—676) by the chief ḳāḍī, because the building was being affected by it (Maḳrīzī, iv. 14; *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii. 137). The emir, who restored it, brought the water for the *fisḳiya* from a well in the street (Maḳrīzī, iv. 15).

Like Ibn Ṭulūn, the Fāṭimids do not seem to have considered the *miḍḍa'a* indispensable. For the Azhar Mosque had originally no *miḍḍa'a*: as late as al-Ḥākim's waḳf document for the provision of *miḍḍa'a*, money is given only with the provision that something of the kind should be made (Maḳrīzī, iv. 51, 54). At a later date we hear of two *miḍḍa'a*s, one at the adjoining Āḳbughāwīya (*ibid.*, p. 54). On the other hand, there was already a *fisḳiya* in the centre of the court, but whether it had existed from the first is not known. It had disappeared, when traces of it were found in 827 in laying-out a new *ṣihridī* (*ibid.*, p. 54). The *fisḳiya* of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim was not erected by the founder. Like that of the Mosque of 'Amr, it was removed in 660 by the ḳāḍī Ṭāḍj al-Dīn but after the earthquake of 702, it was again rebuilt and provided with drinking-water from the Nile (*ibid.*, p. 56, 57) and again renovated after 780 (*ibid.*, p. 61). A small *miḍḍa'a*, later replaced by another, was in the vicinity of the entrance (*ibid.*, p. 61). Other Fāṭimid mosques had basins in the ṣaḥn, which were supplied from the Nile and from the *Ḳhalīḍj* (*ibid.*, p. 76, 81, 120).

The traditional plan was retained in the period following also. For example, we know that the emir Ṭughān in 815 placed a *birka* in the centre of the Djāmi' Āḳsunḱur which was covered by a roof supported by marble pillars and supplied by the same pipe as the already existing *miḍḍa'a*s (Maḳrīzī, iv. 107, cf. 124, 138, 139 etc.). At the ceremonial dedication of mosques, it was the custom for the patron to fill the *birka* in the ṣaḥn with sugar, lemonade or other sweet things (e. g. al-Mu'ayyadī, in 822: Maḳrīzī, iv. 139; Madrasat Djama' al-Dīn in 811: *ibid.*, p. 253; another in 757: *ibid.*, p. 256).

The importance of the *birka* of the mosque, as a drinking-place, diminished as pious founders erected drinking fountains everywhere (cf. for Mecca: *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 116—118; also *B. G. A.*, iv. 211, s. v. *ḥubb*; p. 258, s. v. *sabīl*) and especially

when it became the custom to build a *sabīl* with a boy's school in part of the mosque (see below, E 4 end). A *ḥawḍ* for watering animals was also sometimes built in the vicinity of the mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv. 76). Sometimes also the *birka* of the ṣaḥn was used for washing. In the year 799 the emir Yelbughā made arrangements for this in the Aḳmar mosque so that one could get water for *wuḍū'* from taps from a *birka* put up in the ṣaḥn (Maḳrīzī, iv. 76). Maḳrīzī condemns this addition, but only because there was already a *miḍḍa'a* at the entrance and the ṣaḥn was too small for the new one (*ibid.*) and not on grounds of principle; and it was only because the wall was damaged that the emir's gift was removed in 815 (*ibid.*, p. 77). The custom of using the water supply of the ṣaḥn for *wuḍū'* survived in many places in Egypt. The arrangements were therefore usually called *miḍḍa'a* or rather *mīdā* (which is not found in the inscriptions). If they had taps, they were called *ḥanaḥfiya*; according to Lane's suggestion because the Ḥanafīs only permitted ablutions with running water or from a cistern 10 ells broad and deep (*Lexicon*, s. v.; cf. *Manners and Customs*, Everyman's Library, p. 69; cf. on the question: Max Herz, *Observations critiques sur les bassins dans les Ṣaḥns des Mosquées*, *B. I. E.*, iii./7, 1896, p. 47—51; do., *La Mosquée du Sultan Ḥasan*, p. 2; Herz wrongly dates the modern usage from the Turkish conquest in 1517). In quite recent times the *miḍḍa'a*s have often been moved outside to special buildings. Ibn al-Ḥādīdj condemns bringing water into the mosque, because the only object is for ablutions and ablutions in the mosque are forbidden by "our learned men" (*Madḳhal*, ii. 47 sq.; 49); like shaving, ablutions should be performed outside the mosque in keeping with the Prophet's saying: *idḡalū ma-ḡahirakun 'alā abwābi masāḡidikum* (*ibid.*, ii. 58). It was in keeping with this principle that in earlier times the *miḍḍa'a* was usually put at the entrance and the barbers took up their places before the entrance (cf. the name *Bāb al-Muzaīyinīn* "The Barbers' Gate" for the main entrance to the Azhar mosque). *Miḍḍa'a*s were also to be found in hospitals; thus the "lower hospital" was given two in 346, one of which was for washing corpses (Ibn Duḳmāḱ, p. 99 infra).

E. The Mosque as a State Institution.

1. The Mosque as a political centre. Its relation to the Ruler.

It was inherent in the character of Islām that religion and politics could not be separated. The same individual was ruler and chief administrator in the two fields, and the same building, the mosque, was the centre of gravity for both politics and religion. This relationship found expression in the fact that the mosque was placed in the centre of the camp, while the ruler's abode was built immediately adjacent to it, as in Medīna (and in al-Fuṣṭāṭ, Damascus, Baṣra, Kūfa). We can trace how this *dār al-imāra* or *ḡaṣr* (so for Kūfa: Ṭabarī, ii. 230 sq.; *ḡaṣr al-imāra*: *ibid.*, p. 234) with the growth of the mosque gradually became incorporated in it in al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Damascus and was replaced by a new building. The tradition remained so strong that in Cairo, when the new chief mosque Djāmi' al-ʿAskar was being planned in 169, a *Dār Umarā' Miṣr* was built beside it with direct access to the mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv. 33

sq.) and when Ibn Tūlūn built his mosque, a building called the *Dār al-Imāra* was erected on its south side, where the ruler, who now lived in another new palace, had rooms for changing his dress, etc., from which he could go straight into the maḡṣūra (*ibid.*, p. 42).

The 'Abbāsids at the foundation of Baghdād introduced a characteristic innovation, when they made the palace the centre of the city; the case was similar with Fāṭimid Cairo; but Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik in Ramla had already built the palace in front of the mosque (Balādhuri, p. 143). Later rulers who no longer lived just beside the mosque, had special balconies or something similar built for themselves in or beside the mosque. Ṣalāh al-Dīn built for himself a *manḡara* under the great minaret of the mosque of 'Amr (Makrizi, iv. 13; *Husn al-Muḡāḡara*, ii. 137) and just to the south of the Azhar mosque the Fāṭimids had a *manḡara* from which they could overlook the mosque (Makrizi, ii. 345).

The caliph was the appointed leader of the ṣalāt and the khaṭīb of the Muslim community. The significance of the mosque for the state is therefore embodied in the minbar. The installation of the caliph consisted in his seating himself upon this, the seat of the Prophet in his sovereign capacity. When homage was first paid to Abū Bakr by those who had decided the choice of the Prophet's successor, he sat on the minbar. 'Omar delivered an address, the people paid homage to him and he delivered a khaṭba, by which he assumed the leadership (Ibn Hishām, p. 1017; Ṭabarī, i. 1828 sq.; *K. al-Khamīs*, ii. 75; Ya'qūbī, ii. 142); it was the same with 'Omar and 'Othmān (*ibid.*, p. 157, 187).

The khaṭba, after the glorification of God and the Prophet, contained a reference to the caliph's predecessor and a kind of formal introduction of himself by the new caliph. It was the same in the period of the Omayyads and 'Abbāsids (see for al-Walid: Ṭabarī, ii. 1177 sq.; al-Amin: *ibid.*, iii. 764; al-Mahdī: *ibid.*, iii. 389, 451, 457; cf. on this question also Bukhārī, *Aḡḡam*, bāb 43). The minbar and the khaṭba associated with it was still more important than the imāmate at the ṣalāt, it was *minbar al-mulk* (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 656, v. 4). According to a ḡadīth, the Prophet carried the little Ḥasan up to the minbar and said, "This my son is a chieftain" etc. (Bukhārī, *Manāḡib*, bāb 25). This reflects the later custom by which the ruler saw that homage was paid to his successor-designate; this also was done from the minbar (cf. *khaṭiba yawm al-djuma'ati li 'l-Mu'taḡidd bi-wilāyat al-aḡd*, Ṭabarī, iii. 2131). The Fāṭimid caliph showed honour to a distinguished officer by allowing him to sit beside him on the minbar (*Husn al-Muḡāḡara*, ii. 91); in the same way Mu'āwīya allowed Ibn 'Abbās to sit beside him *'alā sarīhi* (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, i. 119) but whether the reference is to the minbar is perhaps doubtful. The *ba'a* could also be received by another on behalf of the caliph but it must be accepted on the minbar. Thus the governor of Mecca in 196 accepted on the minbar homage to 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'mūn and the deposition of Muḡammad b. Hārūn (Ṭabarī, iii. 861 sq.; cf. for al-Mahdī: *ibid.*, p. 389). There are other cases in which the solemn deposition of a ruler took place on or beside the minbar (*Aḡḡanī*, 2nd ed. Cairo, i. 12; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 15). Even at a much later

date, when spontaneous acclamation by the populace was no longer of any importance, the ceremonial installation on the minbar was still of importance (Makrizi, iv. 94). It had become only a formality but still an important one. Homage was paid to the 'Abbāsīd caliphs in Egypt in the great *iḡwān* of the palace or in a tent in which a minbar had been put up, and similarly to the sultāns whose investiture was read out from the minbar (cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, 1/i. 117, 149 sqq., 183 sqq.). If one dreamt that he was sitting on the minbar, it meant that he would become sultān (*ibid.*, 11/ii. 103). — The 'Abbāsīd caliph had however long had his own throne after the old Persian fashion in his palace (*al-Taḡdī fi Aḡḡlāḡ al-Mulūk*, ed. Aḡmad Zakī, Cairo 1914, p. 7 sqq.) and so had the Fāṭimids (Ibn Taghribirdī, 11/i. 457) and the Mamlūks (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 1/i. 87; cf. 147). When later we find mention of the *kursi 'l-khila'a* (v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i., N^o. 33), *sarīr al-mulk* (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 113), *sarīr al-saltāna* (Makrizi, ii. 157; cf. *al-sarīr*, royal throne: *B. G. A.*, ii. 282, 285; *kursī* similarly cf.: Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Vita Timurī*, ed. Manger, ii. 486) or *martabat al-mulk* (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 1/ii. 61), the reference is no longer to the minbar. This does not mean that the ruler could no longer make public appearances in the mosques: thus in 648 Mu'izz Aibak regularly gave audiences in *al-madāris al-ṣāliḡiya* (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, 1/i. 17) and memorial services for Baibars were held a year after his death in several mosques, madāris and khaḡwānīḡ in Cairo (677 = 1278; *ibid.*, 1/ii. 164 sq.).

The caliph spoke chiefly from the minbar of the capital, but when he made the pilgrimage he also spoke from the *manābir* in Mecca and Medina (cf. e. g. Ṭabarī, ii. 1234; Ya'qūbī, ii. 341, 501; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 160). Otherwise in the provinces, the governor stood in the same relation to the mosques as the caliph in the capital. He was appointed "over ṣalāt and sword" or he administered "justice among the people" and the ṣalāt (Ṭabarī, iii. 860), he had "province and minbar" under him (*ibid.*, ii. 611), *al-wilāyat wa 'l-khaṭba* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 337). Speaking from the minbar was a right which the caliph had delegated to him and it was done in the name of the caliph. 'Amr b. al-'Aṣī therefore refused to allow people in the country to hold *djuma'* except under the direction of the commander (Makrizi, iv. 7). This point of view was never quite abandoned. The khaṭba was delivered "in the name of" the caliph (*ibid.*, p. 94) or "for" him (*li*: *ibid.*, p. 66, 74, 198; Ibn Taghribirdī, 11/i. 85 *infra*; *B. G. A.*, iii. 485 *supra*) and in the same way an emīr delivered a khaṭba "for" a sultān (Makrizi, iv. 213, 214). The sultān did not have the "secular" and the caliph the "spiritual" power, but the sultān exercised as a Muslim ruler the actual power which the caliph possessed as the legitimate sovereign and had formally entrusted to him. During the struggles between the different pretenders, there was thus a confession of one's politics if one performed the ṣalāt with the one or the other governor (Ṭabarī, ii. 228, 234, 258; *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 168). The pretenders disputed as to whether the one or the other could put up his standard beside the minbar (Ṭabarī, iii. 2009).

Like the caliph, the governor also made his formal entry into office by ascending the minbar

and delivering a *khuṭba*; this was the symbol of his authority (e.g. Ṭabarī, ii. 91, 238, 242; *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 173; cf. *Ḥamāsa*, p. 660, v. 2—3; *Djāhiz*, *Bayān*, iii. 135). After glorifying God and the Prophet, he announced his appointment or read the letter from the caliph and the remainder of his address, if there was a war going on, was exclusively political and often consisted of crude threats. The *khuṭba* was not inseparably connected with the Friday service. The commander-in-chief could at any time issue a summons to the *ṣalāt* and deliver his *khuṭba* with admonitions and orders (see Ṭabarī, ii. as above and p. 260, 297 sq., 298, 300, 863, 1179) and it was the same when he left a province (*ibid.*, p. 241); a governor, who could not preserve his authority with the *khuṭba*, was dismissed (*ibid.*, p. 592).

Since war was inseparably associated with early Islām and the mosque was the public meeting-place of ruler and people, it often became the scene of warlike incidents. While the governor in his *khuṭba* was issuing orders and admonitions relating to the fighting, cheers and counter-cheers could be uttered (*ibid.*, p. 238) and councils of war were held in the mosque (Ṭabarī, i. 3415; ii. 284; Balādhurī, p. 267). Soon after his election 'Abd al-Malik asked from the minbar who would take the field against Ibn al-Zubair and al-Ḥadjdjadj shouted that he was ready to go (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 20). After the battle of the Camel, 'Alī sent the booty to the mosque of Baṣra and 'Ā'isha looked for another mosque (Ṭabarī, i. 3178, 3223). Rowdy scenes occasionally took place in mosques (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 18); Ziyād was stoned on the minbar (Ṭabarī, ii. 88); one could ride right into the mosque and shout to the governor sitting on the minbar (*ibid.*, p. 682); fighting often took place in and beside the mosque (*ibid.*, p. 960, 1701 sqq.; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 13 sq.). Sometimes for this reason, the governor was surrounded by his bodyguard during the *ṣalāt* or on the minbar or even clothed in full armour (al-Walid: Ṭabarī, ii. 1234; Ya'qūbī, ii. 341; al-Ḥadjdjadj: Ṭabarī, ii. 254). *Ṣalāt* and sword were thus closely associated in reality.

It thus came to be the custom for the enemies of the ruler and his party to be cursed in the mosques. This custom continued the old Arab custom of regular campaigns of objurcation between two tribes but can also be paralleled by the Byzantine ecclesiastical anathematisation of heretics (cf. Becker, *Islāmstudien*, i. 485; *Gesch. d. islām. Kultus*).

The first to introduce the official cursing of the 'Alids from the minbar of the Ka'ba is said to have been Khālīd al-Kasrī (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 36). The reciprocal cursing of Omayyads and 'Alids became general (cf. Ṭabarī, ii. 12, 4 sq.; *Aghānī*, 2nd edition Cairo, x. 102; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 248; see also Lammens, *Mo'āwīya*, p. 180 sq.). Like the blessing upon the ruler, it was uttered by the *ḥuṣṣāṣ* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 16); it was even recorded in inscriptions in the mosque (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii., ed. Popper, p. 63, 64; cf. also Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 61). As late as 284, al-Mu'taḍid wanted to restore the anathematisation of Mu'āwīya from the minbar but abandoned the idea (Ṭabarī, iii. 2164). Anathemas were also pronounced on other occasions, for example, Sulaimān had al-Ḥadjdjadj (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 37) and al-Mu'tamid Ibn Ṭūlūn solemnly cursed from the manābir (Ṭabarī, iii. 2048, 5 sqq.)

and other rulers had Mu'tazilī heretics cursed from the pulpits (see Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 198; cf. against Ibn Taimīya: Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii. 256). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes the tumultuous scene with thousands of armed men uttering threats in a mosque in Baghdād when a Shī'ī *khaṭīb* was on the minbar (ii. 58).

It was very natural to mention with a blessing upon him the ruler in whose name the Friday *khuṭba* was delivered. Ibn 'Abbās, when governor of Baṣra, is said to have been the first to pronounce such a *du'ā'* over 'Alī (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, *faṣl* 37, end); it is not improbable that the custom arose out of the reciprocal objurcations of 'Alids and Omayyads; the *ḥuṣṣāṣ*, who had to curse the 'Alids in the mosques, used to pray for the Omayyads (Maḳrīzī, iv. 17). Under the 'Abbāsids, the custom became the usual form of expressing loyalty to the ruler (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/i. 151). After the caliph, the name of the local ruler or governor was mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 156, 161); even in Baghdād in 369 by order of the caliph al-Ṭā'ī, the actual ruler 'Aḍud al-Dawla was mentioned in the *du'ā'* (Ibn Miskawaih, vi. 499; Cairo 1915, p. 396) and the Būyids, according to al-Maḳdisī, were generally mentioned in the *khuṭba* even in the remotest parts of the kingdom (this is evident from the above-mentioned expression *khuṭba laḥū*, for which we also find *'alaihi*: see *B. G. A.*, ii. 20; iii. 337, 338, 400, 472, 485; cf. Glossary, s. v.). There is also evidence that prayers used to be uttered for the heir-apparent (Maḳrīzī, iv. 37; *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣā'at*, ed. Amedroz, p. 420). Under the Mamlūks also, the sultān's heir was mentioned (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/i. 101; ii/ii. 3). Under the Fāṭimids, it was even the custom to call *salām* upon the ruler from the minaret after the *adhān al-faḍīr* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 45); this also took place under the Mamlūks (e.g. in 696 = 1297, when Lādīn was elected: Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii. 45). The prayer for the sovereign in the *khuṭba* did not find unanimous approval among the learned (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 214 sq.).

In general, the mosque, and particularly the minbar, was the place where official proclamations were made, of course as early as the time of the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 70, 71), 'Othmān's bloodstained shirt was hung upon the minbar (Ṭabarī, i. 3255); messages from the caliph were read from it (*ibid.*, iii. 2084). Al-Walid announced from the minbar the deaths of two distinguished governors (Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 242); the results of battles were announced in *khuṭbas* (Yāqūt, i. 647; al-'Iqd al-farīd, ii., Cairo 1321, p. 149 sq.). In the Fāṭimid and 'Abbāsīd periods also proclamations, orders, edicts about taxation etc. by the ruler were announced in the principal mosque (Ṭabarī, ii. 40; iii. 2165; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii. 68; Maḳrīzī, *Itī'āz*, ed. Bunz, p. 87 *supra*; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/ii. 89; ii/ii. 44, 151); documents appointing the more important officers were also read upon the minbar (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 589, 599, 603, 604, etc. *pass.*; Maḳrīzī, ii. 246; iv. 43, 88); frequently the people trooped into the mosque to hear an official announcement (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 14; cf. Dozy, *Gesch. d. Mauren in Spanien*, ii. 170).

After the position of the caliph had changed, tradition was so far retained that he still delivered the *khuṭba* in the principal mosque on special occasions,

particularly at festivals. Thus the Fātimid al-ʿAzīz preached in the mosque of al-Ḥākim on its completion (Maḳrīzī, iv. 55) and in the month of Ramaḍān he preached in the three chief mosques of Cairo, one after the other (*ibid.*, p. 53; cf. 61 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/i. 482 sqq.; exceptionally also in al-Rāshida: Maḳrīzī, iv. 63). The ʿAbbāsīd caliph also used to preach at festivals (e.g. al-Rāḍī: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii. 349 sq.); it was the exception when a zealot like al-Muhtadī (255) followed the old custom and preached every Friday (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 2). Even the caliph *fainéant* in Egypt preached occasionally (Maḳrīzī, iv. 94; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/i. 138 sq.). Although the mosque lost its old political importance in its later history, it has never quite lost its character as the place of assembly on occasions of public importance. This is evident from al-Djabartī's history and even quite recently large meetings have been held in the mosques of Egypt on questions of nationalistic politics.

2. The Mosque and public administration.

The actual work of government was very early transferred from the mosque into a special *diwān* or *maḳlīs* (see Ṭabarī, *Gl.*, s. v.) and negotiations were carried on and business frequently done in the *ḡaṣr al-imāra* (cf. Ṭabarī, ii. 230 sq.). But when financial business had to be transacted at public meetings, the mosque was used; of this there is particular evidence from Egypt. Here the director of finance used to sit in the Mosque of ʿAmr and auction the farming out of the domains, with a crier and several financial officers to assist him. Later the Diwān was transferred to the Dījāmīc Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn but even after 300 A.H. we find Abū Bakr al-Mādhārāʾī sitting on such occasions in the Mosque of ʿAmr. Under the Fātimids the vizier Yaʿqūb b. Killis used first the *dār al-imāra* of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (see above), later his own palace and afterwards the caliph's *ḡaṣr* was used (Maḳrīzī, i. 131 sq.). In the same way, in the reign of Muʿāwīya, the Coptic churches were used and the taxation commission took up their offices in them (*Papyrus Ershergog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung*, No. 577); and Ibn Rosta (c. 290 = 903) says that the officials in charge of the measurement of the Nile, when they noticed the rising of the river, went at once to the chief mosque and announced it at one *ḡalḡa* after another, at the same time scattering flowers on those seated there (*B. G. A.*, vii. 116).

The connection with administration was also seen in the fact that the treasure-chest, the *bait al-māl* (identical with the *rābūt*; Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 70, 117) was kept in the mosque. In al-Fuṣṭāṭ Usāma b. Zaid, the director of finance, in 97 and 99 built in the Mosque of ʿAmr a *ḡubba* on pillars in front of the minbar for the *bait al-māl* of Egypt. A drawbridge was placed between it and the roof. In the time of Ibn Rosta (c. 300) it was still possible to move about freely below the *ḡubba* but in 378—379 al-ʿAzīz put up a running fountain below it (*B. G. A.*, vii. 116; Maḳrīzī, iv. 9, 11, 13; *Husn al-Muḡāḡara*, ii. 136; Yāḳūt, iii. 899). Al-Kindī records an attempt to steal the chest in 145 (*Wulāt*, p. 112 sq.). In the disturbed years about 300, the walī al-Nūḡhari closed the mosque between the times of ṣalāt for the safety of the chest, which was also done in Ibn Rosta's time

(Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 266; *B. G. A.*, vii. 116). New approaches to the Bait al-Māl were made in 422 from the *ḡhizāna* of the mosque and from the Diwān (Maḳrīzī, iv. 13).

In Kūfa, the *buyūt al-amwāl*, at least during the early period, were in the Dār al-Imāra (Ṭabarī, i. 2489, 2491 sq.); in the year 38 during the fighting, it was saved from Baṣra and taken with the minbar to the Mosque of al-Ḥuddān (*ibid.*, p. 3414 sq.). In Palestine, in the chief mosque of each town, there was a similar arrangement to that in the Mosque of ʿAmr (*B. G. A.*, iii. 182). In Damascus the *bait al-māl* was in the most western of the three *ḡubba*'s in the court of the Mosque of the Omayyads; it was of lead and rested on 8 columns (*B. G. A.*, iii. 157; Ibn ʿDjubair, p. 264, 267; Ibn Baṭṭūta, i. 200 sq.); it is still called *ḡubbat al-ḡhazne* ("treasure-cupola", earlier *ḡubbat ʿAʾisha*) (cf. Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*). In the time of the two travellers mentioned, the *ḡubba* only contained property of the mosque. Ibn ʿDjubair saw a similar *ḡubba* in the chief mosque of Ḥarrān and says that it came from the Byzantines (p. 246). In ʿAḡḡar bāidjān also by the time of Iṣṭaḡḡrī, the Syrian custom had been everywhere introduced (*B. G. A.*, i. 184); in Irānshahr in the centre of the court, there was a building with marble columns and doors (*B. G. A.*, iii. 316) which perhaps points to a similar statement of affairs and in Armenia it is recorded that the *bait al-māl* was kept in the Dījāmīc in the time of the Omayyads as in Miṣr and elsewhere (*B. G. A.*, ii. 241). The *ḡubba* was usually of lead and had an iron door. Ibn al-Ḥāḡdīj considers it highly illegal to shut off a diwān in a mosque, which is the same as forbidding entrance to it. This shows that the custom still survived in his time.

Ibn ʿDjubair's remark about Ḥarrān suggests that here again we have an inheritance from Byzantium. It was probably the building belonging to the *piscina* (cf. above) that the Muslims put to a practical use in this way. For the Byzantines had the treasury (*sakellē*) in the palace and it is doubtful if the treasure-chambers of the church (*skenophylakion*) were built in this way (cf. Franz Dölger, in *Byzantisches Archiv*, Heft 9, 1927, p. 26, 34).

3. The Mosque as a court of justice.

That the Prophet used to settle legal questions in his mosque was natural (see Bukḡārī, *Aḡḡām*, bāb 19, 29 etc.; cf. *Ṣalāt*, bāb 71; *ḡḡuṣūmāt*, bāb 4); but he could also deliver judgments in other places (*ibid.*, pass). In Ḥadīṡ, it is recorded that some *ḡāḡīs* of the earlier period (Ṣḡurāih, al-Ṣaʿbī, Yaḡyā b. Yaʿmar, Marwān) sat in judgment beside the minbar, others (al-ḡasan, Zuraʿa b. Awfā) on the open square beside the mosque (Bukḡārī, *Aḡḡām*, bāb 18). The custom had all the better chance of survival, as churches were used in the same way (Joshua Stylites, ed. Wright, ch. 29; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 223). Sitting in judgment was primarily the business of the ruler but he had to have assistants and Abū Bakr's *ḡāḡī* is mentioned as assisting ʿOmar (Ṭabarī, i. 2135) and a number of judges appointed by ʿOmar are mentioned (*B. G. A.*, vii. 227). In the reign of ʿOḡḡmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd is said to have been judge and financial administrator of Kūfa (Ibn ḡutaila, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 128). On the other hand, we are told that ʿAbd Allāh

b. Nawfal, appointed by Marwān in 42, was the first *qāḍī* in Islām (Ṭabari, iii. 2477); it is recalled that in the year 132 the *qāḍī* of Medina administered justice in the mosque (*ibid.*, p. 2505). In Baṣra, we are told that al-Aswad b. Sarf al-Tamīm immediately after the building of the mosque (i. e. in the year 14) worked in it as *qāḍī* (Balādhuri, p. 346). In the early period 'Omar wanted to choose a *qāḍī*, who had been already acting as a judge before Islām (Kindi, *Wulāt*, p. 301 sq.; *Husn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 86). Even the Christian poet al-Akḥṭal was allowed to act as arbiter in the mosque of Kūfa (see Lammens, *Mu'awia*, p. 435 sq.).

In al-Fuṣṭāt, as early as 23 or 24 A.H. by command of 'Omar, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī appointed a *qāḍī* named Kais (*Husn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 86; Kindi, *Wulāt*, p. 300 sq.). The *qāḍī* held his sessions in the Mosque of 'Amr but not exclusively there. The *qāḍī* Khair b. Nu'aim (120—127) held his sessions sometimes before his house, sometimes in the mosque and for Christians on the steps leading up to the mosque (Kindi, *Wulāt*, p. 351 sq.). A successor of his (177—184) invited Christians who had lawsuits into the mosque to be heard (*ibid.*, p. 391); of another judge (205—211) it is recorded that he was not allowed to sit in the mosque (*ibid.*, p. 428). It seems that the *qāḍī* could himself choose where he would sit. A judge, officiating in the year 217, sat in winter in the great pillared hall turning his back towards the *qibla*-wall and in summer in the *ṣaḥn* near the western wall (*ibid.*, p. 443 sq.). During the Fāṭimid period, the subsidiary building on the north east of the Mosque of 'Amr was reserved for the judge. This judge, called from the year 376 onwards *qāḍī 'l-kuḍāt* (cf. *Husn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 91; Kindi, *Wulāt*, p. 590), sat on Tuesday and Saturday in the mosque and laid down the law (Maḳrīzī, ii. 246; iv. 16, 22; cf. Kindi, *Wulāt*, p. 587, 589; cf. *Sefer-Name*, transl. Schefer, p. 149).

In Ya'qūbi's time in Baghdād, the judge of the east city used to sit in its chief mosque (*B.G.A.*, vii. 245), in Damascus the vice-*qāḍī* in the fourth century had a special *riwāk* in the Mosque of the Omayyads (*B.G.A.*, iii. 158), and the notaries (*al-shurūṭiyyūn*) also sat in the Mosque of the Omayyads at the Bāb al-Sa'āt (*ibid.*, p. 17). In Nisābūr, every Monday and Thursday, the *maḍjlīs al-ḥukm* was held in a special mosque (*ibid.*, p. 328). In course of time the judge was given a *maḍjlīs al-ḥukm* of his own (cf. *Husn*, ii. 96) and in 279 al-Mu'taḍid wanted to forbid the *qāḍīs* to hold sessions in the mosques (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/i. 87 *supra*; perhaps however we should read *qāṣṣ*: see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 164, note 4). Justice was also administered in the *dār al-'adl* (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii. 79). But the administration of justice did not at once lose all connection with the mosque. Under the Fāṭimids, the custom had been introduced that the *qāḍī* should hold sittings in his house, but Ibn al-'Awwām, appointed just after 400 A.H., held them either in the *Djāmi'* at the Bait al-Māl or in a side-room (Kindi, *Wulāt*, p. 612; cf. Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, ii/ii. p. 69; Ḳaḷāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'sḥā'*, iii. 487: for 439 = 1046, see Naṣir-i Khosraw, ed. Schefer, p. 51, text, p. 149, transl.). In Mecca, the *dār al-qāḍī* was in direct connection with the mosque (Ibn Djubair, p. 104). In the viiith century Ibn Baṭṭūṭa attended a court presided over by an eminent jurist in a mosque (madrassa) in Shīrāz (ii. 55, 63; cf. also al-Mad-

ḳhal, ii. 54 *infra*), and in Damascus the Shāfi'ī chief *qāḍī* held his sessions in the 'Adiliya Madrasa (so Ibn Khallikān, Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/i. 22; cf. also for Egypt: *ibid.*, p. 87, ii/ii. 253), the vice-*qāḍīs* sat in the Zāhiriya Madrasa (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 218). The judgment might even be put into execution in the madrasa (*ibid.*, p. 220). During the Mamlūk period in Egypt, we occasionally find a small mosque being used as a *maḍjlīs* for judges (Maḳrīzī, iv. 270; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, p. 98 *supra*); Ibn Khaldūn held legal sittings in the Madrasa al-Ṣālihiya (*Ibar*, vii. 453).

A muftī, especially in the large mosques, was also frequently appointed; he sat at definite times in a *ḥalqa li 'l-fatwā*, e.g. in Cairo (al-Ḳazwīnī, *Husn al-Muḥādara*, i. 182; Djalāl al-Dīn, *ibid.*, p. 187), in Tunis (Zarkashī, *Chronicle*, transl. Fagnan, *Rec. Mém. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, vol. xxi., 1895, p. 197, 202, 218, 248). In Baghdād Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (d. 405) was the last to give *fatwās* in the Mosque of al-Manṣūr according to the *madhhab* of Sufyān al-Thawrī (Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, ii/ii. p. 120).

F. The Mosque as an Educational Centre.

1. Islāmic studies in the Mosque to the end of the Fāṭimid period.

The new studies stimulated by Islām were from their nature associated with the mosque. The learning by heart and the understanding of the *Qur'ān* formed the starting-point and next came the study of *Ḥadīth*, by which the proper conduct for a Muslim had to be ascertained. The Prophet was often questioned on matters of belief and conduct, in or outside the mosque (Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, bāb 6, 52; 23, 24, 26, 46). After the death of the Prophet, his Companions were consulted in the same way and scientific study began with the collection and arrangements of *ḥadīths*, as has been shown, notably by Goldziher. This process is reflected in the *ḥadīths* themselves. According to them, even the Prophet in his lifetime was asked about *ḥadīths* (*ibid.*, bāb 4, 14, 33; tr. 9, 51, 53); the Prophet sits in a mosque surrounded by a *ḥalqa* and instructs his hearers; the latter repeat the *ḥadīths* three times until they have learned them (*ibid.*, bāb 8, 30, 35, 42). The necessity of *'ilm* is strongly emphasised and the *ṭalab al-'ilm* is recommended; a man is held up as a model because he undertook a month's journey for the sake of a single *ḥadīth* (*ibid.*, bāb 19—22; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 32 sq., 175 sq.). Jewish influence is perhaps to be recognised when learning is compared with the drinking of water (Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, bāb 20; cf. *Proverbs*, xviii. 4; *Pirḳe Abōth*, i. 4, 11) and the teachers are called *rabbāniyyān* (Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, bāb 10). A special class of students, *Ahl al-'Ilm*, was formed who spread the knowledge of traditions throughout Muslim lands (*ibid.*, bāb 7). They collected people around them to instruct them in the most necessary principles of the demands of Islām; 'Abd Allāh held one of these *marw'iza* every Thursday, only once a week, in order not to tire the people (*ibid.*, bāb 12). In this simple form of instruction which was indistinguishable from edifying admonitions lay the germ of Islāmic studies. The teacher *dhakkara* his hearers; elsewhere it is called *fakḥa* or *allama* and the knowledge imparted is

'ilm or hikma (*ibid.*, bāb 15). Such knowledge was imparted to the tribes by the Prophet (*ibid.*, bāb 25) or by teachers sent to them. In the year 17, 'Omar sent teachers of the Qur'ān in all directions and ordered the people to appear every Friday in the mosque. The complicated nature of the subjects of study resulted at the principal centres of Islām in the formation not only of a guild of teachers but of a regular system of instruction. The typical scholar, in addition to the *kāri*², was the *muḥaddith* (*ibid.*, bāb 29) although new branches of study were soon added as a result of contact with lands with older cultures, notably linguistic studies and in this connection the study of the old poetry, philosophical and speculative studies, logic, etc. The learned man of the old period was also called *faqīh* (*Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 131; Ṭabari, ii. 1183, 1266; *Aghāni*, viii. 89; Ibn Sa'd, v. 167 etc.). Even after the new branches of learning were added to the older studies, the mosque remained the chief centre of instruction. This may have been facilitated by the fact that in the old Christian countries it had been the custom for studies to be prosecuted in connection with monasteries and churches (on the university connected with the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople cf. A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, ii., 1908, p. 17 sqq.).

We hear of a *maḍjlis* for educational purposes in the Medina mosque in the first century A. H. (*Aghāni*, i. 48; iv. 162 sq.). Yazid b. Abi Ḥabib sent by 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz as mufti to Egypt (d. 128), is said to have been the first to teach in Egypt (*Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 131); he is mentioned along with another as teacher of al-Laith (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 89) and the latter, upon whose pronouncements *fatwā's* were issued had his *ḥalqa* in the mosque (*Husn*, i. 134). 'Omar II had before this sent al-Nāfi', the Mawla of Ibn 'Omar, to Egypt to bring them the *sunan* (*ibid.*, p. 130). He also sent an able reciter of the Qur'ān to the Maghrib as *kādi* to teach the people *ḥirā'a* (*ibid.*, p. 131). Education was arranged for by the government by allowing suitable people to give instruction in addition to their regular office. From the very first, education in Egypt was closely connected with admonition to right living. The first teachers in the mosques were the *ḥuṣṣā's*, as a rule *kādis*, whose discourses dealt with the interpretation of the Qur'ān and the proper conduct of divine service (cf. C 3). Their *maw'iza* was the direct continuation of the moral instruction given by the old Companions (cf. Bukhārī, 'Ilm, bāb 12). The instruction started in the mosque of 'Amr was continued for centuries. In the third century A. H., al-Shāfi' taught various subjects here every morning till his death (240) (*Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 134; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 383). It was after his time that the study of *fiqh* came markedly to the front and the great teachers used at the same time to give *fatwā's* (cf. *Husn*, i. 182: 'Abd Allāh al-Kazwīnī, d. 315: i. 183: 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāzi, d. 339). In the year 326 (938), the Shāfi'is and Mālikis had each 15, the Hanafis 3 groups in the mosque of 'Amr (Ibn Sa'id, ed. Tallquist, p. 24). The Mālikī Muḥammad al-Na'ālī (d. 380) had so many hearers that the class occupied the area which 17 pillars included (*Husn*, i. 207). In the fourth century, al-Maḥḍisi mentions the groups (*ḥalaq*) of *fuḳahā'*, *ḥurra'* and *ahl al-adab wa 'l-hikma*, who sat in the mosque (*B. G. A.*, iii. 205; cf. for the fifth

century: Nāsir-i Khosraw, ed. Schefer, p. 50 [text], p. 148 [transl.]). He also mentions that the followers of Abū Ḥanīfa held meetings in the Masjdīd al-Aḳṣā with *dhikr*, which here must mean something like lectures, where they read out of a volume and the *fuḳahā'* used to sit in the mosques of Palestine generally, to teach between the ṣalāts (*B. G. A.*, iii. 182). In the third century, Ibn al-Faḳīh tells how the *fuḳahā'* sit in the mosques of Sidjīstān, Balkh and Herāt, while the people crowd around them (*ibid.*, ii. 317). The *madhāhib* which later lost their importance had also their study-circles in the mosques. For example al-Maḥḍisi says that the Dāwūdiyya had study-groups in Fārs (iii. 439) and the Awzā'iya had even a *maḍjlis* in the mosque of the Omayyads (*ibid.*, p. 179).

Arabic philological studies were ardently prosecuted in the mosques. The interest of the early Arabs in rhetoric survived under Islām; the *faqīh* Sa'id b. al-Musaiyab (d. 95) (cf. Ṭabari, ii. 1266) discussed Arabic poesy in his *maḍjlis* in the mosque in Medina; but it was still thought remarkable that poems should be dealt with in a mosque (*Aghāni*, i. 48; iv. 162 sq.). In the year 256, al-Ṭabari by request dictated the poems of al-Tirīzmaḥ beside the Bait al-Māl in the Mosque of 'Amr (Yāqūt, 'Udabā', vi. 432 *infra*). In the chief mosque of Baṣra, the *Ashāb al-'Arabiya* sat together and were visited by Ḥamād b. Salama (d. 167 or 169) while he made Ḥasan al-Baṣrī give lessons (*ibid.*, iv. 135). In Granada we hear of a *naḥwī* who gathered many pupils around him in the *djāmi'* (Maḳḳarī, ii. 254). In Tunis in the viiith century, the Maḳāmas of al-Ḥarīrī were actually read in the *Djāmi'* Zai-tūna (Zarkashī, transl. Fagnan, *Rec. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, 1894, p. 111). In Baghdad al-Kisā'i gave his lectures in the mosque, which bears his name and the pupils used to take their places in front of him after the morning ṣalāt (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, iv. 243 sq.). About 200 A. H. we hear of lectures on *tafsīr* in the principal mosque of the same town (*ibid.*, vii. 105). At the same time, the study of *Ḥadīth* still retained its importance (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, iii. 362). The Mosque of al-Manṣūr remained the most distinguished school, the goal of all the learned (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, i. 246 sq.). When a traveller came to a new town, he could go to the *djāmi'* in the confidence that he could attend lectures on *Ḥadīth* there (*B. G. A.*, iii. 415, in Sus). In Mecca, for example, al-Shāfi' lectured (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 391), in Medina Ibn Ishāk, who died in 234 (*ibid.*, p. 400, 401). In Damascus we hear of some one who lectured on *ḥirā'a* (*Husn*, i. 182) and of another, Abū Ṭāhir al-Iskandarānī (d. 359) who lectured on *Ḥadīth* in the same place (*ibid.*, i. 183). Teachers went from one town to another. Makī b. Abī Ṭālib came from Ḳairawān to Miṣr, Mecca and Ḳurṭuba; in the last named place he put up in two *riwāq's* of the chief mosque, where he lectured on *ḥirā'a*, afterwards in another mosque, and he was much sought after on account of his 'ilm (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 174). At quite an early date we read of special apartments (which were certainly also lecture-rooms) for authorities on the Qur'ān, for, according to al-Wāḳidī, 'Abd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm lived in Medina in the *Dār al-Ḳurra'* (*Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii. 142).

As is evident from the examples quoted, studies were not only prosecuted in the chief mosques but also in other mosques. In Egypt, not only

the Mosque of 'Amr but also the chief mosques of later date were important centres of study. As soon as the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn was founded, a pupil of al-Shāfi'i began to lecture in it on Ḥadīth (*Husn al-Muḥādḍara*, ii. 139). During the Fātimid period this was continued. In the year 361 (972), the Azhar Mosque was finished. Soon afterwards, the new Shī'i Kādi, 'Alī b. al-Nu'mān, lectured in it on Fiqh according to his school; in 378 al-'Azīz and his vizier Ya'qūb b. Killis founded 35 lectureships and in addition to their salaries, the lecturers were given quarters in a large house built beside the mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv. 49; Sulaimān Raṣād al-Ḥanafī, *Kans al-Djauhar fi Tarīkh al-Azhar*, p. 32 sqq.). Immediately after the foundation of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, the *fuḳahā'* gave lectures (*taḥallāka*: Maḳrīzī, iv. 55) in it. In the Fātimid Mosque of al-Aḳmar, also founded in 519, teaching was carried on from the very first (*ibid.*, p. 77).

We can therefore say definitely that mosques were from the beginning through the centuries educational institutions, that learned men occasionally used to live in mosques and that under the Fātimids and probably much earlier, there were special houses for the learned teachers. The mosque therefore corresponded to church, town hall and school and sometimes hostel. It was, then, a public place of assembly for the town. Nāsir-i Khosraw in 439 (1047) gives a vivid picture of the activity in the Mosque of 'Amr which was visited by 5,000 people daily, teachers, Qur'an-reciters, students, strangers, scribes, who drew up bill of exchanges and contracts etc. (ed. Schefer, text, p. 50 and transl., p. 148). It was therefore an exception when the Ṣakhra Mosque was open only on Mondays and Fridays (Sauvage, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébr.*, p. 54) which happened with very few other sanctuaries, and also unusual for the mosque only to be opened for prayer, as sometimes happened out of consideration for the safety of the *bait al-māl*. The people demanded unrestricted access to the mosque at all times (cf. Maḳrīzī, iv. 54).

2. Special Educational Institutions.

In the descriptions of the larger mosques the libraries are often mentioned. These collections were gradually brought together from gifts and bequests, and it was a common thing for a scholar to give his books for the use of the *Muslimin* or *Ahl al-'Ilm* (e.g. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī: Yāqūt, *Udbā'*, i. 252; cf. iv. 287). Many other libraries were semi-public. These often supplemented the libraries of the mosques, because they contained books in which the mosques were not much interested, notably on logic, falsafa, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine and alchemy; the latter were called *al-'ulūm al-qadīma* (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, i. 113, uses this already for the pre-Islāmic period) or *'ulūm al-awā'il* (on them see Goldziher, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1915, Phil.-Hist. Kl., No. 8, Berlin 1916). The academy, *Bait al-Hikma*, founded by al-Ma'mūn (198—202) in Baghdād, deserves first mention. It recalls the older academy founded in Gundēshāpūr, to which Manṣūr had invited Gorgios b. Gabri'el as head of the hospital; he also translated works from the Greek (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, i. 123 sq.). In the new academy there was a large library, and it was extended by the translations which were made by men qualified in the above-mentioned fields; there was also an

astronomical observatory attached to the institution in which there were also apartments for the scholars attached to it (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 243; cf. Ibn al-Kiṭṭī, *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'*, p. 98). When the caliph al-Mu'taḍid (279—289) built himself a new palace, he had apartments and lecture-rooms in an adjoining building for men learned in every science, who received salaries to teach others (Maḳrīzī, iv. 192, 2 sqq.; *Husn al-Muḥādḍara*, ii. 142).

Private individuals of wealth continued benefactions on these lines. 'Alī b. Yahyā, who died in 275 and was known as al-Munadjjim, had a palace with a library, which was visited by those in search of knowledge from all lands; they were able to study all branches of learning in this institution, called *Khizānat al-Hikma*, without fee; astronomy was especially cultivated (Yāqūt, *Udbā'*, v. 467). Al-Munadjjim also presented a whole library to Faṭḥ b. Khakān (*ibid.*, p. 459, *infra*; on al-Ṣūlī's library, see *ibid.*, vii. 136, 11 sqq.). In Mawṣil, Dja'far b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (d. 323) founded a *dār al-'ilm* with a library in which students worked daily at all branches of knowledge and were even supplied with free paper. The founder lectured on poetry in it (*ibid.*, ii. 420). In the fourth century al-Maḳdisī visited in Shirāz a large library founded by 'Aḍud al-Dawla (367—372) to which people of standing had access. The books were arranged in cases and listed in catalogues, and the library (*khizānat al-kutub*) was administered by a director (*wakil*), an assistant (*khāzin*) and an inspector (*mushrif*) (*B. G. A.*, iii. 449; cf. a little later: Yāqūt, *Udbā'*, v. 446, 12 sq.). In the fourth century, a certain Ibn Sawwār founded both in Baṣra and in Rām-Hurmuz a large *dār al-kutub* with stipends for the scholars who worked in it; in Baṣra a *shaikh* used to hold classes (*mudarris*) on Mu'tazilī *kalām* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 413, 18). In al-Raiy, there was at the same time, a *bait al-kutub* with over four hundred camel-loads of books, which were catalogued in a ten volume *fihrist* and included many Shī'i works (Yāqūt, *Udbā'*, ii. 315, 9 sqq.). In the year 383, the vizier Sābūr b. Ardashīr founded a *dār al-'ilm* in Karkh with a large library for scholars (Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, p. 51, 16 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, ix., Cairo edition, p. 35, 7).

Many of the libraries had a strongly, but by no means exclusively, Shī'a character. As to the *'ulūm al-awā'il*, the 'Abbāsids, as already mentioned, were interested in them and the Omayyad Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya studied alchemy and medicine along with Ḥadīth (Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 246, 5; Yāqūt, *Udbā'*, v. 165). But the connection between the Shī'a systems and Hellenistic science of which we have evidence, for example in the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, perhaps caused a greater interest to be taken in this branch of knowledge among the Shī'is than among the Sunnis. In Cairo, the Fātimids founded similar institutions in the interests of the Shī'a. In their palace, they had a library which was said to be the largest in Islām. It had about 40 rooms full of books and all branches of knowledge were represented; they had for example 1,200 copies of al-Ṭabarī's History and 18,000 books on the "old learning" (Maḳrīzī, ii. 253—255). The vizier Ya'qūb b. Killis founded an academy with stipends for scholars and spent 1,000 dinārs a month on it (Yahyā b. Sa'īd, ed. Tallquist, fol. 108a; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii. 334; cf. Maḳrīzī, iv. 192, 21). It was

overshadowed by the "House of Knowledge" (*dār al-ilm* or *dār al-hikma*) founded by al-Ḥākim in 395 (1005). It was at the northern end of the west palace and contained a library and reading-room as well as rooms for meetings and for classes. Librarians, assistants, with their servants administered it and scholars were given allowances to study there; all branches of learning were represented — astronomy, medicine etc. in addition to the specifically Islāmic subjects. Al-Ḥākim built similar institutions in al-Fustāt (Maḳrīzī, ii. 334 *sqq.*; according to Ibn Duḳmāḳ, ed. Vollers, p. 80, *infra*, there still existed in his time [about 800] a building called the *Dār al-ilm* in al-Fustāt). In the year 435, al-Sanbadī saw in Cairo a library with 6,500 books on astronomy, handasa and falsafa (Ibn al-Kifṭī, p. 440, *sq.*). We do not learn very much of the subjects taught there but occasionally hear of someone who lectured on Arabic philology in it (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 610, 15). But the whole institution was closely associated with Shīʿa propaganda, which is obvious from the fact that it was administered by the *Dāʾi ʿl-Duʿāt* who held conferences with the learned men there every Monday and Thursday (Maḳrīzī, iv. 226; Kaḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥāʾ*, iii. 487); occasionally he was a *qāḍī* (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 600, 11). A similar missionary institute (*dār ʿl-daʿwa*) was built in Ḥalab in 507 by the emir Fakhr al-Mulk (Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, p. 360, 17). We may assume that these buildings were also arranged for the performance of the ṣalāt.

With the *dār al-hikma*, Islām was undoubtedly continuing Hellenistic traditions. Al-Maḳrīzī mentions a *dār al-hikma* of the pre-Islāmic period, where the learned men of Egypt used to work (iv. 377, 4); Ibn Abī Uṣaibīʿa, also mentions pre-Islāmic seminaries in Egypt where Hellenistic learning was cultivated (*dār al-ilm*, i. 104, 16, 24; Athens is also called *dār hikmat al-Yūnāniyyin*: *B. G. A.*, ii. 135, 14) and the similarity with the Alexandrine *Museion*, which was imitated in Pergamon and Antioch, for example, is apparent (John W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York 1919, p. 48—50). Al-Ḥākim's institution was closed by the vizier al-Afḍal on account of political and religious disputes, but shortly afterwards (517 = 1123) reopened by the vizier al-Maʿmūn in another building, south of the east palace (Maḳrīzī, ii. 313, 337, 17 *sqq.*). But it was now considerably smaller. During the famine in the reign of al-Mustanṣir, the library was plundered. In 461 (1068) an eye-witness saw twenty-five camels carrying books from the palace library (Maḳrīzī, ii. 254; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Fāṭimidenchalifen*, p. 261). The institute was finally closed with the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty (567 = 1171). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had all the treasures of the palace, including the books, sold over a period of ten years. Many were burned, thrown into the Nile, or thrown into a great heap, which was covered with sand so that a regular "hill of books" was formed and the soldiers used to sole their shoes with the fine bindings. The number of books said to have disposed of varies from 120,000 to 2,000,000 but many were saved for new libraries. The *Qāḍī al-Fāḍil* is said to have procured 120,000 volumes (Maḳrīzī, ii. 253—255; Abū Ṣhāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatain*, Cairo 1287, i. 200, 268). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn also allowed anyone interested to take what he liked from the *khizānat al-kutub* in Ḥalab for

example (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii. 20). These attacks on libraries did not mean they were tired of books as Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, v. 389) suggests, but was only an expression of the reaction against the Shīʿis.

3. Origin and spread of the Madrasa.

While the institutions called the *Dār al-ilm* developed in Fāṭimid countries into centres of Shīʿa propaganda, the madrasa grew up in the east out of similar Sunnī institutions. It is interesting to note that in 400, al-Ḥākim built a Sunnī *dār al-ilm* in Cairo. In it lived two Mālikī scholars, who gave instruction and gathered round them men learned in ḥadīth and fikh (Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, ii/ji., p. 64, 105, 106; al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, Ḥaidarābād, 1337, i. 186). As the instruction (see the first reference) was given in the *Djāmiʿ*, the institute must have been connected with a mosque, probably that of ʿAmr. It owed its existence however only to a passing fancy and after three years, the institution was abolished and the two learned teachers executed. With the growing strength of the Sunna, especially in the Shāfiʿī and Hanafī form, many educational institutions arose in the east which had a pronounced Sunnī character; the Sunna in the fourth century wanted to have influence with the other schools (*B. G. A.*, iii. 323, 365, 415). Many teachers built houses of their own, where they dictated ḥadīths and held lectures on fikh, e. g. a teacher who died in Merwin in 420 (Wüstenfeld, *Imām Schāfiʿī*, ii. 232). Abū Ḥātim al-Bustī born in 277 (890) founded in his native town a school with a library with apartments and allowances for the maintenance of foreign students (*ibid.*, p. 163). In ʿAmul, al-Rūyānī (d. 502) built a school; he himself taught in the mosque, also in al-Raiy (iii. 245). In Ṭabarān a school was built for al-Ḥātimī (d. 393 = 1003) (*ibid.*, ii. 202). In Baghdād, al-Ismaʿīlī (d. 396 = 1006) founded two lecture-ships in fikh studies, one of which was filled by al-Isfarāʾīnī, who otherwise lectured in the Mosque of Ibn al-Mubārak, and the other by al-Bāfi (*ibid.*, p. 204, cf. p. 217). The philologist and hidjāʾ-poet al-Zawzanī who died in 463 lived with other learned men in a madrasat al-Suyūri (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi. 409).

In Nisābūr especially, where studies were vigorously prosecuted in the mosque (e. g. Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, iii. 236) many such institutions arose. Thus a special school was built for the Shāfiʿī fikh-scholar al-Ṣāʿigh al-Nisābūrī (349 = 960; *ibid.*, ii. 156; cf. 160). Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusainī (d. 393) himself founded a school in which to teach Ḥadīth and it was attended by 1,000 scholars (*ibid.*, p. 203). Ibn Fūrak (d. 406; *ibid.*, p. 216) did the same and in the year 437 Abū ʿl-Qāsim al-Ḳushairī (*ibid.*, iii. 284) and for Rukn al-Dīn al-Isfarāʾīnī (d. 418 = 1027) a school was built which surpassed all others (*ibid.*, ii. 229). As early as the fourth century, we thus find al-Maḳdisī praising the very fine *madāris* of Irānshahr (*B. G. A.*, iii. 315). In the first half of the fifth century, there were four especially famous *madāris* in Nisābūr: al-Madrasa al-Baiḥaḳīya, founded by al-Baiḥaḳī (d. 384), when he became a teacher in Nisābūr in 441 (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, iii. 270; al-Suyūṭī is therefore wrong in ascribing its foundation to before the birth of Nizām al-Mulk [in 408]; see *Husn*, ii. 141), al-Saʿīdiyya founded by the emir Naṣr b. Subuktakīn (governor of Nisābūr in 389)

and one built by Abū Saʿīd Ismāʿīl al-Astarābādī and another built for the teacher Abū Ishāq al-Isfaraʾīnī. A Nizāmiya was also built here by Nizām al-Mulk for the Imām al-Haramain al-Djuwainī (Makrizī, iv. 192; *Husn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 141 sq.). It was an event of great importance when Nizām al-Mulk (456–485, vizier of the Saldukh sultāns Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh) founded the celebrated Nizāmiya Madrasa in Baghdad; the building was begun in 457 and on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 459 (Sept. 1067) it was consecrated. It was founded for the Shāfiʿī teacher Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī; but he at first refused to accept the call, because the ground on which it was built was said to have been acquired illegally, and Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh therefore held the office for the first twenty days (*ibid.*; and Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, iii. 297; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo, i. 143 sq.).

The Muslim historians are in some doubt about the history of the madrasa. Nizām al-Mulk is given the credit of having founded it, but al-Makrizī and al-Suyūṭī point out that *madāris* were already in existence before him and mention the four above-named, but, as we have seen, even they were not innovations. Al-Subki thinks (says al-Suyūṭī) the new feature was that Nizām al-Mulk endowed scholarships for the students. But this again was nothing new as we have already seen. But the enthusiasm and energy of Nizām al-Mulk meant the beginning of a new period of brilliance for the Madrasa. The sultān and men of high rank were now interested in it and the type evolved by Nizām al-Mulk, a school in which the students were boarded, became the prevailing one after his time. We may presume that the older schools also had a place for prayer in them, i.e. they resembled mosques. The type of school known to us is built as a complete mosque. Since even the older mosques containing living-rooms which were frequently used by students, there is no difference in principle between the school and the ordinary mosque; only the schools were especially arranged for study and the maintenance of students. This character is expressed by the name *madrasa*, plural *madāris*; it is a genuine Arabic formation from the word *darasa*, "to read", "to study", taken from Hebrew or Aramaic (Sūra lxviii. 37 and elsewhere; *Hāshimiyāt*, ed. Horowitz, p. 53, 18; *Aghānī*, xiv., 2nd Cairo ed., p. 78; cf. *dārāsa* "to teach": Bukhārī, *Bad'u 'l-Wahy*, bāb 5 and elsewhere; "to study": *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 171), where *Bait Midrās* is used of a Jewish school (Bukhārī, *Djizya*, bāb 6; Ibn Hishām, p. 383, 388); it is therefore an analogous formation to Masjid (cf. also Fleischer, *Klein. Schriften*, ii. 122 sq.; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachw.*, p. 38).

In the time of Nizām al-Mulk and immediately afterwards, the madrasa spread in the 'Irāk, Khurāsān, al-Djazira etc. He was not content with the two he founded in Nisābūr and Baghdad. There was also a *Madrasa Nizāmiya* in Balkh (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿī*, iii. 240), in Mawṣil (*ibid.*, p. 319), in Herāt to which al-Shāshī (d. 485 = 1092) was called from Ghazna and in Merw (Yāqūt, iv. 509). Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, who had to give up his position in favour of al-Shirāzī, received a promise from Nizām al-Mulk that he would build a madrasa for him in Baghdad, but the death of this scholar prevented this being done (in 477; *ibid.*, p. 304). The great vizier's rival Tādj al-Mulk (d. 486 =

1093) in Baghdad founded a *Madrasa Tādjīya* (*ibid.*, p. 311). In Nisābūr, other madrasas were founded at the same time, for example one by al-Manfī who died in 463 (*ibid.*, p. 277) and a Shāfiʿiyya (*ibid.*, p. 327). In Marw, al-Sam'ānī who died in 484 taught in a Shāfiʿī madrasa (*ibid.*, p. 321; cf. above). In Marw al-Rudh, Ahmad al-Manfī (d. 512) built a madrasa (*ibid.*, p. 326).

The prosperity of the madāris stimulated by Nizām al-Mulk in the fifth century survived for a long time in the east. In the sixth century Ibn Djubair (580 = 1184) mentions some thirty madāris, all in the eastern part of the town, the most notable being the Nizāmiya, renovated in 504 (*Rihla*, p. 229). In 631 (1234), the caliph al-Mustansir founded the magnificent Mustansiriya as a school for the four rites, each with a teacher and seventy-five students and a teacher for Qur'an and one for Hadith, as well as a physician. Attached to it were a library, baths, hospital and kitchens; there was a clock at the entrance; beside it was a garden where the caliph had a pavilion (*manzara*) from which he could survey the whole building (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 266 sq.; Wüstenfeld, *Akademien der Araber*, p. iv. and 29).

The Nizāmiya and the Mustansiriya survived the destruction of Baghdad by Hülāgū and both are mentioned at the beginning of the viiith century by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 108 sq.) and the building of the latter still exists. Ten others are known of the viiith–ixth century including the Madrasat 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djilānī (688 = 1286), Madrasat Abī Ḥanifa (of about the same date) and al-Mir-djāniya (758 = 1357), all still in existence, which were founded for Shāfiʿis, Ḥanafis and for the study of Qur'an and Hadith. Besides these three there still exist seven madrasas founded in Baghdad in the xviith and xviiith centuries (L. Massignon, *Les Medresehs de Bagdad*, B.I.F.A.O., vii., 1909, p. 77–86; the inscriptions, do., in M.I.F.A.O., xxxi., 1912). Although the Tatars in 699 (1300) destroyed many madāris (Quatremère, *Hist. des Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii. 163 sq.), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa shows that in the eighth century there were still flourishing schools in the east. In Wāsiṭ there was a madrasa which specialised in *taḍwīd al-Ḳur'ān*; it had three hundred rooms for foreign students (ii. 3). In Tustar, the sultān expended one-third of the revenues on madrasas and monasteries (ii. 31) and in Shirāz and other Persian towns he also found madrasas (ii. 62 and *pass.*). For Nisābūr, he mentions four madāris beside the chief mosque (iii. 80); according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (c. 820 = 1417), this town still had eight madāris under the 'Abbāsids and he mentions seventeen in which Shāfiʿī fiqh was taught (*Sefer Nameh*, ed. Schefer, p. 281). For Marw, Yāqūt about 600 mentions, in addition to the Nizāmiya, the school founded by Abū Saʿīd Muḥ. b. Mansūr al-Mustawfī (d. 494), also the 'Amīdiya and the Khātuniya (iv. 509). Large madāris were still being built in Persia in the xviiith century and they are still to be found there in modern times (E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*², 1916, p. 104, 217 sq.). Although the institution had for long a Sunni tendency, it could of course be taken over by the Shiʿis without any difficulty. In 728 (1328) in Mashhad 'Alī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found a large Shi'a madrasa (i. 415). The Mongols also built madāris, e.g. Karaka Khān, the descendant of Čingiz Khān (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i. 56). Hülāgū's mother built two madrasas in Bukhārā

where 1,000 students studied daily in each (J. A., ser. 4, xx. 389). The period of greatest prosperity of the madāris in Central Asia was under the Tīmūrids, notably in Samarkand, where Tīmūr built a djamīc "in the Indian style", and his wife a madrasa (Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, 1767, p. 444 sq.; see also Diez, *Kunst der islam. Völker*, p. 99 sq.).

In the towns of Mesopotamia and Syria the movement spread from the fifth century onwards. Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī founded madāris for Shāfi'is in Damascus, Ḥalab, Ḥamā, Hims, Ba'albek (J. A., ser. 9, iii., p. 428; cf. 488; Makrīzī, iv. 192). Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 572) founded a madrasa in Mawṣil, two in Naṣībīn and one in Damascus (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'ī*, p. 317). Taḳī al-Dīn, the nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, built a madrasa in al-Ruhā (Makrīzī, iv. 195, 14). Ibn Dīubair who travelled from 578 (1183) to 587 (1191) mentions two in Naṣībīn (p. 240), one in Harrān (p. 247) and a large Ḥanafī madrasa in Ḥalab and four or five others (p. 253), three in Ḥamā (p. 257), one in Hims (p. 258), about twenty in Damascus notably the great al-Nūriya (p. 283, 8 sq., 284, 4) and six or more in Mawṣil (p. 236, 1 sq.); a madrasa in the last-named town was built in two stories with a Dār al-Ḥadīth on the ground floor (Ibn Abī Uṣaibī'a, ii. 204, in the year 585).

The development in Damascus was of particular importance. Information about this is contained in the *Tanbih al-Tālib wa Irshād al-Dāris* of Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-Nu'aimi (d. 927 = 1521), the synopsis of which by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-'Ilmawī (d. 1059 = 1549) has been published by Sauvaire (J. A., ser. 9, iii.—vii.), the substance had already been given by Fleischer from Mikḥā'il Meshāka (*Kl. Schriften*, iii. 306 sqq. = *Z.D.M.G.*, viii., 1854, p. 346 sqq.; cf. iii., 1849, p. 123; there are a few differences in points of detail between Fleischer's and Sauvaire's publications). A *Dār al-Kur'ān*, the Rishā'iya, was founded here about 400 (J. A., ser. 9, iii. 262) and the first madrasa for fikh studies was the Ḥanafī Ṣādiriya, which was founded beside the Mosque of the Omayyads by Shudjā' al-Dawla Ṣādir in 491 (1097) (*ibid.*, iv. 266); next came, sometime before 520, the likewise Ḥanafī Tarkhāniya (*ibid.*) and in 514 the Shāfi'ī Aminīya founded by the Atābeg Amin al-Dawla (*ibid.*, iii. 395), then the Ḥanbalī Sharīfiya founded by a scholar who died in 536 (iv. 467), the Ḥanafī Khātūniya built *extra muros* by a princess in 526 (*ibid.*, p. 254), the Ḥanbalī 'Omariya founded by a shāikh who died in 528 (*ibid.*, p. 473; cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.*, iii. 328). The two rulers Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (541–569 = 1146–1163) and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (570–589 = 1174–1193) displayed a munificent activity in this direction as did their emirs and relatives. Nūr al-Dīn founded a *dār al-ḥadīth*, the Nūriya (*ibid.*, iii. 280), and the following Shāfi'ī madāris: al-Ṣalāhiya (*ibid.*, p. 414), al-'Uṣrūniya (*ibid.*, p. 428), al-'Imādiya (*ibid.*, p. 430), al-Kallāsa (*ibid.*, p. 439), and he began the building of the 'Adiliya (completed by al-Ṣāliḥ; *ibid.*, p. 423), and as a Ḥanafī madrasa, the large and small Nūriya (*ibid.*, iv. 388, 291). In his reign an emir also built the Asadiya for Shāfi'is and Hanafis (*ibid.*, iii. 387), another emir a Shāfi'ī Mudjahidiya inside and another outside the town (*ibid.*, p. 440); of Ḥanafī madāris, an emir al-Duḳāḳī built two, al-Balkhiya and al-Nāshiya (*ibid.*, iv. 245 sq.), a slave of Nūr al-Dīn's, the Raiḥāniya in 565 (*ibid.*, p. 259), an

emir the Mu'niya in 555 (*ibid.*, p. 281); a lady built a Ḥanbalī madrasa with a *dār al-ḥadīth*, the 'Alima (*ibid.*, p. 477), a Ḥanbalī Shāikh, who died in 596, the Musāmiriya (Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 329). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn rebuilt the Shāfi'ī Kallāsa, which had been burned down (J. A., ser. 9, iii. 439) and himself founded the Māliki Ṣalāhiya and a Māliki zāwiya in the Mosque of the Omayyads (*ibid.*, iv. 460 sq.). There were also built in his reign a *dār al-ḥadīth* by the Kaḍī al-Fāḍil (*ibid.*, iii. 277), a madrasa for Shāfi'is and Hanafis, the 'Adhrawiya, by his daughter or brother's daughter in 580 (*ibid.*, p. 425), six Shāfi'ī madāris (*ibid.*, p. 391, 399 sq., 403, 435, 442), some five Ḥanafī including one founded by his (previously Nūr al-Dīn's) wife (*ibid.*, iv. 256, 266, 277, 284 sq.). This building activity was continued into the seventh to ninth centuries so that al-Nu'aimi can give the following totals: seven *dār al-Kur'ān*, sixteen *dār al-ḥadīth* (one, the Kūsiya, is not given in Fleischer), three for both Kur'ān and Ḥadīth, sixty Shāfi'ī (two of them also for Hanafis; in Fleischer, Nrs. 16 and 30 are not given), fifty-two Hanafī (two of them also for Shāfi'is; in Fleischer, one of them, the Dammāghiya, is not given: it appears among the Shāfi'ī as Dabbāghiya), four Māliki and ten Ḥanbalī madāris (in Fleischer, one of the two Diya'iya is not given; on the other hand he has the Musāmiriya), also three *madāris al-tibb*, all of which belong to the seventh century. The founders were mainly rulers and emirs, but also included merchants and quite a number of men of learning, and a few women also. As in the east, especially in earlier times, a madrasa was often founded for a particular scholar (*ibid.*, iii. 400, 488) and one sometimes finds a learned man handing over his house to be a madrasa (al-Dawla'iya, *ibid.*, p. 403, cf. 439; iv. 470). According to Mikḥā'il Meshāka, in his time (1848) these madāris had practically all disappeared or were used as dwelling-houses, because their endowments had disappeared and there were only five left in his time (Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 307–311).

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn introduced the madrasa into Jerusalem. In 585 (1189) he endowed the Khānakāh Ṣalāhiya, in 587 the Zāwiya Khātaniya south of al-Aḳṣā for a particular scholar and in 588 he turned the Church of St. Anna into the Ṣalāhiya Madrasa; in 589, 583 and 598 emirs built similar institutions and in the seventh–ninth centuries a whole series of them came into existence. According to Mudjir al-Dīn (d. 927 = 1521), there were thirty-one madāris and monasteries (which were in part used in the same way as madāris) in direct connection with the Ḥaram area or near it, and sixteen at some distance. Of these some forty are especially called *madrasa*, one a *dār al-Kur'ān* and one a *dār al-Ḥadīth* (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébr.*, 1876, p. 139 sqq.; v. Berchem, *Corpus*, ii. 1; cf. for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt*, ii., Cairo 1310, p. 402 sq.). In Hebron there was also a madrasa, that of al-Malik al-Nāṣir (Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

Next to Niẓām al-Mulk, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn has the greatest reputation as a builder of madrasas. He owes this mainly to the fact that his great activity as a builder lay in countries, which became of great importance in the Muslim world, Syria with Palestine, and Egypt. Even before the fall of the Fātimids he had founded in the year 566 in the vicinity of the Mosque of 'Amr, the Nāṣiriya

for Shāfi'is and the Kāmhiya for Mālikis; for Shāfi'is also the Sharifiya (called after its head also Madrasa Zain al-Tudjdjār) and notably the great Šalāhiya or Nāširiya (for the identity of the two cf. Makrizi, iv. 251, with *Husn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 142 sq.) beside al-Shāfi'i's mausoleum; he also built a madrasa beside the Maṣḥad al-Ḥusain and in 572 a Hanafi madrasa, the Suyūfiya, and he turned the house of an emir named Sa'd al-Su'adā into a khānakāh (*Husn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 141 sq.; Makrizi, iv. 192 sqq.; Ibn Khallikān, ii. 402 sq.). Those around him emulated this activity. His vizier the Kādī 'l-Fāḍil in 580 built the Fāḍiliya for Shāfi'is, Mālikis and for iḡrā' (Makrizi, iv. 197), a brother the Saifiya (*ibid.*, p. 199), another, al-Malik al-ʿAdil, the Madrasat al-ʿAdil (*ibid.*, p. 195), his nephew Taḳī al-Dīn built in Cairo the Manāzil al-Izz or Taḳawiya for Shāfi'is (*ibid.*, p. 194; Ibn Duḳmāk, p. 93) and two others in the Faiyūm (Makrizi, iv. 195). Other emirs and their relatives followed his example (*ibid.*, p. 196, 199 sq.) and even a merchant, al-Arsūfi, founded a madrasa in 570 (*ibid.*, p. 194). Ibn Djubair, who travelled through Egypt in the time of Šalāḥ al-Dīn, speaks of several madrasas in Alexandria (*Rihla*, p. 42) and particularly of one beside al-Shāfi'i's tomb, which looked like a whole town (*ibid.*, p. 48).

During the period of the Aiyūbids and Mamlūks the number of madāris increased to an extraordinary degree. In the street called Bain al-Ḳaṣrain there were two long rows of madāris on the site of the old Fātimid palace in Cairo (cf. P. Ravaisse, in *M. M. A. F.*, i., 1889, p. 409 sqq., pl. 3). As a rule, the madrasa was in the street in line with the houses. Ibn Duḳmāk mentions that in Cairo only two stood isolated (p. 98). Al-Nuʿaimi and Ibn Duḳmāk describe several madāris (and masājid) as *muʿallaḳa* i. e. above the ground-floor. Ibn Baṭṭūta, who travelled at the beginning of the eighth century, found madāris even in quite small towns, e.g. in Dimyāt, Munyat b. Kḥaṣib, Kīnā, Kūṣ, Asnā (i. 65, 96, 106, 108). Ibn Duḳmāk (p. 92–99) about 800 gives a list of twenty-four madāris; this is obviously very incomplete; on the other hand, it contains nine names, not given by al-Makrizi. This author (d. 845 = 1442) mentions 73 madāris, fourteen for Shāfi'is, four for Mālikis, ten for Hanafis, three for Shāfi'is and Mālikis, six for Shāfi'is and Hanafis, one for Mālikis and Hanafis, four for all four rites, two exclusively used as *dār al-ḥadīth*, while the rite of twenty-five is not mentioned and four remained unfinished. Of these madāris, according to him, about thirteen were founded before 600, twenty in the seventh century, twenty-nine in the eighth century and two after 800. To the two schools of Ḥadīth (al-Kāmilīya of the year 622 and al-Kharūbiya of about 780, see iv. 201, 211 sq.) is to be added the Marāghiya mentioned by Ibn Duḳmāk (p. 99). A notable feature is the decline of the Ḥanbalis and in contrast to Damascus the large number of schools which included all four rites. The first Egyptian madrasa to include all four rites was the Šalāhiya, founded in 640–641 by al-Malik al-Šalīḥ (Makrizi, iv. 209 sq.) probably on the model of the Mustanṣiriya.

In Šalāḥ al-Dīn's time, the madrasa was also introduced into the Ḥijāz. In the year 579, the governor of ʿAden built in Mecca a madrasa for the Ḥanafis and in the following year a Shāfi'i madrasa was also founded there (*Chron. Mekka*,

ii. 104). Up to the beginning of the ninth century, eleven madāris are mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 104–107) but others were added (*ibid.*, iii. 177 sq., 211 sq., 225 sq., 351 sqq., 417). In the xviii century they ceased entirely to be used for their original purpose (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 229 sqq.). Madāris were also built in Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 58, 98, 112).

In Asia Minor, madrasas spread under the Saldjūks; the oldest known date from the seventh century. In Konya for example there were the Sirtali Madrasa of the year 640 (1242–1243), ʿĀṭai Madrasa 649 (1251–1252) and İndjemi-nareli Madrasa 674 (1274–1276) (Cl. Huart, *Konia*, 1897, p. 156, 160, 178; Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 1896, p. 48 sq., 51 sq.; R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, 1928, p. 106 sqq.). In Siwās three madāris date from the year 670 (1271–1272) namely the Šāhibiya or Gök-Madrasa, founded by Fakhr al-Dīn, that of Muẓaffar Barndjirdi and that of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. The first mentioned is probably identical with the *Dār al-Tadris* described by Ewliya, which contained eighty rooms in two stories (see v. Berchem, *Corpus*, III/i., p. 18 sqq., 26 sqq., 31 sqq.). In Diwrigi, a madrasa has been built in the Dīāmī Aḥmad Šāh erected in 626 (1228–1229) (*ibid.*, p. 71 sq., 80). About 733 (1333) Ibn Baṭṭūta found madāris all over Asia Minor, even in quite small towns (ii. 260, 267, 269, 283, 296 sq., 340, 343, etc.). Building activity was continued under the Ottomans (cf. Huart, *Konia*, p. 59, 92, 109; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, index; R. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 24 sq.).

According to the *Ḳirfās*, the madrasa was brought to North Africa as early as the time of Šalāḥ al-Dīn, for we are there told that the Almohad Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf (580–595 = 1184–1199) built mosques, hospitals and madrasas in Ifriḳiya, the Maghrib and al-Andalus (Tornberg, *Annales Regum Mauritaniae*, Upsala 1843, i. 143); but no exact details are given to corroborate this statement. The Maghribi madrasas were exclusively Māliki. In Tunis, many madāris were erected under the Ḥafṣids (625–941 = 1228–1534), the oldest being the Madrasat al-Ma'raḍ about 650. In the Chronicle of Tunis (Zarkashi, in *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafṣides*, transl. E. Fagnan, in *Rec. Not. et Mém. Soc. Arch. Const.*, xxi., 1895, see index) eleven are mentioned including the Madrasat 'Unḳ al-Djamil of 742 (1344), the Madrasat Ibn Tāfiradjin, founded by a learned man in 766 (1364), the Madrasa Shammā'iya (before 734 = 1333; see *op. cit.*, p. 105, 106, 221), Madrasat Belḥalfawin in 796 (1393) (*ibid.*, p. 183), and six of the ninth century (see *op. cit.*, index; cf. also Marçais, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, ii. 500, N° 2). Ibn Baṭṭūta mentions at the beginning of the eighth century the Madrasat al-Kutubiyyin (i. 20). There is no trace of madrasas of the Almohads and the statement in the *Ḳirfās* regarding them does not agree with the other sources. The first madrasa in the Maghrib was, according to Ibn Marzūḳ, *Musnad*, the Madrasa al-Šaffārin built by the Marinid Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (656–685 = 1258–1286) in Fās in 684 [also called al-Ḥalfā'iyyin, see the edition by Lévi-Provençal, in *Hespéris*, v., 1925, p. 34 (Arabic) = p. 44 (French)]. In Fās, we are told by the same source, Abū Sa'īd (720–731) and his son Abū 'l-Ḥasan (731–749) built several madrasas: the M. al-Madina al-Baiḳā' (= M. Dār al-Makhzin in Fās Djadid) in 721 (1321), the M.

al-Šihridj in 723 (1321), the M. al-ʿAttārīn in 725 (1325) later called M. al-Wādī and in 747 (1346–1347) M. Mišbāh after the teacher; the next Marinid Abū ʿInān (749–759) built in 756 (1385) the Buʿanāniya (Tornberg, *Annales Reg. Maur.*, i. 280 *infra*; Ibn Marzūk, in *Hespéris*, v. 34 and 68; Ed. Pauty, *ibid.*, iii., 1923, p. 515 *sqq.*; Bel, *Inscriptions de Fès*, in *J. A.*, ser. II, x., 1917; xii., 1918; Marçais, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, ii., 1927, p. 465 *sqq.*). These Marinid madāris are all still in existence. No longer in existence is the M. al-Lebbādīn (Bel, *J. A.*, ser. II, x. 148); the M. al-Šihridj consisted of a larger and a smaller madrasa; the latter is now the M. al-Šāʿiyyīn (*ibid.*, p. 215 *sqq.*). Others were built under the Sharīfs, notably the M. al-Sharrāṭīn in the xith (xviith) century, now the largest in Fās (*ibid.*, p. 114; Bel writes Shaghghaṭīn). In other towns also Abu ʿl-Ḥasan built madāris: in Tāzā Miknāsa, Salā (742 = 1340), Tandja, Sabta, Anfā, Azammūr, Asfā, Aghmāt, Marrākash, al-Kaṣr al-Kabīr, al-ʿUbbād near Tilimsān (747 = 1346–1347), Tilimsān and al-Djazāʾir (Ibn Marzūk, *Hespéris*, v. 35 and p. 69). That of Miknāsa was completed by the son of Abu ʿl-Ḥasan, Abū ʿInān, who was a great builder of schools (Ibn Baṭṭūta, i. 84). In Tilimsān, the Ziyānid Abū Ḥammū Mūsā I had already built a mosque in 710 (1310) and before 737 Abū Tāshifīn founded the similar institute, which bore his name (Marçais, *Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*; do., *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, 1927, ii. 483, 515).

In Spain according to Ibn Saʿīd (viiith = xiiith century), there were no madrasas; instruction was given in the mosques (al-Maḥḥārī, ed. Dozy, i. 136); but in the following year, however, a large madrasa was founded in Granada by the Naṣrid Yūsuf Abū ʿl-Ḥadīdjādī in 750 (1349) (Almagro Cardenas, in *Boletín de la Real Acad. de la Hist.*, xxvii. 490; Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 517).

According to Ibn Saʿīd, men of learning were held in high esteem in al-Andalus; the Marinids in the Maghrib also built madrasas in their enthusiasm to further learning. The traveller al-ʿAbdari (688 = 1289), however, found no interest in learning in Tilimsān, al-Djazāʾir or Constantine (with one exception); it was only in Tunis that he found any enthusiasm (*J. A.*, ser. 5, iv., 1854, p. 154, 157, 158, 161, 169). This is certainly connected with the fact that the madrasa had just then been introduced into Tunis. But not even the madrasas brought about any deepening of interest in study in the west. Ibn Khaldūn (808 = 1406) testifies to the spread of madrasas in Tunis and the Maghrib but laments the decline in education. In al-Andalus, Muslim culture was dying out and after the decline of Kūṭuba and Qairawān, education in the Maghrib was on a low level; while the old schools in the ʿIrāk were no longer of importance, Cairō was a centre of learning to which all made their way and studies also flourished in Persia (*Muḥaddima*, Cairo 1322, p. 342–344, *faṣl* 6, N^o. 2). This decline in interest in learning soon became general. The learning of the time lacked vitality and international scholarship was affected by political conditions. In 1517 A. D., Leo Africanus says that the lecture-rooms in Cairo were large and pleasant but the numbers who attended them were small. Some still studied fiqh, but very few the arts (*Descr. de l'Afr.*, iii. 372, in *Rec. de Voy. et de Doc.*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1896–1898). In Egypt,

interest in the specialised madrasa decreased considerably and the great builder of the xith (xviiith) century, the emir Katkhudā, still built madrasas, but his real interest was in the mosque (see below). Lane only mentions the Azhar Mosque as an important centre of study in Cairo. The development in Mecca was similar, where in modern times studies are only prosecuted in the mosque (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 17, and cf. above). On education and the madrasa in general cf. also F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, Göttingen 1837; Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, 1877, ii. 479 *sqq.*; Haneberg, *Abhandlung über das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhammedaner im Mittelalter*, 1850; v. Berchem, *Corpus Inscr. Arab.*, i. 252–269; G. Gabrieli, *Manuale di Bibliografia Musulmana*, i., 1916, p. 109 *sqq.*

4. Development of the Madrasa and similar Institutions.

a. Madrasa, Masjid and Djāmiʿ.

There was, as already mentioned, no difference in principle between the madrasa and other mosques. Even after the introduction of madāris, the regular mosques remained schools as before. Ibn Baṭṭūta, who travelled in the eighth century, in the period when madāris flourished most, attended lectures on Ḥadīth not only in the Djāmiʿ of Shirāz but also in the Djāmiʿ Maṣṣūr in Baghdād (ii. 83, 110). In Damascus in 580, Ibn Djubair refers to rooms in the Mosque of the Omayyads, which were used for Shāfiʿi and Māliki students, who received considerable stipends (*idjraʿ*, *maʿlūm*) and among them were many *Maghāribi*; the mosque had large endowments (*marāfiḥ*) for strangers and *ahl al-talab* (*Rihla*, p. 266 supra, 272 supra); Ibn Baṭṭūta also speaks of the *ḥalāḳāt al-tadris* of this mosque in the different sciences (i. 212). In Egypt in the time of al-Maḥḥārī (ninth century), there were 8 rooms for fiqh studies in the Mosque of ʿAmr and before 749 there were over 40 *ḥalāḳāt* in it (Maḥḥārī, iv. 20, 21). In the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn after its renovation in the reign of Lādīn (696–708) courses of fiqh, according to the four madhāhib, and other studies were arranged (*ibid.*, p. 41; cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 47 *sqq.*) and in 767 an emir appointed 7 teachers in Ḥanafī fiqh there (Maḥḥārī, iv. 42). In al-Azhar in the seventh century and later after the earthquake of 702 many lecture-rooms with paid teachers were built (*ibid.*, p. 52), likewise in the Mosque of Ḥākim, where, after the earthquake, lectureships in fiqh for each madhhab and for Ḥadīth were founded with salaries for the teachers and scholarships for the students (*ibid.*, p. 57). In Fātimid mosques, like the Djāmiʿ al-Zāfir and the Djāmiʿ Maks built by al-Ḥākim, Mamlūk emirs founded new lectureships (*ibid.*, p. 66, 81) and not only in the Mashhad al-Ḥusaini but also in the Mashhad al-Nafisi were studies carried on in the eighth century (*Ḥusn al-Muḥādara*, i. 195; Muḥyi ʿl-Dīn).

When a particular room was set apart for teaching purposes in a mosque, this was often called a madrasa; for example 6 of the Damascus madāris were in the Mosque of the Omayyads: the Shāhīniya, Ghazāliya, Kūṣiyya, ʿIzzīya, Safīniyya, Munadīdjāʾiyya, of which the first and third were also known simply as *ḥalāḳa* (*J. A.*, ser. 9, iii. 410, 432, 437; iv. 262, 270, 481; others: vii. 230); al-Ḥākim's Māliki madrasa was

in the Mosque of 'Amr (see above) and Ibn Duḡmāk (p. 100 sq.) mentions 8 *zawāyā* in this mosque, which were endowed for *tadris*. The madrasas were often also built close beside the large mosques so that they practically belonged to them. This was the case in Mecca (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 104 sqq.; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūta, i. 324), in Damascus where there was a *Shāfi'* madrasa beside the western gate, Bāb al-Barid (Ibn Djubair, p. 271), in Nisābūr (Ibn Baṭṭūta, iii. 80) and in Cairo where al-Madrasa al-Ṭaibarsiya in 709 and al-Āḡbughāwiya about 730 were built so close to the Azhar Mosque that they had common walls and windows in them, which was specially permitted by a *fatwā*; they were afterwards completely incorporated in the Mosque (Maḡrizī, iv. 223 sq.). In Fās, the chief madrasas are arranged round the great mosque al-Ḳarawīyīn and the same arrangement is found in Marrākash (Pauty, in *Hespéris*, 1923, p. 515 sqq., 523).

If the madrasa, as a building, had little independence, its character as a home for students and place of instruction was very marked. But even where it was quite an independent institution, the distinction between madrasa and ordinary mosque was very slight, all the less as sermons were also preached in the madrasa. In the fifth century the minbar had already been introduced into a large number of mosques. In the Nizāmiya in Nisābūr, services were held as soon as it was finished (by 'Abd al-Rahīm: Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'*, iii. 285) and the Nizāmiya in Baghdād had a minbar (Ibn Djubair, p. 219). A problem was however raised by the fact that these madāris were *Shāfi'* and this school held that only one mosque in a town could celebrate the Friday service, unless the town was of very considerable size and we are definitely told that al-Djuwainī conducted the Friday service in the madrasa in Nisābūr although he was also *khāṭib* at the Manī' mosque (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'*, iii. 251). In Egypt from 569 to 665 there was only one Friday *khutba*, but after this time there was usually a minbar in the larger madrasas. The caliph actually preached in the madrasa built by Ḳalā'ūn (678–689; Maḡrizī, iv. 221). The minbar for the *djum'a* in many mosques is expressly mentioned, e.g. the *Hiḍjāziya* 761 (*ibid.*, p. 222 sq.), the *Bakriya* 776 (*ibid.*, p. 236), the *Zamāniya* 797 (*ibid.*, p. 241), the *Djā'i* (*ibid.*, p. 249). The *Ṣāhibiya*, which had not a minbar at first, was given one in 758 and was henceforth used for the Friday service (*ibid.*, p. 205). In Fās the mixed type of *djāmi'* and madrasa was found in the *Bū'anāniya* (Bel, *J. A.*, ser. 11, xii. 339).

It was only natural that the madrasa should also be called *masdjid* (cf. Ibn Djubair, p. 48, 11 with line 19, 20). Ibn al-Hādīdj in the viiith century still wants to distinguish between *masdjid* and *madrasa* and to give more importance to the former (*Madkhal*, ii. 3, 48). The distinction remained however quite an artificial one and this is also true of the distinction between *madrasa* and *djāmi'*. The name madrasa was decided by the main object of the institution and the special style of the building. The name *djāmi'* was only given if the Friday service was held in it. Thus, as late as 772, we find the emīr Būbakrī building a madrasa and opposite it a *djāmi'*; but in the year 815, the madrasa was given a minbar and used as a *djāmi'* (Maḡrizī, iv. 235 sq.). If these two uses of the building are equal either name may be used

(cf. the double name in an inscription of the emīr Muḡbil: van Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N^o. 201). In some cases a Friday mosque can be said to be in the madrasa (Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 39). The great *Djāmi'* Ḥasan begun in 757 was also one of the largest madāris in Cairo (Maḡrizī, iv. 117 sq.) and on the other hand, the *Djāmi'* *Khāṭiri* in Bulāḡ built in 737 and the *Djāmi'* Aṣlam founded in 746 were educational institutions (*ibid.*, p. 106, 111; *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 192). In the ninth century the *Djāmi'* al-Mu'ayyadī was the most important new madrasa in Cairo (Maḡrizī, iv. 139). The same variation in nomenclature is often found in this century (cf. v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N^o. 235, 248, 253, 262). On the other hand Maḡrizī, in the ninth century, only uses *masdjid* as a name for quite insignificant mosques (iv. 263 sqq., where 19 *masājīd* are mentioned). In the xith century the emīr Katḡhudā built 18 large mosques and many smaller ones and his interest in the furtherance of learning was specially displayed in his buildings at the Azhar mosque, which had developed at the expense of the specialist madāris (al-Djabartī, *Merveilles Biographiques*, iii. 230 sqq.; Sulaimān Raṣad, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Ta'rīkh al-Azhar*, p. 74 sqq.; for the similar situation in Mecca cf. above).

The connection between mausoleum and mosque was also found with the madrasa. The tomb of the founder was placed in Nūr al-Dīn's madrasa in Damascus (Ibn Djubair, p. 284, 4 sq.) and during the Mamlūk period it was the regular custom for the founder of a madrasa to be buried under a *ḡubba* in it.

b. Monasteries.

A close connection arose between the monastery and the madrasa. As already mentioned, it was quite a common thing for devout men to live permanently in the mosque e.g. in the minaret or somewhere else on the roof or in subsidiary buildings or in a cell in the mosque. Such a cell which can be used for teaching or for meditation is called *zāwiya*, lit. corner (Ibn Djubair, p. 240, 245, 266; Maḡrizī iv. 20; cf. Greek *γῶνία*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.). Pious ascetics however had retained from the older religion the custom of living in special monasteries e.g. in *Djawlān* in the fourth century (*B. G. A.*, i. 188); Muslim historians trace these back to the time of the Companions (Maḡrizī, iv. 272 sq.). In the fourth century ascetics and *Ṣūfis*, especially the *Karrāmiya* [q. v.] or *Kirrāmiya* (cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 273), had quite a number of monasteries (*khawānīk*, also *khurwānīk*, sing. *khānākāh*) in Farghāna, Marw al-Rūdh, Samarkand, Djurdjān, Ṭabaristān etc. (*B. G. A.*, iii. 323, 365); in Jerusalem and in Egypt also the *Kirrāmiya* had their monasteries in which they held *dhiḡr* (*ibid.*, p. 179, 182, 202).

The distinction between *khānākāh* and *ribāṭ* (plur. *rubuṭ*) is one of origin rather than fact. *Ribāṭ* was simply a dwelling for men who waged the *djihad* on the frontier but the word was also used by the *Ṣūfis* who waged a spiritual *djihad* (cf. Maḡrizī, iv. 292 sq.). There was a *ribāṭ* in the Maghrib in the fourth century in the Wādī Salā (*B. G. A.*, ii. 56). When Ibn Marzūḡ says that they had only two *rubuṭ* of the eastern kind (in Safī and Salā, *Hespéris*, v. 36, 71), it is doubtful whether he means an establishment of *Ṣūfis* or of *ghāzīs*. In the vth (xith) century there were several military *rubuṭ* on the river Niger, from

which the Almoravids originated. From the xvth century onwards many were built in Morocco against the Spaniards and Portuguese. *Maḥris* is the usual word for *ribāṭ* (see Bel, *J. A.*, ser. 11, ix., 1917, p. 325, N^o. 1). In the east in the fourth century, *rubūṭ* are frequently mentioned, which probably had a military character (*B. G. A.*, iii. 303, 354, 415). The original distinction between *khānākāh* and *ribāṭ* is never quite forgotten; as late as the beginning of the eighth century we find *ribāṭ* used of a barracks (Maḥrizī, iv. 276). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says that the word *khānākāh* had not reached the west; here the old Arabic term *zāwiya* was used (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 71; *khānākāh* however in Ibn Marzūq, *Hesperis*, v. 35 sq.). Usually we find the three terms used without any definite distinction being made between them (*ṣawma'a* also seems to be used in the *Kirfās* of a Muslim monastery, see Tornberg, *Annales*, p. 143; cf. p. 18); for all three names are applied to Ṣūfī monasteries, which also take in strangers, i.e. are used as hospices.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions many monasteries in the 'Irāk and Persia. Beside the tomb of al-Rifā'i, not far from Wāsiṭ was a *ribāṭ*, which he calls *riwāk*, where "thousand of poor men", i.e. Ṣūfis, lived (ii. 4). In al-Lūr especially, he found a vast number of monasteries; the sultān there built 460 *zawāyā* and spent 1/3 of his revenues on them and the *madāris* (ii. 31).

For Syria, Ibn Djubair testifies to the flourishing monasteries which were often regular palaces and he says that the names *khānākāh* and *ribāṭ* are used indiscriminately (p. 243, 271, 284); the word *khānākāh* sounded strange to him as a westerner, as to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (p. 284). Nevertheless al-Nu'aimi distinguishes the three terms and mentions 29 *khawānīk*, 23 *rubūṭ* and 26 *zawāyā*. The oldest *khānākāh* mentioned by him (Duwaira) was founded for a learned man who died in 401 (Sauvaire, in *J. A.*, ser. 9, v. 269, 377, 387 sqq.).

It was similar with Egypt. The first *khānākāh* was built by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 569 in Cairo (al-Ṣālihiya, originally called Dār Sa'īd al-Su'ādā: Maḥrizī, iv. 273), the next in the seventh century by Baibars al-Bunduqdāri, who also founded new monasteries in Syria (*ibid.*, p. 282, 298). Of *khawānīk*, al-Maḥrizī mentions 22 (Ibn Duḥmāk only one), of the sixth century: one, seventh: one, eighth: 18, ninth: one. Of *rubūṭ* 12 (Ibn Duḥmāk 8), of the seventh century: 9, of the eighth: one, besides 5 on al-Karāfa. Of *zawāyā* 26 (Ibn Duḥmāk, 9); these were mainly outside the town and were obviously quite small, often being simply the house, later the tomb of some devout man. The oldest dated from the sixth century. In Jerusalem also Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built a *khānākāh* (v. Berchem, *Corpus*, ii., p. 87 sqq.). Among the *khawānīk*, *zawāyā* and *rubūṭ* in this city the last named seem to have been specially intended as hostels for pilgrims (*ibid.*, p. 197 sqq.; see also Sauvaire, *Jérus. et Hébron*, index). In Mecca 50 *rubūṭ* are mentioned; the oldest dated from 400 (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 108—115). At places of pilgrimage, the monasteries played an important part as hostels but even in other places they also gave accommodation to strangers. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa on his travels usually stayed in them (he calls them *zawāyā*) but he also lodged in *madāris*, which were generally used as hospices (cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, 11/ii. 35, note). Some of these

institutions were convents for single women (Maḥrizī, iv. 293 sq.).

The main object of monasteries, however, was to afford Ṣūfis a home and place for their devotional exercises. In the *khānākāh* of Baibars founded in 706, 400 Ṣūfis were maintained (Maḥrizī, iv. 276 *infra*) and in the *khānākāh* Siryākūs 100 (*ibid.*, p. 285). They were given lodging, food, clothing and money; there were often baths attached to them. The building was arranged for *dhikr* exercises, and also for ṣalāts so that it was a kind of mosque. Ibn Djubair mentions a *ribāṭ* on the summit of Abū Kubais in which there was a mosque (p. 108). A *ribāṭ* may be actually called a *masjid* (Maḥrizī, iv. 294; cf. *khānākāh* and *masjid*, p. 282 and the term *masjid al-ribāṭ*: Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, iii. 880). The monastery founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was actually given a minaret in 780 (*miḍḥana*) and it is recorded that people used to wear sandals to walk in the *ṣahn* (Maḥrizī, iv. 275 *infra*). Sometimes only the occupants of the monastery are admitted to the ṣalāt (*ibid.*, p. 277: *Khānākāh* Baibars). There was therefore an imām on the staff of the *khānākāh* (*ibid.*, p. 287). Like other sanctuaries the monasteries sometimes preserved relics; the *Ribāṭ al-Āthār*, for example, preserved a piece of iron and wood which had belonged to the Prophet (*ibid.*, p. 295). We sometimes find a *khānākāh* built close to a large mosque like the *khānākāh* of Ākbughā beside the Azhar Mosque (*ibid.*, p. 292; cf. p. 289: *Ḳūsūn*) or the founder built a *masjid* for the Friday ṣalāt beside the monastery (Siryākūs, *ibid.*, p. 285). The occupants of the Ṣālihiya *Khānākāh* took a prominent part in the Friday service in the mosque of Ḥākim (*ibid.*, p. 274). At a later date, we find the monasteries themselves arranged for the Friday ṣalāt. This was the case with the *Ribāṭ al-Afram*, which in 663 was given a minbar for the Friday and festival *khutbas* (*ibid.*, p. 297) and al-Mu'ayyad made a house, that had been begun before he came to the throne, into a *djāmi'an wa-khānākāh* (*ibid.*, p. 134 *infra*) just as *vice versa* a *djāmi'* could be built with living-rooms for Ṣūfis, e.g. the *Djāmi' al-Bāsiṭi* (beginning of the ixth century, like the preceding, *ibid.*, p. 140 *infra*) and in the viith century, the *Djāmi' Shaikhū* (before the building of his *khānākāh*, *ibid.*, p. 113). Baibars al-Bunduqdāri was buried in his *khānākāh* and the monasteries had as a rule tombs, either of the founder, or of devout men who had lived in them.

The development of the monastery is therefore quite analogous to that of the madrasa; the one institution merges into the other, because learning and manifestation of piety are inseparable in Islām. Learning was also cultivated in the monasteries; at the present day, we find students living in a monastery and attending lectures in a madrasa. Some scholars lectured on *Hadīth* in their rooms in a monastery (*ibid.*, p. 294, 295, 303) but instruction was also arranged for in some monasteries just as in the *madāris*. 'Abd al-Latif (d. 629 = 1231) lectured in a *ribāṭ* in Baghdād on *uṣūl*, *ḥadīth*, etc. (Ibn Abī Uṣaib'a, ii. 203) and a *Ribāṭ al-Khātūnī* is mentioned here, which had a library (Ibn al-Ḳiftī, ed. Lippert, p. 269). There are other references to libraries in monasteries (see for Marw: Yāqūt, iv. 509). In *Khānākāh Shaikhū* founded in 756, an extensive course of lectures, *Fīkh* according to all four *Madhāhib*, *Hadīth* and

Ikra³ (Maḳrīzī, iv. 283), was given. In the Ribāṭ al-Āthār in the eighth century, instruction was given in *Shāfiʿī Fiqh* (*ibid.*, p. 296) and in the *Djāmiʿ al-Fakhrī* built in 821, arrangements were made for students as well as for *Ṣūfīs* (*ibid.*, p. 136); the Ḥanafī madrasa al-Djāmāliya (730) was also a *khānakāh* (*ibid.*, p. 238 *supra*); they had a common director.

In the eighth and ninth century this combination of the two institutions became quite frequent, for example in the Nizāmiya in Cairo of the year 757 (v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i. 242 *sqq.*), in the mausoleum of Barsbāi 835 (*ibid.*, p. 365 *sq.*; cf. Ibn Iyās, ii. 21, 22, 41), of al-Malik al-Ashraf Ināl, 855—860 (*ibid.*, N^o. 271 *sqq.*) and of Kaʿit Bāi 879 (*ibid.*, p. 431 *sqq.*). The same institution thus came to be given different names (cf. *ibid.*, p. 172 *sqq.*) and al-Suyūṭī deals with the *khawānikh* under the *madāris*. In the east, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the same relationship, for example in Shirāz and in Kerbelā³ (ii. 78 *sq.*, 88, 99) and this is what he means when he says the Persians call the *zāwiya* madrasa (ii. 30, 32). In the west, he lauds his own sovereign, who had built a splendid *zāwiya* in Fās (i. 84); here also learning and *Ṣūfism* were associated (see the quotation in Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *zāwiya*) and the *zāwiya* still plays an important part in North Africa (see Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; El-Hachaichi, *Voyages au Pays des Senoussia*, transl. Serres and Lasram, Paris 1912). Cf. on the monasteries: v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. 163 *sqq.*, 174 *sq.*

c. Hospitals.

We commonly find, e.g. in Ibn Djubair and al-Maḳrīzī, the hospital, *bimāristān*, *māristān*, *mūristān*, mentioned in close connection with the madrasa, probably because it was administered by learned men and as a rule also contained a medical school. Al-Walid is said to have been the first in Islām to build a hospital, in the year 88 (Maḳrīzī, iv. 258 *sq.*; *B. G. A.*, v. 106). In Cairo in 259 or 261 (i.e. before the mosque) Ibn Ṭūlūn built a hospital for the poor. At the same time he installed a dispensary behind the mosque and a physician used to sit here to be consulted every Friday. According to al-Maḳrīzī, his *māristān* (called in Ibn Duḳmāk, p. 99 the "upper") was the first in Egypt; this probably means the first free public hospital; it is improbable that this Hellenistic institution did not already exist in Egypt (Maḳrīzī, iv. 38, 39, 258; *Husn*, ii. 139). Al-Maḳrīzī (iv. 259 *sqq.*) mentions in addition to this hospital in Cairo the *Māristān Kāfur* (in 346, perhaps identical with that called the "lower" by Ibn Duḳmāk, p. 99), al-Maghāfir (232—247), al-Manṣūri (682), al-Muʿaiyadi (821). To these must be added the two which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn maintained in Miṣr and Qāhira (Ibn Djubair, p. 51, 52; cf. Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1302, ii. 402 *sq.*). In Damascus Ibn Djubair found two hospitals, one of them the *Bimāristān al-Nūrī* (p. 283, 284; cf. Ibn Khallikān, ii. 403). He also mentioned one in Naṣībīn (p. 240), in Ḥarrān 2 (p. 247), in Ḥalab 1 (p. 253), in Ḥamā 1 (p. 257); in Baghdād he refers to a number without particularising them but we know of hospitals here from the third century and in 304 Sinān b. Thābit was director of the hospitals of Baghdād; he was responsible for the foundation of three more (Ibn al-Kifī, ed. Lippert, p. 193; cf. *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʿ*, ed. Amedroz, p. 21 and on the whole question: Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 326 *sq.*). There was

a hospital attached to the great Mustanṣiriya madrasa (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 268).

As regards the teaching of medicine, Ibn Abi Uṣaibiʿa shows (i. 103 *sqq.*) that it was continued without interruption in Islām: for example, he mentions ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abdjar, who was in charge of the medical school in Alexandria, and after the conquest adopted Islām. At a later date, the chief medical schools were in Antākiya and Ḥarrān, among other places (i. 116 *infra*). For a long period most of the physicians were Christians (cf. also *B. G. A.*, iii. 183). Teaching was usually given in connection with the hospitals. The head physician collected the students around him whom he trained (*kharradja*) and they assisted him (e.g. the Georgios, summoned from Gundēshāpūr to Baghdād by Manṣūr: Ibn Abi Uṣaibiʿa, i. 124). Qalāʾūn had a lecture-room installed in his hospital, the Manṣūri, where the *raʾīs al-aṭibbāʾ* lectured on medical science (Maḳrīzī, iv. 260); instruction was also given in the great al-Bimāristān al-Nūrī in Damascus (Ibn Abi Uṣaibiʿa, ii. 192). Lectures on medicine (*ṭibb*) were sometimes also given in the mosques but in this case it was for the most part a theoretical science closely connected with philosophy. Ibn al-Haiṭham (d. c. 430) lectured on *ṭibb* in the reign of al-Ḥākim (*ibid.*, ii. 90) and when Lādjin restored the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn he also endowed lectureships on this subject (Maḳrīzī, iv. 41; which shows that *ṭibb* should be read in Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 47). *Ṭibb* could also be studied in a madrasa; for example, al-Djili, who died in 641 lectured on it in the *Adhrāwiya* in Damascus (Ibn Abi Uṣaibiʿa, ii. 171). At the same time there were special *madāris al-ṭibb*; thus in the seventh century three were built in Damascus (*J. A.*, ser. 9, iv. 497—499; Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.*, iii. 329). The teachers in them could also be physicians at the hospitals (Ibn Abi Uṣaibiʿa, ii. 266).

d. Children's Schools.

These were older than Islāmic science, since at the very beginning of Islām, reading and writing were taught in Arabia. In Medina the teachers were often Jews (see Balādhuri, p. 473 *infra*; cf. the name *rabbānī* for the teacher: Sūra, iii. 73; v. 48, 68; Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 10; Yaʿqūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 243); but ability to write was not so common here as in Mecca (cf. on the question Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qurʾāns*, i. 15 *sq.*; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i. 110 *sq.*). After the battle of Badr, several captured Meccans were released to teach writing in Medina (*Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 171; cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Sprenger, *Leben Muh.*, iii. 131). After the capture of Kaisāriya, the prisoners were settled in al-Djurf and some were employed in the school (*kuttāb*) (Balādhuri, p. 142). Another contemporary of ʿOmar's, Djubair b. Haiya, who was later an official and governor, was a teacher (*muʿallim kuttāb*) in a school in Ṭāʾif (Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1323, i. 235). Muʿāwiya, who had acted as the Prophet's amanuensis took a great interest in the education of the young. They learned reading, writing, counting, swimming and a little of the Qurʾān and the necessary observances of religion. Famous men like al-Ḥadīdjādī and the poets Kumait and Ṭirimmāḥ are said to have been schoolmasters (Lammens, *Moʿāwīa*, p. 329 *sqq.*, 360 *sqq.*). The main subject taught was *adab*, so that the schools of the children were called *madjālis al-adab* (*Aghānī*, xviii., 2nd Cairo ed., p. 101), and the teacher was called

mu'addib (e.g. Maḳrīzī, iv. 223; cf. Yāḳūt, *Uḍabā'*, iv. 272; vii. 105), also *mu'allim* (Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāt*, bāb 27; Yāḳūt, iii. 410; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 213), in modern times *fiḳh* (s. Lane, *Manners and Customs, Everyman's Library*, p. 61). The teacher was as a rule held in little esteem, perhaps a relic of the times when he was a slave, but we also find distinguished scholars teaching in schools; thus Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muḏāḥim who died in 105 or 106, the exegetist, traditionalist and grammarian, had a school in Kūfa, said to have been attended by 3,000 children, where he used to ride up and down among his pupils on an ass (Yāḳūt, *Uḍabā'*, iv. 272 sq.). As language was of the utmost importance, we find a Beduin being appointed and paid as a teacher of the youth in Baṣra (*ibid.*, ii. 239). Schools spread during the Omayyad period. They were found in Kḥurāsān and instruction was also given at home in the houses (see Haneberg, *Schul- und Lehrwesen*, p. 4 sq.). Under the Fāṭimids, there was a boys' school in the palace where the youth of the upper classes was prepared for the Caliph's service (Maḳrīzī, ii. 209–211). It is natural to find a children's school also attached to the mosque; but education became probably more and more centred round the Qur'ān. In the Mosque of the Omayyads children were taught (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 213; Ibn Ḍjubair, p. 272) and the teachers had special rooms at the north door of the mosque (Ibn Ḍjubair, p. 271). In Palermo most of the numerous mosques were also used for teaching the Qur'ān (*ibid.*, p. 332); according to Yāḳūt (iii. 410), there were no less than 300 teachers here, but, he adds, because they were exempt from military service; but in the fourth century Ibn Ḥawḳāl counted 300 *katātib* in Palermo, the teachers of which were held in high esteem (*B.G.A.*, ii. 87).

To this day children are taught in the ṣaḥn of the Azhar Mosque. In the sixth century there were also many independent schools. In Cairo, Ibn Ḍjubair found a large number of schools mainly for orphans and poor children and the teachers and pupils were maintained by the Sultān (p. 52) and in Damascus he saw a similar large institution (p. 272). In Jerusalem Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built a school (v. Berchem, *Corpus*, II/i, 108 sq.). Ibn Ḍjubair says that in these eastern countries, the Qur'ān was only taught orally (by *talkīn*) while writing was practised with poems etc., out of respect for the Qur'ān (*Riḥla*, p. 272). This did not hold generally however. At a later date (xiiith century) we are told that a pipe was led from a school in the Azhar Mosque to the tomb of the founder so that his grave could be watered by the water in which the slates, on which sentences from the Qur'ān had been written, were washed (Sulaimān Raṣād, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Ta'rīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, p. 73). As a rule the school was placed close to the mosque and beside a drinking fountain. During the Mamlūk period, nearly every founder of a madrasa built in connection with it a similar institution for orphans and poor children, who received free instruction and sometimes also maintenance in it (see Maḳrīzī, s. v. *madāris*, *passim*). The object of one such school beside the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn is thus defined by Lāḏjīn as "to teach the orphans of the Muslims to recite the Book of God, the Exalted and also for other works pleasing to God and the various kinds of piety" (Maḳrīzī, iv. 41). Elsewhere it is

often said to be "to teach them the Qur'ān". In the Maghrib also, the children only learned the Qur'ān, i. e. to recite it, while in Andalus they also learned reading and writing (*kitāb*), poems and a little grammar. In Ifriḳiya they learned, beside the Qur'ān, some Ḥadīth and a little of other sciences (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, p. 447 sq.; *faṣl*, vi. 32).

The children's school is called *maktab* (e. g. Yāḳūt, *Uḍabā'*, iv. 272; Maḳrīzī, iv. 41, 201) or *kuttāb* (Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāt*, bāb 27; Balāḏhūrī, p. 142; Maḳrīzī, iv. 197, 240); those founded for poor children *kuttāb ṣabil* or *maktab ṣabil* (cf. e. g. Maḳrīzī, iv. 53, 117, 199, 201). The word *ṣabil* characterises the school as a public benevolent institution; cf. the expression: "she made a *maktab li 'l-ṣabil*" (*ibid.*, p. 223; of Kalā'ūn's hospital, *ibid.*, p. 260; s. also Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, I/i, 229 note and *B. G. A.*, iv. 211, 258). — Cf. on elementary education: Goldziher, *Art. Education*, in *Hastings, Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*; Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 177 sq.; Lane, *Manners and Customs*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 144 sqq.

5. Libraries.

In Mecca, as well as in Medīna, there were large collections of books in the mosques (Ibn Ḍjubair, p. 89, 193; on modern conditions in Medīna, see Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, p. 254 sq.). The Ḍjāmi' Zaitūna in Tunis had a large library (*Rec. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, 1894, p. 287). The Nizāmiya in Baghdād had a library of which al-Isfārā'īnī (d. 488) was librarian (Wüstenfeld, *Shāfi'i*, iii. 314). The Mustanṣiriya was better supplied in this respect than any other madrasa (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 174). In Marw there were in the sixth century 10 public endowed libraries in the mosques and madāris, two of them in the chief mosque, one of the latter containing about 12,000 volumes (Yāḳūt, iv. 509). Among the madāris in Cairo, the Fāḳiliya was particularly well endowed in this respect; it contained 100,000 volumes (Maḳrīzī, iv. 197); these were acquired by al-Kāḍi al-Fāḍil from the Fāṭimid Academy (Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287, i. 200, 268; Maḳrīzī, ii. 253 sqq.) and in Kalā'ūn's hospital there were according to Ibn Taghribirdī (II/i, 482), 100,000 volumes from the same library. These libraries were often broken up and portions put in other madāris. During the famine of 694, the students of the Fāḳiliya sold the valuable books for a loaf a volume (Maḳrīzī, iv. 197; cf. also p. 252). In Syria, Asia Minor (v. Berchem, *Corpus*, III/i. 26 sqq.) and in the Maghrib also (*J. A.*, ser. II, x. 109 sqq.; *Hespéris*, v. 35) and elsewhere, libraries formed part of the endowments of the madāris. With the decline in interest in learning many of these libraries became neglected. What survived has often been collected and placed in new libraries, as for example in Cairo in the Royal Library since 1891: for Damascus see Ḥabīb al-Zayāt, *Khazā'in al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ wa-Ḍawāḥiḥā* (Cairo 1902).

6. The subjects taught and the methods of instruction.

As already explained, in the earliest period the principal subjects studied in the mosque were Qur'ān and Ḥadīth to which was added the study of the Arabic language. In Bukhārī (*K. al-'Ilm*)

'ilm still means Ḥadīth but, with the development of the systems of law and theology, these were also taught in the mosques. In the mosque of al-Manṣūr in Baṣra, al-Ash'ari heard al-Djubbā'i expound the Mu'tazila *kalām* (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, p. 131); closely connected with this was methodology (*al-Mudhākara wa 'l-Nazar*, cf. Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 383). But many different subjects could also be taught. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who taught in Manṣūr's Djami' in Baghdad, lectured on his history of Baghdad (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, i. 246 sq.). Philosophy proper however disappeared from the mosques. In Spain, we are told, *falsafa* and *tandjim* were only cultivated in secret, as those who studied them were branded as *zindik*, even stoned or burned (Maḳḳari, ed. Dozy, i. 136). The madāris were mainly established to teach the established systems of *fiqh* and originally each school was intended to represent only one madhhab. Where the four madhāhib are represented in one school, one can talk of four madāris, e.g. *al-Madāris al-Sālihiya* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 209, 282; also *al-Madrasatāni*, because it was divided by the street, p. 209; cf. v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i. 104, note 1). The custom, often occurring before Nizām al-Mulk's time of founding a *Dār al-Ḥadīth* was also continued after him. Al-Maḳrīzī mentions two of them in Cairo: al-Kāmilīya, founded in 622 by al-Malik al-Kāmil (iv. 211 sq.) and al-Kharūbiya, founded in 785 (*ibid.*, p. 201). The former was restored in 1166 again as a ḥadīth school (v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i., No. 61). Before al-Malik al-Kāmil, Nūr al-Dīn (d. 599) had founded the Nūriya in Damascus as a *Dār al-Ḥadīth* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 211; cf. *J. A.*, ser. 9, iii. 280); when al-Maḳrīzī says this was the first built on the earth he must be corrected. In Damascus many similar schools were built. 16 are mentioned, and 3 Ḳur'an and Ḥadīth schools besides (*J. A.*, ser. 9, iii. 271 sqq.; Fleischer, *Kl. Schriften*, iii. 318 sq., 329 differs slightly).

The ordinary madāris however included other subjects beside the study of *fiqh* alone. Special mention is made of *naḥw* (al-Ṣāhibīya, Maḳrīzī, iv. 205). In the Nizāmīya in Baghdad and in other madāris in the east, philological studies were prosecuted (cf. Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 409; v. 423 sq. and iv. 253, but it must be an anachronism when Sulaimān b. 'Abd Allāh is said to have taught philology in 403 in the Nizāmīya in Baghdad). In 604 (1207) al-Malik al-Mu'azzam built beside the Ṣakhra mosque a *Madrasa naḥwiya*, exclusively for Arabic linguistic studies (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jér. et Hébr.*, p. 86, 140) and schools for special subjects were not rare (cf. Subki, *Mu'id*, ed. Myhrmann, p. 153). In addition to those in Maḳrīzī, there are frequent references to *ḳirā'a* (often *al-ḳirā'at al-sab'*), *ḥadīth*, *tafsir* and *mi'ād* (devotional exercises: cf. thereon Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, II/ii. 47). Al-Subki mentions, in addition to the special Ḥadīth schools, also *Madāris al-Tafsir* and *Madāris al-Naḥw* (*Mu'id al-N'ām*, ed. Myhrmann, p. 153).

In his *Muḳaddima* (faṣl 6, No. 4 sqq.), Ibn Khaldūn gives a survey of the divisions of Islāmic studies. They are divided into 'ulūm *ṭabī'iya* and *naḳliya*. The former are based on observation by the senses and deduction and are therefore also called *falsafiya* or *'akliya*, the latter are dependent on revelation by the "legitimate determiner" (*al-Wāḳi' al-Ṣāḥi'*), are therefore based on special communication. The 'ulūm *naḳliya* therefore com-

prise all branches of knowledge which owe their existence to Islām, namely *Ḳur'an*, i.e. *tafsir* and the seven *ḳirā'at* (No. 5), *ḥadīth* with the sciences auxiliary to it, including *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth* (No. 6), *al-fikh* with special emphasis on *al-farā'id*, the law of inheritance (No. 7—8), *uṣūl al-fikh* with the principles of law including methods of deduction on the differences between the madhāhib (No. 9), *al-kalām*, theology, which is *naḳliya* in as much as it is really a further development of *imān* which comes under the head of religious duties, but is *'akliya* in its nature since it is entirely based on abstract proofs (No. 10), *al-taṣawwuf*, something like practical theology (No. 11), *ta'bir al-ru'yā*, interpretations of visions (No. 12).

Linguistic sciences come next to the study of Ḳur'an and Ḥadīth (cf. No. 4, 37 beginning), which are divided into 4 parts: *al-naḥw*, *al-lughā*, *al-bayān*, *al-adab* (No. 37), and in the last named category comes the whole study of Arabic literature.

The 'ulūm *'akliya* are variously classified, usually into 7 main sections (No. 13) and are *al-mantiq*, logic, which is the foundation of all others (No. 17), *al-arithmāṭikī*, arithmetic, including *ḥisāb* etc. (No. 14), *al-handasa*, geometry (No. 15), *al-ḥa'ira*, astronomy (No. 16), *al-mūsikī*, the theory of tones and their definition by number etc. (see No. 13); then there is *al-ṭabī'iyyāt*, the theory of bodies at rest and in motion, — heavenly, human, animal, plant and mineral; among its subdivisions, special mention is made of *al-ṭibb*, medicine, and *al-falāḥa*, agriculture (No. 18—20; cf. No. 29). The seventh main head is 'ilm *al-ilāhiyyāt*, metaphysics (No. 21). Magic, talismans, mysterious properties of numbers etc. also form branches of Muslim learning (No. 22 sqq.).

As above remarked, medicine was not only taught in special schools but also in the mosques; about 600 A. H., 'Abd al-Laṭīf lectured in the Azhar Mosque but it is not quite clear whether his instruction in *ṭibb* was also given there (Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a, ii. 207) and in any case the "philosophical sciences" in particular were cultivated in the mosques. Another division which still prevails, developed, that into principal sciences, those having a definite aim (*maḳāṣid*) and instrumental sciences (*ālāt or wasā'il*). To the former belong *kalām*, *al-aḳhlāk al-dīniya* (ethics, practically the same as *taṣawwuf*), *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fikh*, *Ḳur'an* (*tadwid* and *tafsir*), *ḥadīth*. The latter comprise linguistics, (*ṣarf*, *ma'āni*, *bayān*, *bad'i*) and in addition metrics and prosody (*arūd*, *ḳāfiya*), logic (*mantiq*) including the theory of proof (*ādāb al-baḥṭh*), probably the same as the older *mudhākara* and *naḥar*, mathematics (*ḥisāb* and *djābr*), *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth* (cf. Muṣṭafā Bairam, *Risāla*, Cairo 1902, p. 20; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 200 sqq.). There are no hard and fast lines drawn. When in 1162 Aḥmad Paṣha came to Cairo as governor, no *shāikh* in the Azhar could give answers to simple questions on mathematics and astronomy, because they only knew as much arithmetic as sufficed to deal with questions raised by the law of inheritance; a very few studied these subjects privately. The Paṣha pointed out that astronomy was necessary for the study of religious duties, to settle the times and seasons (al-Djabarti, *Merveilles Biographiques*, ii. 110 sqq.; cf. also A. Sprenger, *Die Schulfächer und die Scholastik der Muslime*, Z.D.M.G. xxxii, 1878, p. 1—20).

The method of teaching was by lectures which had to be learned by heart afterwards (*talkin*). The first task was to learn the Qur'an by heart and then acquire as many traditions as possible. The ḥadīth was repeated three times so that the student could remember it (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, p. 30). Lecturing soon became dictation (*imlāʾ*), when the student wrote down what was said, except in the case of the Qur'an (approved: Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 34, 36). The method was the same for linguistic or literary subjects as for Ḥadīth, Tafsir, etc. The philologists not only used to dictate their grammatical works, as for example Ibn Duraid (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿi*, p. 127) or ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Wāhid (d. 344) who dictated from memory 30,000 folios on *luḡa* (Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii. 26) but also the text of the poets, like al-Ṭabarī, who lectured on *al-ʿIṣṣimāh* in the Mosque of ʿAmr in 256 (*ibid.*, vi. 432). Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (d. 327 or 328), who dictated in one part of the mosque and his father in another, knew by heart 300,000 *shawāhid* for the Qur'an and 120 commentaries on verses of the Qur'an with their isnāds (*ibid.*, vii. 73). Dictation was specially important in the case of Ḥadīth, as the exact establishment of the text was the first necessity. It is therefore always said "he dictated Ḥadīth" (*Husn al-Muḥādara*, i. 139; Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿi*, p. 210, 224, 248, 257, 287 etc.; Ibn Kuṭlūbughā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafīya*, ed. Flügel, p. 51; Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, i. 246). The position of a teacher is therefore *maḍlīs al-imlāʾ* (*ibid.*, ii. 243; vii. 74), and his *famulus* among the students is *al-mustamlī* (cf. *ibid.*, vi. 282; vii. 74). Problems of fiqh were also dictated (so Abū Yūsuf, Ibn Kuṭlūbughā, ed. Flügel, No. 249).

Instruction frequently began immediately after the ṣalāt and the students performed the ṣalāt along with the teacher. The class (*dars*) began with the recitation of the Qur'an by a *ḥārī*, with blessings on the Prophet, and other religious formulae (*Madkhal*, i. 56; cf. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 172 sq.). At the present day, the teacher as a rule simply pronounces the *basmala* himself. Dictation alone was not everywhere the custom. In time, there came to be so many copies of the chief texts that the students were able to get copies for themselves. The text was in this case read aloud and the teacher gave his comments and emendations on the text (Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, i. 255). It was only natural that the dictation of texts was first abandoned in philology; it is said to have been dropped as early as the fourth (tenth) century (Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 171 with a reference to Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿīya*, iii. 259; Suyūṭī, *Mushir*, i. 30). This does not mean that dictation was completely abandoned for the teacher still made his pupils write down his comments; for example Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 584) dictated a commentary on Ḥarīrī (Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii. 20), and the method of having a text read aloud, while the lecturer explained any remarkable phrases was used as early as by the teacher of Ḥadīth, Ibn Kaisān (d. 299; *ibid.*, vi. 282). At the present day, either the teacher or his *famulus* reads the text to be expounded from printed copy.

Cooperation between teachers and taught by questioning one another has always been an important feature of method. Ibn Khaldūn laments that so few teachers in his time understand the correct methods of teaching (*ṭuruḡ al-taʿlim*).

They put difficult questions at once to the pupil instead of which the *talkin* must be arranged systematically, so that it is always combined with exposition and it is a fundamental principle that the pupil should not mix the different subjects. In Spain and North Africa in particular in his time, the instruction was not particularly good, and they laid too much stress on learning by heart (*ḥifẓ*) (*Muḥaddima*, p. 342, 443 sq., 445 = *faṣl* 6, No. 2, 29, 30; cf. Subkī, *Muʿid al-Niʿam*, ed. Myhrmann, p. 151 sq.). Mechanical learning by heart is recognised for the Qur'an. It is therefore regularly said "he dictated and expounded" (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿi*, p. 220, 326). When the above mentioned Ibn Kaisān expounded ḥadīths, he also asked his hearers about their meaning (Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi. 282). Vice versa, the class was at liberty to catechise the teacher. Al-Shāfiʿī used to sit in his great ḥaḷḳa in Mecca and say: "Ask me what you want and I will then give you information on the Qur'an and *sunna*" (*ibid.*, vi. 391; cf. B. G. A., iii. 379). The teacher was sometimes overwhelmed with questions (Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, v. 272). Ibn Djubair saw written questions being handed to a teacher in the Nizāmiya in Baghdād (p. 219 sq.). Both practices are still in vogue and even in large classes the student may interrupt with questions. Ibn al-Ḥājjī condemns irregular interruptions of the lecture (*Madkhal*, i. 57).

7. The Teachers.

The name for a teacher is *mudarris* (also used in the pre-Muḥammadan period: Ibn Abī Uṣāibiʿa, i. 104); *ustādḥ* is a kind of honorary title (see Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, i. 113, 209; ii. 271; v. 353, 354, 358, 448) and is still in use and applied also to students. There were a very large number of teachers in the great mosques. In the madrasa at first only one was appointed, for example in the Nizāmiya in Baghdād (see above), in the first of those founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Cairo (al-Nāṣiriya: Maḳrīzī, iv. 193) and in many others. A madrasa frequently took its name from a distinguished teacher (e.g. the Ghaznawiya in Cairo: Maḳrīzī, iv. 235; the Sharifiya, originally the Nāṣiriya: *ibid.*, p. 193; M. Ibn Rashīḳ: *ibid.*, p. 195; cf. Masḳūd al-Kisāʾi in Baghdād). In the larger madāris, however, several teachers were appointed; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn appointed 4 lectures to the Ḳamhiya in Cairo (*ibid.*, p. 193 sq.); in this case a definite number (20) of students was allotted to each teacher (cf. *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 105 sq.).

It is easily understood that the conditions in the older mosques, where every one could come and go, were freer than in the madāris, which were built for particular teachers and students. There was certainly no official recognition of the teachers in the earliest period. After text-books had come into use, the certificate of qualification was the *idjāza*, and so it has remained to modern times. Any one who had studied with a teacher could get permission from him to teach from the book, which he had copied out and studied from his dictation; the teacher wrote this permission (*idjāza*) in the book (e.g. Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, i. 253; ii. 272). A teacher could also give an *idjāza ʿamma*, which permitted the individual concerned to teach from all his works (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 251). In Damascus, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was given quite a number of these "diplomas" (i. 251—253). It was the usual thing for a travelling scholar to collect numerous *idjāzas*;

thus 'Abd al-Laṭīf had certificates of this kind from teachers in Baghdād, Khurāsān, Egypt and Syria (Ibn Abī Uṣaibī'a, ii. 202). As late as about 1700 we find al-Nābulusī acquiring *idjāzāt* on his travels (*Z. D. M. G.*, xvi. 690). There were special formulae for the *idjāza* for *tadris* and *futyā* (al-Kālkashandī, *Subḥ al-Aṣḥā*, xiv. 322 sq.). Some scholars only gave occasional lectures. 'Abd al-Wahīd (d. 494) lectured on Ḥadīth every Friday in the Nizāmiya (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, p. 287) and originally this was the case in the Azhar Mosque (see above).

The caliph al-Kādir, in his earlier days, used to lecture every Friday in a mosque in Baghdād (*ibid.*, p. 233). Some scholars only dealt with a very limited subject; thus one was appointed to the Nizāmiya to lecture on Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* because he had attended lectures on this from a celebrated teacher (*ibid.*, p. 288). There were however many learned men who devoted themselves mainly to teaching and taught several subjects. Thus al-Shāfi'i began his *ḥalka* immediately after the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* and taught students of the Qur'ān, at sunrise the students of Ḥadīth came to him and heard his comments; later in the day he lectured on method (*mudhākara wa 'l-naẓar*); at the *ḡuḥā* the *ahl al-'Arabiya* came to him and he lectured on *'arūd*, *naḥw* and *shī'r*. He went off at midday (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 383). About 300 A.H. we find Ibn Kaisān lecturing for the best part of the day on a number of subjects in somewhat the same order (*ibid.*, vi. 282); others lectured from early morning till late in the evening (*ibid.*, vii. 176; Ibn Abī Uṣaibī'a, ii. 207 *supra*) and pious teachers even spent the night in the mosque in prayer (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, p. 258). Sometimes a young teacher began by dictating ḥadīth and later received a post with a wider scope in a mosque (*ibid.*, p. 239).

The distinction between teacher and taught was not absolute; any one could have an *idjāza* in one subject, while he was still a student in others and even men of ripe scholarship attended the lectures of notable teachers. This led students to travel from one seat of learning to another, just as they used to travel in early days to collect ḥadīths (Bukhārī, *Ilm*, p. 7, 19, 26). All the biographies of learned men give examples of this; the old Hellenistic custom was thus continued (cf. J. W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York 1910) and royal courts still played the same part; at them learned guests received donations, which enabled them to appear as teachers in the mosques (e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 75 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, Būlak 1284, vii. 452; Ibn Abī Uṣaibī'a, ii. 205; cf. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 589). Distinguished scholars were of course much visited by lovers of learning; of one of the latter, it is said *ruḥila ilaihi* or *ilaihi kāmāt al-riḥla* "they used to travel to him" (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 174; *Husn al-Muḥādara*, i. 207; cf. p. 141). 4–600 *ḡuḥāḥ* had gathered round a teacher in the Maghrib in the time of Ibn al-Ḥādīdj (*Madkhal*, ii. 5). Sometimes a scholar attended another's class to try him with questions (see e.g. for al-Bukhārī: Brünnow-Fischer, *Chrestomathie*, p. 103) and disputations often took place in which the pupils used to support their teacher very vigorously. If the stranger was recognised, the teacher might receive him with marks of honour (al-Akhfash at al-Kisā'i's: Yāqūt, *Udabā'*,

iv. 243 sq.). As in the Christian universities of Europe, public disputations were held in the mosques, in which considerable feeling might be displayed, e.g. in the disputations in the Ruṣāfa mosque in Baghdād between Ibn Suraidj (d. 306 = 918) and the son of Dāwūd al-Zāhiri in which the former was victorious (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, p. 110 sq.). The teachers of the Nizāmiya also used to hold disputations (*ibid.*, p. 309). Celebrated teachers were not only visited by other scholars. When (about 300) Ibn Kaisān was lecturing, about 100 horses etc. used to stand outside the mosque because prominent men were listening to him (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 282). The teachers made up the class of "the turban-wearers" (*mu'ammam, muta'ammim, arbāb al-'imāma, aṣḥāb al-'imāma*; see Makrizī, ii. 246; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i., 244 sq.; ii/i. 266; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 169^a); in eastern Andalus, they did not wear the *'imāma*, but this was exceptional (Makrizī, i. 137). The Kādi Abū Yūsuf (d. 82) is said to have settled the dress worn by learned men (Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, ed. Flügel, N^o. 249).

In spite of all this flexibility a certain stability developed in the teaching staff of the mosques. This was connected with the question of pay. It was for long in dispute whether it was permitted to accept payment for giving instruction. In the collections of Ḥadīth, the practice is both supported and condemned and it is said that the teacher may accept money, but not demand it, and avaricious teachers are strongly condemned. There are continual references to people who gave lectures without payment (Bukhārī, *Idjāza*, bāb 16; Abū Dāwūd, *Buyū'*, bāb 36; Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt*, bāb 8; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 181 sq.; Art. *Education*, N^o. 3–4 in Hastings, *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*; Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 360 sq.; *J.A.*, 1901, p. 143; Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, p. 295; Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 176). The custom of the older Jewish scholars of exercising a handicraft was not common among the Muslims but was found occasionally. Among men of learning we find shoemakers, locksmiths, sandal-makers (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, p. 227, 231, 267; cf. also Mez, *Renaissance des Islam*, p. 179). It was the rule however for the teacher to be paid for his work. This might be quite a personal donation from a prince or other rich man, for example al-Ṭabarī was given a sum of money when he taught in the Mosque of 'Amr (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 428; cf. the remarks above on wandering scholars); it was as a rule however a regular salary which was paid out of endowment, so that the position was a regular professorial chair (see under G); this was especially the case in the madāris. The salaries of the teachers (*ma'lūm*, also *djāwāmik*, sg. *djama-kiya*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.) varied considerably, according to the endowment. The lecturer in the Suyūfiya received 11 dinārs a month (Makrizī, iv. 196) but in another of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's schools, the Ṣalāhiya or Nāsirīya, the pay was much higher; the principal teacher received 40 dinārs (of 13¹/₃ dirhams) a month and 10 dinārs as principal, along with 60 *riḍl* of bread and two beasts of burden, to bring water from the Nile (*ibid.*, p. 251). In the *Djāmāl al-Dīn* madrasa, each teachers got 300 dirhams a month (*ibid.*, p. 253). The teachers also received donations in kind on special occasions; in the other Nāsirīya school they received sugar and meat every month at the festivals (*ibid.*, p. 222),

in the *Hidjaziya* on 'Id al-Fiṭr different kinds of bread and biscuit (*ka'k* and *khushkunānik*), at the feast of sacrifice meat and in Ramaḍān food was prepared for them (p. 223). According to al-Makrizi, learned men might have 50 dinārs a month in all in addition to allowances in kind (iii. 364). On ceremonial occasions, they often were given special marks of distinction, such as gifts in money and robes of honour.

The men of learning were organised in a gild. How the organisation worked in detail is not known. At the end of the third century we find the institution of the *ri'āsa* established in Egypt. While Yazīd b. Ḥabīb (d. 128) is called *faḥīh Miṣr wa-shaikhuhā* and *saiyidunā wa-'ālimunā* and 'Ubadallāh b. Abi Dja'far (d. c. 135) *faḥīh zamānīhi* (*Husn*, i. 131), it is said of a series of scholars beginning with 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Kāsim (d. 191), Ashhab b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 204), 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 214 or 215) that they had *al-ri'āsa* in Egypt (*Husn*, i. 133 sq.) which seems to mean that they belonged to an organisation. The position is also called *ri'āsāt al-'ilm*, as, for example, with reference to Yūnus (d. 264) (*ibid.*, i. 136). When the *madhābīh* arose, each school had its own *ra'is* in the district. The formulae for this was *intahat ilaihi 'l-riyāsa fī madhhab mūlik*; e.g. of Ibn al-Mawwāz (d. 281), and others (*Husn*, i. 136; Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/ii. 116); for the Shāfi'is e.g. Isfara'īni, died 406 (Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/ii. 121 sq.; cf. *Husn*, i. 196; Ibn Djubair, p. 219, 220); for the Ḥanafis e.g. al-Karkhī, died 340 (Ibn Kutlūbughā, N^o. 115; cf. N^o. 11, 13; Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/ii. 116); for the Hanbalis al-Barbahārī (d. 329) (Ibn Maskawaih, i, Cairo 1905, p. 260). Besides *ra'is* we find other names like *Imām al-Ḥanafiya bi-Baghdād* or *bi-Khurāsān* or *Shaikh Aṣḥābinā bi-mā warā' al-Nahr* (Ibn Kutlūbughā, N^o. 67, 96, 196; cf. *Shaikh al-Ḥanafiya*: Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/ii. 116; *Shaikh al-Mālikiya fī Waḥīhi*: *Husn*, i. 209). With such names it is not always clear whether they are simply epithets like *Imām Waḥīhi*, *Imām 'Aṣrihi* (Ibn Kutlūbughā, N^o. 206, 217), *Ustādḥ Zamānīhi* (*Husn*, i. 141), *Ra's fī 'Ilm al-Kalām* (*ibid.*, N^o. 192), *Saiyidunā* (*ibid.*, N^o. 50), "the teacher of the Hanbalis and their Faḥīh" (Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/ii. 114). There is also evidence of the *Riyāsa* within the special subjects, e.g. *Shaikh al-Kurrā' bi-Miṣr* (*Husn*, i. 230), *Riyāsāt al-Ḥadīth bi-Miṣr* (*ibid.*, i. 163; al-Rashīd), *Riyāsāt al-Fatwā* (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii. 27), *Riyāsāt al-Iḥrā' wa 'l-Iftā'* in Alexandria (*Husn* i. 210). The physicians of a district had their *Ra'is al-Atibbā'* (Makrizi, iv. 237; Ibn Abi Uṣaibī'a, ii. 86, 247); a Kaḍī was appointed in 684 (1285) chief of the physicians (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, ii/ii. 81). There was also a *Ra'is al-Muhandisīn* (Makrizi, iv. 224). *Shaikh al-Islām* is found as a title of honour for a scholar, e.g. in the viith, viiith, ixth century (*Husn*, i. 143, 205; Quatremère, *op. cit.*, ii/ii. 68, note; ii/ii. 270, 280; Ibn Taimiya), probably also used earlier (Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 179), while *Shaikh al-Shuyūkh* means the most distinguished leader of the Sūfis (Makrizi, iv. 285).

It is not clear what real importance the organisation of teachers had in the earlier period. In different districts there was a principal director of the organisations, a *ra'is al-ulamā'*, in Medina (Ibn Djubair, p. 200, 5), in Baghdād (*ibid.*, p. 220, 12), in Cairo and Upper Egypt (*Husn*, i. 141, 143,

191), also called *ra'is al-rū'asā* (Ibn Abi Uṣaibī'a, ii. 204; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, i. 248). Every *madhhab* had its *ra'is* for the district (*Husn*, i. 148, 21; Yāqūt, iv. 512). The chief *ra'is* could interfere in the activities, for example, of the teachers of Ḥadīth (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, *loc. cit.*). He is probably identical with the *naḥīb al-nuḥabā'*, without whose permission the caliph would not admit a teacher to the Mosque of al-Manṣūr in 451 (*ibid.*, i. 246 sq.). This shows that the head of the gild of learned men even then could exact influence on the appointment of new teachers. Whether appointments were made after an examination we do not know. The right of lecturing was in any case limited in this way in practice, but a systematic set of regulations hardly existed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf lectured in the Masjdīd al-Ḥādīb Lu'Lu', being paid by the Kaḍī al-Faḍīl and afterwards in the Azhar, paid out of the Bait al-Māl (Ibn Abi Uṣaibī'a, ii. 205, 207); but what his relation to the gild of teachers was is not known. In later times the chief of the learned men in Cairo and Mecca had great influence, because he decided who should be admitted into the gild of teachers and also controlled salaries (see G 2^a).

The teacher had his particular place in the mosque, often beside a pillar: this was his *madjlis*, which was inherited by his successors; al-Buwaiṭi was *khalīfatū 'l-Shāfi' fī ḥalqatihi* (*Husn al-Muḥādḍara*, i. 135; cf. 181 infra, 182; Makrizi, iv. 5; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, iv. 135; Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, p. 239). The outward appearance of the class did not alter through the centuries. His hearers sit in a circle (*ḥalqa*: the listeners *taḥallakū*: Makrizi, iv. 49, 17 sq.; cf. on the word Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/ii. 197 sqq.) on the ground before the lecturer. The teacher sits on a carpet (*saḍḍjāda*, cf. Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, i. 254) or skin (*farwa*). This was described as a symbol of his dignity in his *waṣīya* (al-'Umarī, *Ta'rif*, p. 134). It is quite irregular for any one to teach standing (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, v. 424, 8; for the other view see Bukhārī, 'Ilm, bāb 45). On the other hand, we often find in large audiences that the teacher has a raised seat (for the older period see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 112). Ibn al-Ḥādīdj condemns this because the teacher must not raise himself out of the circle of his hearers; he even wants to reject the use of the skin and carpet as effeminate (*Madkhal*, i. 96 sq.).

It was not the custom for teachers, to live in the mosque. Of course a teacher, like any other pious individual, could stay in the mosque and even have a room there; al-Ḥazālī for example lived in the mosque of the Umayyads, where Ibn Djubair saw his room and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions a teacher, al-Kermānī, who lived on the roof of the Azhar Mosque (i. 92; cf. also Ibn Abi Uṣaibī'a, ii. 204). But these were exceptions; al-'Azīz built a dwellinghouse for the teacher in the Azhar near the mosque (Makrizi, iv. 49). The earlier *madāris* founded by Nizām al-Mulk had often lodgings for the teacher, especially as the teacher sometimes made his lodging his classroom and this is also found later. Thus al-Khadjirdi, who died in 543 (1149) lived in the Baiḥaḳīya (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, p. 307) and in the Ṣalāḥīya the head of the college had his home within the buildings (Ibn Djubair, p. 48). Shams al-Dīn (d. 637) lived in Damascus in the 'Adīliya where he taught fiḥ (Ibn Abi Uṣaibī'a, ii. 171; cf. also p. 260). This must also have been the case in other *madāris*. But in any

case many teachers lived outside, which is evident from the fact that not a few taught in several places (of the many examples: see for the fourth century, Wüstenfeld, *Schâfi'i*, p. 187; later *Husn al-Muḥādara*, i. 148, 185—187).

Of the teachers many were also *qādis* (as in their day were the *kuṣṣās*, who were in a way the predecessors of the teachers: see above). Thus the Fātimid *qādi* 'Alī b. Nu'mān read *Shī'a fikh* shortly after the conquest in the Azhar mosque and later another member of this family of *qādis* also taught there (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 600); in the same way the *qādis* taught in Baghdad (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfi'i*, p. 235). We find the chief *qādis* especially teaching in the madāris. In the Šālihiya in Cairo, the Ḥanbalī chief *qādi* taught (Maḳrīzī, iv. 209; another chief *qādi*: Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, II/i. 135), in the Maṣūriya also a chief *qādi* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 219), in the Naširiya the chief *qādis* of the Mālikis, Ḥanbalis and Ḥanafis (*ibid.*, p. 222; see also Maṣāzil al-'Izz, p. 194; al-Djama'liya, p. 238 etc.; for Mecca: *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 105 sq.). The *qādis* frequently were able to accumulate a considerable number of offices. The chief *qādi* Ibn Bint al-A'azz (c. 700) had 17 offices (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, II/i. 137 sq.). The teacher could also be a mufti (e. g. Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv. 136).

When a teacher dies, in modern times it has been the custom to mourn 3 days in the Azhar mosque, with recitation near his pillar and the recitation of the Qur'ān on the minbar, while the teaching is interrupted (Muṣṭafā Bairam, *Risāla*, p. 65). This is an old custom. When al-Širāzī died, his pupils sat in silence for 3 days in the Nizāmiya and the madrasa was closed for a whole year; after al-Djuwainī's death also, no lectures were given for a year, his desk was destroyed and his pupils broke their inkwells and pens (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfi'i*, p. 252, 301).

Alongside of the teacher proper, a repeater (*mu'id*) was often appointed, usually two for each teacher. His duty was to read over with the students the lecture after the class and explain it to the less gifted students. The celebrated faḳīh al-Bulḳinī began as a repeater with his father-in-law in the Kharrūbiya (Maḳrīzī, iv. 202); it was also possible to be an independent teacher in one school and a repeater in another (al-Našir, d. 669; *Husn al-Muḥādara*, i. 189). When Ibn Khallikān became old, he put the teaching in his madrasa into the hands of repeaters (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, I/ii. 182). The Šālihiya, which ought to have had 4 teachers with 2 repeaters, was run for 30 years by 10 repeaters and no teachers (Maḳrīzī, iv. 251; cf. also p. 210; Subkī, *Mu'id al-Ni'am*, p. 154 sq.; Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā'*, v. 464 and Haneberg, *Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhammedaner*, p. 25; Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, 1837).

8. The Students.

Every one was absolutely free to join a *ḥalqa* in the mosques in order to hear a teacher. Al-Maḳdisī for example tells us that the learned men of al-Fārs used to sit from early morning till midday and from 'Asr to Maghrib for the common people (*li 'l-'awāmm*) (*B. G. A.*, iii. 439). But as soon as the teachers developed into a regular class of society, the students (*ṭalaba*, *ṭullāb*, sg. *ṭalīb*) who were systematically training in the

Muslim sciences also became a recognised section of the community. Together with the teachers, they formed the guild of the educated, *aḥḥāb al-'imāna* (now *ahl al-'imma* in Egypt). They were able to select their teachers as they pleased; the most celebrated teachers had therefore large numbers of students. The Mālikī Imām Muḥammad al-Na'ālī in Egypt (d. 380) had so large a class that they occupied the area around 17 pillars in the mosque (*Husn al-Muḥādara*, i. 207) and al-Isfara'īnī (d. 406) in the Masdjid b. al-Mubārak had a close of 3—700 (Wüstenfeld, *Schâfi'i*, p. 217). Some students heard a large number of teachers; Ibn Ḥamakān (d. 405) attended lectures of no fewer than 470 teachers in Baṣra (*ibid.*, p. 215). Many never finished studying for they could always find new teachers to study under up to their old age, even if they themselves also taught (cf. above). The ambitious would only study under great teachers (*darasa 'alā*) and therefore travelled about the Muslim world a great deal (cf. *B. G. A.*, iii. 237). This travelling, partly as teacher and partly as student (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Schâfi'i*, p. 121), for the sake of *ṭalab al-'ilm* was long kept up in Islām. Ibn Khaldūn regards it as necessary and says that in his time, when learning in the Maghrib was at a low level, very many Maghribis used to go to study in Egypt and Syria (*Muḥaddima*, faṣl, 6—7, N^o. 2, 34) and down to the present day the Azhar has attracted students from the whole world of Islām.

The student *ḥarā'a 'alā* his teacher, in Fikh studies *tafaḳḳaha 'alā* (Ibn Kuṭlūbughā, p. 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 54 etc.) or *ḥarā'a 'l-fikh 'alā* (*ibid.*, p. 12). When the student had completed his teacher's course, the teacher declared his knowledge mature in the particular subject (*kharradja lahu...fi...*: Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv. 255, 17) and the student was able to regard himself as perfect in it (*takhar-radja 'alaihi*: *ibid.*, p. 244 or *bihi fi...*: *Husn al-Muḥādara*, i. 163, 7 from below, 192, 209, 212; Ibn Taghribirdī, II/i. 122; *B. G. A.*, iii. 237; Ibn Kuṭlūbughā, ed. Flügel, p. 44; Yāḳūt, iv. 512). The relation of student to teacher is patriarchal and the student kisses his hands. This does not prevent quarrels breaking out and in such cases the teachers might be treated very disrespectfully (cf. Sulaimān Raṣād, *Kanz al-Djawhar*, p. 141 sq., 192 sqq.).

The madāris introduced an innovation into the relationship of teacher to student, when a definite number of students (as a rule twenty, see above) was allotted to a particular teacher. Instruction was thus organised on more systematic lines. But even then irregular students were also admitted (cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaib'a, ii. 168). In Ibn Khaldūn's time the period of study for students in the madrasa in Tunis was five years, but in the Maghrib sixteen (*Muḥaddima*, faṣl 6, N^o. 2 = p. 343 of the Cairo edition of 1322). But it was only in quite modern times that the instruction was really properly organised. Ibn al-Ḥādīdj complains that students go from one mosque to another except when the new teacher is more learned (*Madkhal*, ii. 3, 9 sq.).

We hear exceptionally of women students, one was a member of al-Šāfi'i's majlis (*Husn al-Muḥādara*, i. 181, *infra*). In the early centuries it cannot have been unusual; for it is several times mentioned in ḥadīths, which reserve special days for women (Bukhārī, *Ilm*, bāb 32, 36, 50).

It is now the custom in the Azhar mosque to have no lectures on Fridays and Thursday afternoons and also in Fās (Péretié, in *Archives Marocaines*, xviii. 301). From Ibn Hājjī, we learn that the custom was already known in his time for he protests against it and only allows the forenoon to be used for purification etc. (*Madkhal*, ii. 13 below the middle); the time after the Friday ṣalāt is particularly suitable for studies. This agrees also with the general practice; in the Azhar mosque after its foundation instruction was given at this very time (Maḳrīzī, iv. 49, 17 sq.; cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii. 198). On the other hand it has always been a common practice to close the shops on Fridays, as al-Maḳḍīsī mentions for Egypt for example (*B.G.A.*, iii. 205), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa for Khwārizm (iii. 4). In al-Azhar in addition to the period already mentioned, holidays are given on festivals and various mōlid's during the months of Shaʿbān, Ramaḍān and the first half of Shawwāl and also forty-five days of the hot season, when the usual holidays do not fall in it.

Many of the students have always been poor. Buḳī b. Muḳhallad (d. 276) held up to his pupils, as an example, one who lived only on cabbage-leaves thrown to him, and another who sold his trousers to buy paper (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii. 370). The student could, like any one else, live in the mosque (*ibid.*, i. 255, 5: in the minaret of the Omaiyads, about 400). Charity took an interest in them. The learned caliph al-Ḳādir (363—381) sent food from his table every day, which was distributed among those who lived in the mosques (Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 11, 297 sq., from Ibn al-Djawzī), and the vizier Ibn al-Furāt, who was executed in 312 gave an endowment of 20,000 dirhams for ṭullāb al-ḥadīth (*K. al-Wuṣarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, p. 201 sq.).

In the madāris, students were offered lodging and certain allowances in addition. In the Suyūfiya, founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the students received stipends according to their ṭabaḳāt, after the teacher had received 11 dīnārs monthly (Maḳrīzī, iv. 196). In another madrasa they received 3 riṭl of bread daily and 30 dirham fulūs monthly (*ibid.*, p. 253). On special occasions they were given meat, sugar etc. (*ibid.*, p. 222; cf. for Fās: *Arch. Marocaines*, xviii. 289). With increasing interest in the madrasa, interest was also taken in those studying in other mosques. In the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn in 767, the emir Yalbughā revived the school with 7 Ḥanafī teachers and the students received 40 dirhams and 1 irdabb of wheat monthly (Maḳrīzī, iv. 42). The Azhar from its restoration by Ṣalār after the earthquake in 702 had lecture-rooms and dwelling apartments continually added to it. In 818 there were in all 750 poor students in the Mosque of different nations, each in its own riwāk. They received stipends and food, bread and ḥalāwa (*ibid.*, iv. 54). Ḳāʾit Bāi among others (872—901) built lodgings for Syrian and Turkish students and in the twelfth century the emir Katkhudā extended not only the large lecture-rooms but renovated the lodging for Meccan and Sūdānese students and built new hostels with a kitchen for those from Upper Egypt. There were at this time several kitchens connected with the mosque (cf. still the name of the eastern door *Bāb al-Shurba*: "Gate of Soup"), and Katkhudā during the month of Ramaḍān gave them many gifts in kind, and increased the daily ration of bread (*djārāya*) for them (see down to about

820: Maḳrīzī, iv. 49—55 and to the present day Sulaimān Raṣād al-Zaiyātī, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Taʾrīkh al-Azhar*; to Katkhudā cf. al-Djabartī, *Merveilles Biographiques*, iii. 238—246; cf. for Fās: *Arch. Maroc.*, xviii. 289). Shortly before ʿUḥmān Katkhudā had built a home for the blind in connection with the Mosque. In the nineteenth century Muḥammad ʿAlī built a new students' hostel and his successors have imitated him (see Sulaimān Raṣād, *Kanz al-Djawhar* etc., p. 76, 86, 96, 112).

A student living in a mosque is called *muḍjāwir* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 54), a word which is also applied to Meccan pilgrims (Ibn Ḍjūbair, p. 122) and to anyone living in a mosque (see above). The students' apartments are divided into *arwiḳa*, usually according to nations, a word which is derived from the fact that they originally lived in the colonnades (cf. above). Each *riwāk* is under a *shaikh*. Many students live in *khānaḳāh*'s, other in private houses. When Lane was in Egypt, the teachers usually had students as boarders. In Fās at the present day, the students in a madrasa themselves choose a *muḳaddim*, who acts as door-keeper and supervisor; they have at the same time a *nāẓir* (*Arch. Maroc.*, xviii. 288, 298). With lodging in the Azhar Mosque goes a small sum of money, at most about £1 monthly, in addition to the daily ration of bread, which however is shared by others, about 3,000 in number. Troubles often break out in these students' hostels (cf. Sulaimān Raṣād, *Kanz al-Djawhar*, p. 175—196) and the Azhar has played a prominent part in political movements since the World War (on teaching methods, teachers and students, see also ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, iv. 26 sqq.).

9. Recent Reforms in Education.

When intercourse between the Muslim world and Europe became active, the decline in Islāmic studies above mentioned was already far advanced. On the one hand it resulted in the planning of new educational institutions on the European model, on the other in the reformation of the old system of education in the mosques.

In India in the xviiith century education was given in the mosques as in other Muslim countries, except that Persian played a considerable part alongside of Arabic (cf. *Report on the State of Education in Bengal*, Calcutta 1835, *Second Report* etc., 1836). In 1782 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrasah with a reformed system of education in order to train officials; it was imitated by other madāris. When in 1837 Persian was abolished as the language of the law courts, the madāris only retained significance mainly as religious institutions. Other institutions arose of more markedly English character, like the Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh in 1875 (cf. Th. Morison, *The History of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Aligarh*, Allāhābād 1909; *R.M.M.*, ii. 1907, p. 380 sqq.) and the Islamic College in Lahore etc. This led to new reforms in the madāris. In the Calcutta Madrasah an Anglo-Persian Department was instituted. Conferences were held in 1907—1908, 1909—1910 and 1912, and on July 31, 1914 the *Reformed Madrasah Scheme* was promulgated. English was to be learned in the reformed madāris and Muslim studies to be based on modern text-books; only the Calcutta Madrasah retained a department, the Arabic department, where the old Islāmic education, although

somewhat modernised, was still given. The education in the madrasas is linked up with the new universities in Calcutta and elsewhere (*Calcutta University Commission, 1917—1919, Report, Calcutta 1919, i/i. 143—187; v/ii. 60—70*). In 1922 there were already 14 universities of which five were founded after 1919 (*Oriente Moderno, ii., 1922, p. 60*; on earlier discussions on the foundation of a university see *R. M. M., xxi. 1912, p. 268 sqq.*). The older universities, founded on the model of that of London, are those of Calcutta 1857, Madras and Bombay 1857, Lahore 1882, Allāhābād 1887 (*R. M. M., vi. 4*; on Chiefs' Colleges, *ibid.*, p. 1—51; ix. 44—81). The essential feature of the reforms is the new method of instruction, the systematic organisation of the courses, which are concluded by examinations, and the creation of a qualified body of competent teachers.

Inspired by the same spirit, if not so thorough, were the reforms which were carried through at the capital of Islāmic studies, the Azhar in Cairo without the assistance of a European power. In 1872 an examination for those beginning teaching was instituted and the ordinance expanded by new regulations in 1885, 1888 and 1895. The principal could however appoint teachers without examination. The students had to be registered so that unworthy persons should not share the stipends. On June 4, 1895, a council of five members was appointed to prepare reforms. They dealt with the finance and organisation. In 1896 the mosque-schools in Ṭanṭā, Damietta, and Dassiūk and in 1903 those of Alexandria were put under the Azhar. On July 1, 1896 (supplemented in 1897 and 1898) examinations for students were arranged; history, geography and mathematics were introduced as voluntary subjects and it was forbidden to read glosses and super-commentaries in the first four years. The driving power in the council was one of its members, Muḥammad 'Abduh, but he retired in 1905. The Khedive 'Abbās II Ḥilmi in 1908 and in 1911, after several commissions had been working at the subject, promulgated a new law which is still (1928) practically in force. The administration of the Azhar Mosque and the institutions connected with it (particularly other mosques and the Qāḍī School) were reorganised. The organisation is based on the old organisation of the staff with the principal as head of the 'ulamā' and the heads of the madhāhib as members of the committee of management. New subjects were instituted, such as *akhḥlāk* in combination with the *sira*, history, especially Muslim, geography, natural history, chemistry, mathematics, drawing, hygiene, education. Instruction is given in three divisions, each of which is estimated to cover 5 to 7 years. To obtain admission a student must be 10—17 years of age, be able to read and write and know the Qur'ān by heart (by the law of 1911 he was allowed to learn half of it in his first six months in the Mosque, but this was abolished in 1921). Each year ends with the examination in the month of April; the final examination of the first section enables the successful candidate to teach in elementary schools, that of the second to obtain an appointment in certain offices or as *imām* or *khaṭīb* in the mosques; by the examination, the candidate obtains the highest degree of *ālim*, and can become a teacher in the Azhar, or judge or council in the Shari'a courts. By new laws of 1921, 1923 and 1924, the examinations were reformed and the relationship to the Qāḍī School,

Dār al-'Ulūm and other educational institutions reorganised so that in the Azhar, a *ḥisām al-takḥaṣṣuṣ* for *Fiqh, Tafsir, Ḥadīth, Tawhīd, Mantīq, Waqf, Bayān, Akhlāk*, Islāmic history and practical courses in teaching and court practice were instituted. When by the law of Aug. 26, 1927, a university was founded with faculties of arts, law, science, and medicine (cf. *Oriente Moderne, v., 1925, p. 110 sq., 434—436; vii., 1927, p. 627 sqq.*), the question of education in the mosque again came up and a new commission on Nov. 27, 1927 was charged to consider new proposals (for the reforms of Egyptian institutions see P. Arminjon, *L'enseignement, la doctrine et la vie dans les universités musulmanes d'Égypte*, 1907; Muṣṭafā Bairam, *Risāla, 1902*; Sulaimān Raṣād al-Zaiyātī, *Djawhar fī Ta'riḥ al-Azhar*, 1320, p. 147 sqq.; *Amāl Maḍjlis Idārat al-Azhar*, Cairo 1323, anonymous, but by 'Abd al-Karīm Salmān, cf. *al-Manār, xxv., 1324, p. 703*; *Commission de la Réforme de l'Université d'El Azhar, Projet de Réforme présenté par Muh. Pacha Saïd*, Cairo 1911, and the official regulations; Johs. Pedersen, *al-Azhar*, Copenhagen 1922, p. 65 sqq.; A. Sékaly, in *Revue des Études Islamiques, i., 1927, p. 95 sqq., 465 sq.; ii., 1928, p. 47 sqq.* etc.; *Oriente Moderno, v., 1925, p. 113 sq.; vii., 1927, p. 634*). In Morocco the ruler in 1844 introduced European subjects into the Madrasa in Fās Djadid (whence its name *Madrasat al-Muhandisin*); these innovations did not become permanent but in 1916 the madāris in Fās and Rabat were reformed (Bell, in *J.A.*, ser. 11, x. 152; Péretié, in *Arch. Maroc., xviii., 1912, p. 257 sqq.*; see for Tunis: *R. M. M., iii. 385*).

Since the World War, throughout the world of Islām, particularly in Turkey, very far reaching reforms in education have been introduced the results of which cannot yet be surveyed.

G. The Administration of the Mosque.

1. Finances.

The earliest mosques were built by the rulers of the various communities and the members of the community did all the work necessary in connection with the primitive mosques. The later mosques as a rule were erected by rulers, emirs, high officials or other rich men in their private capacity and maintained by them. The erection of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn cost its builder 120,000 dinārs, the Mosque of Mu'ayyad 110,000 (Maḥrizī, iv. 32, 137, 138). The upkeep of the mosque was provided for by estates made over as endowments (*waḳf, ḥabs*) (cf. thereon besides the *Fiqh*-books: I. Krcsmárik, *Das Waḳfrecht, Z.D.M. G., xlv., 1891, p. 511—576*; E. Mercier, *Le code du hobous ou waḳf selon la législation musulmane*, 1899). In the third century we thus hear of houses which belonged to the mosques and were let by them (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer, N^o. 773, 837*) and Ibn Ṭūlūn handed over a large number of houses as an endowment for his mosque and hospital (Maḥrizī, iv. 83). This custom was taken over from the Christians by the Muslims (see Becker, in *Isl.*, ii. 404). According to Maḥrizī, estates were not given as waḳf endowments until Muḥammad Abū Bakr al-Mādhārā'ī (read thus) bequeathed *Birkat al-Habash* and *Suyūf* as endowments (about 300 A.H.); this was however cancelled by the Fātimids again (*ibid.*). Al-Ḥākim made large endowments not only for his own,

but also for mosques previously in existence, such as the Azhar, al-Ḥakīmī, Dār al-ʿIlm and Djamīʿ al-Maḳs and Djamīʿ Rāshīda; the endowments consisted of dwelling-houses, shops, mills, *ḥaṣārīya* and *ḥawānī*, and the document (*ibid.*, p. 50 sq.) specifies how and for what purposes the revenues are to be distributed. Baths were also given as endowments for mosques (*ibid.*, p. 76 for 529; cf. 81 of the year 543). Ṣaḥāḥ al-Dīn granted lands to his madāris: in 566, for example, a *ḥaṣārīya* to the Ḳamḥīya and a *ḍaiʿa* in al-Faiyūm and the teachers received wheat from al-Faiyūm and in the same year he endowed the Nāṣirīya with goldsmiths' shops and a village (*ibid.*, p. 193 sq.; cf. another document: p. 196 sq.). During the Mamluk period also, estates were given as endowments (for documents of this period see van Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i, N^o. 247, 252, 528; Moberg, in *M. O.*, xii, 1918, p. 1 sqq.; *J. A.*, ser. 9, iii. 264—266; ser. 11, x. 158 sqq., 222 sqq.; xii. 195 sqq., 256 sqq., 363 sqq.). They were often a considerable distance apart: the mosques in Egypt often had estates in Syria (v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i, N^o. 247; Maḳrīzī, vi. 107, 137). Not only were mosques built and endowed but already existing ones were given new rooms for teachers, minbars, stipends for Ḳurʿān reciters, teachers etc. There were often special endowments for the salaries of the imām and the muʿadhdhins, for the support of visitors, for blankets, food etc. (see Ibn Djubair, p. 277 with reference to the Mosque of the Umayyads). The endowments and the purpose for which they might be used was precisely laid down in the grant and the document attested in the court of justice by the ḳāḍī and the witnesses (cf. Maḳrīzī, iv. 50, 196 *infra*). The text was also often inscribed on the wall of the mosque (cf. *ibid.*, p. 76; the above mentioned inscriptions amongst others. Documents from Tashkent see *R. M. M.*, xiii., 1911, p. 278 sqq.). Certain conditions might be laid down, e.g. in a madrasa that no Persian should be appointed there (Maḳrīzī, iv. 202 *infra*) or that the teacher could not be dismissed or some such condition (v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i, N^o. 201), that no women could enter (*J. A.*, ser. 9, iii. 389), that no Christian, Jew or Ḥanbali could enter the building (*ibid.*, p. 405), etc. Endowments were often made with stipulations for the family of the founder or other purposes. That mosques could also be burdened with expenses is evident from an inscription in Edfū of the year 797 (1395) (v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, N^o. 539). If a mosque was founded without sufficient endowment, it decayed (e.g. Maḳrīzī, iv. 115, 201, 203) or the stipends were reduced (*ibid.*, p. 251), but in the larger mosques as a rule the rulers provided new endowments. According to al-Māwardī, there were also special "Sulṭān-mosques" which were directly under the patronage of the caliph and their officials paid from the Bait al-Māl (*al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīya*, ed. Enger, p. 172 *supra*, 176 *supra*).

Just as the Bait al-Māl of the state was kept in the mosque, so was the mosque's own property kept in it: e.g. the *kanz* or *khazānat al-Kaʿba*, which is mentioned in ʿOmar's time and may be presumed to have existed under his predecessors (Balādhuri, p. 43 *supra*; *C. M.*, i. 307; ii. 14). The *Bait Māl al-Djamīʿ* in Damascus was in a ḳubba in the ṣaḥn (*B. G. A.*, iii. 157; Ibn Djubair, p. 267; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 201; cf. for Medīna: Wüstenfeld, *Medīna*, p. 86). Rich men also had their

private treasure-chambers in the mosque (see E 2) as used to be the case with the Temple (see E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*⁴, ii., 1907, p. 322—328; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 1926, p. 405 sq.).

2. Administration.

As Imām of the Muslim community, the caliph had the mosques under his charge. This was also the case with the sulṭān, governor or other ruler who represented the caliph in every respect. The administration of the mosques could however not be directly controlled by the usual government offices. By its endowment the mosque became an object *sui generis* and was withdrawn from the usual state or private purposes. Their particular association with religion gave the ḳāḍīs special influence and on the other hand the will of the testator continued to prevail. These three factors decided the administration of the mosque but the relation between them was not always clear.

a. Administration of the separate mosques.

The mosque was usually in charge of a *nāṣir* or *walī* who looked after its affairs. The founder was often himself the *nāṣir* or he chose another and after his death, his descendants took charge or whoever was appointed by him in the foundation charter. In the older period the former was the rule and is said to have applied especially in the case of chief mosques, if we may believe Nāṣir-i Khosraw, according to whom al-Ḥakīm paid the descendants of Ibn Ṭūlūn 30,000 dīnārs for the mosque and 5,000 for the minaret and similarly to the descendants of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī 100,000 dīnārs for the Mosque of ʿAmr (*Sefer-Nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 39 and 146, 40 and 148). In 378 we read of an administrator (*mutawallī*) of the mosque in Jerusalem (Maḳrīzī, iv. 11). In the case of mosques and madāris founded during the Mamlūk period, it is often expressly mentioned that the administration is to remain in the hands of the descendants of the founder: e.g. in the case of a mosque founded by Baibars (Maḳrīzī, iv. 89), in the Djamīʿ Maḳs when the vizier al-Maḳṣī renovated it (*ibid.*, p. 66), the Ṣāḥibīya (*ibid.*, p. 205), and the Ḳarāsunkuriya (*ibid.*, p. 232) etc.; so also in the Badriya in Jerusalem ("to the best of the descendants", cf. v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, ii/i. 129). Other cases are also found. Sometimes an emir or official was administrator e.g. in the Muʿaiyad (Maḳrīzī, iv. 140), the Ṭaibarsīya (*ibid.*, p. 224), the Azhar, (*ibid.*, p. 54 sq.) or the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshāʾ*, xi. 159—162). In Djamāl al-Dīn's madrasa, it was always the *katīb al-sirr* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 256), in the Ḳhānakāḥ of Baibars the *khazindār* and his successors (v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i, N^o. 252); but it was more frequently a ḳāḍī; for example in the mosque of Baibars just mentioned, the Ḥanafī ḳāḍī was to take charge after the descendants (Maḳrīzī, iv. 89); in the Āḳbughawīya, the Shāfiʿī ḳāḍī was appointed but his descendants were expressly excluded (*ibid.*, p. 225). In the Mosque of the Umayyads during the Mamlūk period, the Shāfiʿī chief ḳāḍī was as a rule the nāṣir (Ḳalkashandī, iv. 191) and in the Nāṣir mosque in Cairo (*ibid.*, xi. 262—264). In this city we find during the Mamlūk period that emirs and ḳāḍīs alternately acted as nāṣirs in the large mosques (e.g. the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn:

Maḳrīzī, iv. 42). Cases are also found however in which descendants of the founder unsuccessfully claimed the office of nāzīr (Maḳrīzī, iv. 218, 255). This was the result of the increasing power of the ḳādis (see below). In the madāris the nāzīr was often also the headmaster; the two offices were hereditary (*ibid.*, p. 204: the Ṣāhibīya al-Bahā'iya, p. 238 *supra*: the Djamāliya). In Tustar a descendant of Ṣahl as nāzīr and teacher conducted a madrasa with the help of four slaves (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 25 *sq.*).

The Nāzīr managed the finances and other business of the mosque. Sometimes he had a fixed salary (in Baibars' *Khānaḳāh* 500 dirhams a month: v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i., N^o. 252; in the Dulāmiya in Damascus in 847 only 60 dirhams a month: *J.A.*, ser. 9, iii. 261), but the revenues of the mosque were often applied to his personal use. His control of the funds of the mosque was however often limited by the central commission for endowments (see below). The nāzīr might also see to any necessary increase of the endowments. He appointed the staff and he fixed their pay (cf. e.g. Maḳrīzī, iv. 41). He could also interfere in questions not arising out of the business side of administration: for example the emīr Sawdūb, the nāzīr of the Azhar in 818 ejected about 750 poor people from the mosque. He was however thrown into prison for this by the Sultān (*ibid.*, p. 54). Generally speaking the nāzīr's powers were considerable. In 784 a nāzīr in the Azhar decided that the property of a muḳjāwir, who had died without heirs, should be distributed among the other students (*ibid.*, p. 54). In Mecca, according to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, the *Nāzīr al-Ḥarām* was in charge of the great festival of the mawlid of the Prophet (12th Rabi' I) and distributed robes of honour in the mosque on this occasion (*C.M.*, iii. 439). In the Azhar, no nāzīr was appointed after about 1100 but a learned man was appointed *Ṣaikh* al-Azhar, principal and administrator of the mosque (Sulaimān Raṣād al-Zaiyātī, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Ta'rikh al-Azhar*, p. 123 *sqq.*). Conditions are similar in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 235 *sqq.*, 252 *sq.*).

As we have seen, ḳādis were often nāzīrs of mosques. This was especially the case in the madāris, where the ḳādis were often teachers (cf. Maḳrīzī, iv. 209, 219, 222, 238, etc.); the ḳādis were particularly anxious to get the principal offices in the large schools (cf. Ḳāḷkashandī, xi. 235). Their influence was however further increased by the fact that, if a nāzīr qualified by the terms of the founder's will no longer existed, the ḳādi of the madhhab in question stepped into his place (cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, xlv., 1897, p. 552). By this rule, which often gave rise to quarrels between the different ḳādis (e.g. Maḳrīzī, iv. 218: the Ṣāhiriya), a ḳādi could accumulate a large number of offices and "milk the endowments" (*ibid.*, iii. 364). Sometimes their management was so ruthless, that the schools soon declined (e.g. the Ṣāhibīya and the Djamāliya: Maḳrīzī, iv. 204 *sq.*, 238). They also exercised influence through the committee of management of the mosque.

b. Centralisation in the Management of the Mosques

The large mosques occupied a special position in the Muslim empire, because the caliph had to interest himself particularly in them: especially those of Mecca and Medina where the rulers and

their governors built extensions and executed renovations (cf. *C.M.*, i. 145; iii. 83 *sqq.*). During the 'Abbāsīd period, the ḳādi occasionally plays a certain part in this connection; for example al-Mahdī (158—169) presented the ḳādi with the necessary money to extend and repair the Meccan mosque (*C.M.*, i. 312; ii. 43). In 263, al-Muwaffāḳ ordered the governor of Mecca to undertake repairs at the Ka'ba (*ibid.*, ii. 200 *sq.*). In 271 the governor and the ḳādi of Mecca co-operated to get money from al-Muwaffāḳ for repairs and they saw the work through (*ibid.*, iii. 136 *sq.*). In 281, the ḳādi of Mecca wrote to the vizier of al-Mu'taḍid about the Dār al-Nadwa and backed up his request by sending a deputation of the staff there (*sadana*). The caliph then ordered the vizier to arrange the matter through the ḳādi of Baghdād and a man was sent to Mecca to take charge of the work (*C.M.*, iii. 144 *sqq.*).

The importance of the ḳādi was based primarily on his special knowledge in the field of religion. A zealous ḳādi like al-Ḥārith b. Miskin in Cairo (237—245) forbade the *ḳurra'* of a mosque to recite the *Ḳur'ān* melodiously; he also had the *maṣāḥif* in the mosque of 'Amr inspected and appointed an *amin* to take charge of them (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 469). After the building of the Ṭullunid mosque, a commission was appointed under the Ḳādi 'l-Kuḍāt to settle the ḳibla of the mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv. 21 *sq.*). But at a quite early date they also obtained a say in the management of the funds. The first ḳādi to lay his hands on the *aḥbās* was Tawba b. Namir al-Ḥaḍramī; while hitherto every endowment had been administered by itself by the children of the testator or some one appointed by him, in 118 Tawba brought about the centralisation of all endowments and a large diwān was created for the purpose (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 346). How this system of centralisation worked is not clear at first, but it was carried through under the Fātimids.

Al-Mu'izz created a special *dīwān al-aḥbās* and made the chief ḳādi head of it as well as of the *djawāmi' wa 'l-maṣāḥid* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 83 and 75; cf. Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 585, 587, 589, according to whom al-'Aziz specially appointed the chief ḳādi over the two djamī's), and a special *bait al-māl* was instituted for it in 363; a yearly revenue of 150,000 dirhams was guaranteed; anything left over went to form a capital fund. All payments were made through this office after being certified by the administration of the mosques (Maḳrīzī, iv. 83 *sq.*). The mosques were thus administered by the ḳādis, directly under the caliph. The *dīwān al-birr wa 'l-ṣadaqa* in Baghdād (Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 72) perhaps served similar purposes.

Al-Ḥākim reformed the administration of the mosques. In 403 he had an investigation made and when it proved that 800 (or 830) had no income (*ghalla*), he made provision for them by a payment of 9,220 dirhams monthly from the Bait al-Māl; he also made 405 new endowments (of estates) for the officials of the mosque (Maḳrīzī, iv. 84, 264). Under the Fātimids, the ḳādis used to inspect all the mosques and *maṣāḥid* in and around Cairo at the end of Ramaḍān and compare them with their inventories (*ibid.*, p. 84). The viziers of the Fātimids, who also had the title ḳādi did much for the mosques (Djawhar, Ya'qūb b. Killis, Badr al-Djamālī: cf. v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i., N^o. 11, 576, p. 631).

Under the Aiyūbids, conditions were the same as under the Fātimids. The *diwān al-ahbās* was under the *kaḏīs* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 84). Šalāḥ al-Dīn gave a great deal to the mosques, especially the madāris (cf. above): 20,000 dirhams a day is a figure given (*ibid.*, p. 117). When Ibn Djbair says that the sultān paid the salaries of the officials of the mosques and schools of Alexandria, Cairo and Damascus (p. 43, 52, 275), he must really mean the Diwān already mentioned.

The same conditions continued for a time under the Mamlūks. In the time of Baibars, for example, the chief *kaḏī* Tāḏj al-Dīn was *nāṣir al-ahbās*. He caused the Mosque of 'Amr to be renovated and when the funds from the endowments were exhausted, the Sultān helped him from the Bait al-Māl (Maḳrīzī, iv. 14); after conferring with experts, the chief *kaḏī* forbade a water-supply brought by Šalāḥ al-Dīn into the mosque (*ibid.*, p. 14; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḏara*, ii. 137). In 687 the chief *kaḏī* Taḳī al-Dīn complained to Kālā'ūn that the 'Amr and Azhar mosques were falling into ruins, while the *ahbās* were much reduced. The Sultān would not however permit their restoration but entrusted the repairs of the mosques to certain emīrs, one to each (Maḳrīzī, iv. 14, 15). This principle was several times applied in later times and the emīrs frequently gained influence at the expense of the *kaḏīs*. Thus after the earthquake of 707 (1303) (cf. thereon Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i., 214 sqq.), the mosques were allotted to emīrs, who had to see that they were rebuilt (Maḳrīzī, iv., 15, 53). From the middle of the seventh century, we often find emīrs as administrators of the chief mosques. The *kaḏī* had however obtained so much authority that he was conceded "a general supervision of all matters affecting the endowments of his madhhab" (al-'Umārī, *Ta'rif bi 'l-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Šarīf*, p. 117; cf. Z. D. M. G., xlv., p. 559); according to this theory the *kaḏī* could intervene to stop abuses. In Syria in 660 (1262) Ibn Khalikān became *kaḏī* over the whole area between al-'Arīṣ and the Euphrates and superintendent of waḳfs, mosques, madrasas etc. (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i. 170).

Sultān Baibars reformed these endowments and restored the office of *nāṣir al-awḳāf* or *nāṣir al-ahbās al-mabrūra* or *n. dīḥāt al-birr* (Kalkaṣhandī, iv. 34, 38; v. 465; xi. 256; xi. 252, 257 sqq.; cf. Khalil al-Zāhiri, *Zubdat Kaṣḥf al-Mamālīk*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 109). According to al-Maḳrīzī, the endowments were distributed among the Mamlūks in three departments (*dīḥāt*): 1. *dīḥāt al-ahbās*, managed by an emīr, the Dawādār: this looked after the lands of the mosques, in 740 in all 130,000 faddān; 2. *dīḥāt al-awḳāf al-ḥukmīya bi-Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, which administered dwelling-houses; it was managed by the Šāḥīnī *Ḳaḏī 'l-Ḳuḏāt*, with the title *Nāṣir al-Awḳāf*. This department came to an end in the time of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Farādj because an emīr supported by the opinion of the Ḥanafī chief *kaḏī*, spent a great deal and misused the funds; 3. *dīḥāt al-awḳāf al-aḥliya*, comprised all the endowments which still had particular *nāṣirs*, either descendants of the testator or officials of the Sultān and the *kaḏī*. The emīrs seized their lands and Barkūk, before he became Sultān, sought in vain to remedy the evil by appointing a commission. The endowments in general disappeared somewhat later because the ruling emīrs seized them (Maḳrīzī, iv. 83—86). In modern times, as a rule, endow-

ments in Muslim lands have been combined under a special ministry.

To be distinguished from the administrators of the mosque is the *nāṣir* who is only concerned with the supervision of the erection of mosques. Any one could be entrusted with the building of a mosque (e. g. Maḳrīzī, iv. 92). Under the Mamlūks there was also a clerk of works, *mutawallī ṣhadd al-'amā'ir* or *nāṣir al-'imāra*: he was the overseer of the builders (*ibid.*, p. 102; see *Zubdat Kaṣḥf al-Mamālīk*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 115, cf. p. 109; v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. 742 sq., 751).

The caliph or the ruler of the country was in this, as in other matters, supreme. As we have seen, he intervened in the administration and directed it as he wished. He was also able to interfere in the internal affairs of the mosque, if necessary through his usual officers. In 253 (867) after the rising in the Faiyūm, the chief of police issued strict orders by which it was forbidden to say the *basmalah* aloud in the mosque: the number of prayers in the month of Ramaḏān was cut down, the *adhān* from the minaret forbidden etc. (*Papyrus Ernherzog Rainer, Führer*, N^o. 788). In the year 294, the governor 'Isā al-Nūṣhari had the mosque of 'Amr closed except at the *ṣalāṭs* because the Bait al-Māl was kept in it, which however produced protests from the people (Maḳrīzī, iv. 11; Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 266; B. G. A., vii. 116). Many similar examples could be mentioned, especially during periods of unrest. In 821 the *nāṣir* in conjunction with the *kaḏīs* revised the budget of the Mosque of the Omayyads and made financial reforms (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 220). The *adhān* formulae were laid down in edicts by the ruler (Maḳrīzī, iv. 44, 45). In the year 323, the vizier in Baghdād had a man whipped who had recited a variant text of the *Qur'ān* in the miḥrāb, after he had been heard in his defence in the presence of the *kaḏīs* and learned men (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 300). The importance of the sovereign in connection with the mosque depended on his personality. As a rule he recognised the authority of the regular officials. When for example al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī asked the Caliph al-Ḳā'im for authority to read *Ḥadiṭh* in the mosque of al-Manṣūr, the latter referred the question to the *nāṣir al-nuḳabā'* (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i. 246 sq.; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, iii. 280).

The consecration of the mosque was attended by certain ceremonies. When for example the midday service was conducted for the first time in the *Djāmi'* al-Šāliḥ in Cairo, a representative from Baghdād was present (Maḳrīzī, iv. 81). At the consecration of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn, the builder gave al-Rabī' b. Sulaimān, a pupil of al-Šāfi'i, who lectured on *Ḥadiṭh* there, a purse of 1,000 dinārs (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḏara*, ii. 139). Al-Maḳrīzī describes the consecration ceremony at several mosques. In the M. al-Mu'ayyad the Sultān was present seated on a throne surrounded by his officers; the basin of the ṣaḥn was filled with sugar and ḥalwa, the people ate and drank, lectures were given, then the *ṣalāt* was read and *ḥuṭba* delivered and the Sultān distributed robes of honour among the officials of the Mosques and Šūfis (Maḳrīzī, iv. 139); similarly at the Zāhiriya (p. 662, were poems were also recited: cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i., p. 228 sq.), Madrasat *Djamāl al-Dīn*, p. 811; al-Sarghitmishīya, p. 757 (Maḳrīzī, iv., p. 217 sq., 253, 256).

H. The Personnel of the Mosque.

1. The Imām.

From the earliest days of Islām, the ruler was the leader of the ṣalāt; he was *imām* as leader in war, head of the government and leader of the common ṣalāt. The governors of provinces thus became leaders of the ṣalāt and heads of the *kharāj* and when a special financial official took over the fiscal side, the governor was appointed '*ala 'l-ṣalāt wa 'l-ḥarb*'. He had to conduct ritual prayer, especially the Friday ṣalāt on which occasion he also delivered the *khuṭba*. If he was prevented, the chief of police, *ṣāhib al-shurṭa*, was his *khalifa* (cf. Maḳrīzī, iv. 83). 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī permitted the people of the villages to celebrate the two festivals, while the Friday divine service could only take place under those qualified to conduct it (who could punish and impose duties; *ibid.*, p. 7). This was altered under the 'Abbāsids. The caliph no longer regularly conducted the ṣalāts (after the conquest of the Persians: Maḳrīzī, iv. 45), and 'Anbasa b. Ishāk, the last Arab governor of Egypt (238—242), was also the last emir to conduct the ṣalāt in the dījami'. An imām, paid out of the *bait al-māl*, was now appointed (*ibid.*, p. 83), but the governor still continued to be formally appointed '*ala 'l-ṣalāt*'. Henceforth the ruler only exceptionally conducted the service, for example the Fāṭimids on ceremonial occasions, especially in the month of Ramaḍān (Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 482 sqq.; Kaḳkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, iii. 509 sqq.); in many individual mosques probably the most prominent man conducted the service; according to the Ḥadīth, the one with the best knowledge of the Qur'ān and, failing him, the eldest should officiate (Bukhārī, *Adḥām*, bāb 46, 49).

The imām appointed was chosen from among those learned in religious matters; he was often a Hāshimid (Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 147); he might at the same time be a *qāḍī* or his *nā'ib* (see Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 575, 589; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 276 sq.). During the ṣalāt he stood beside the mihrāb; al-Maḳdisī mentions the anomaly, that in Syria one performed one's ṣalāt "in front of the imām" (*B.G.A.*, iii. 202); he could also stand on an elevated position; on one occasion Abū Huraira conducted the ṣalāt in the Meccan mosque from the roof (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 17). In Mecca, in Ibn Dīubair's time, each of the four recognised madhāhib (with the Zaidis in addition) had an imām; they conducted the ṣalāt, one after the other each in his place, in the following order: Shāfi'is, Mālikis, Ḥanafis and Ḥanbalis; they only performed the ṣalāt al-maghrib together; in Ramaḍān they held the *tarāwīḥ* in different places in the mosque, which was also often conducted by the *kurra'* (*Riḥla*, p. 101, 102, 143 sq.). This is still the case; very frequently one performs the ṣalāt, not after the imām of his own madhāb (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 79 sq.). In Jerusalem according to Muḍjir al-Dīn the order was: Mālikis, Shāfi'is, Ḥanafis, Ḥanbalis, who prayed each in their own part of the Ḥaram; in Hebron the order was the same (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jér. et Hébron*, p. 136 sq.). In Ramaḍān extraordinary imāms were appointed (*ibid.*, p. 138).

When the imām no longer represented a political office, each mosque regularly had one. He had to maintain order and was in general in charge

of the divine services in the mosque. In al-Maḳdisī's time the imām of the Mosque of 'Amr read a *djuz'* of the Qur'ān every morning after the ṣalāt (*B.G.A.*, iii. 205). It was his duty to conduct every ṣalāt, which is only valid *fī djamā'a*. He must conform to the standards laid down in the law; but it is disputed whether the ṣalāt is invalid in the opposite case. According to some, the leader of the Friday ṣalāt should be a different man from the leader of the five daily ṣalāts (Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniya*, ed. Enger, p. 171 sqq.; Ibn al-Hādjdī, *K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 41, 43 sqq., 50, 73 sqq.; al-Subkī, *Mu'id al-Ni'am*, ed. Myhrman, p. 163 sq.; for ḥadīths s. Wensinck, *Handbook*, p. 109 sq.). Many cherished misgivings against payment being made for religious services and quoted in support of their view a saying of Abū Ḥanīfa (*B.G.A.*, iii. 127).

2. The Khaṭīb.

The development of this office is analogous to that of imām. When the 'Abbāsīd caliph no longer delivered *khuṭbas* regularly, a man learned in religious matters was appointed to the office of *khaṭīb* [see D 1 and the article *KHAṬĪB*]. It could be pointed out that the Prophet himself had a *khaṭīb* namely 'Uṭāirid b. Ḥādjdīb (*Djāhiz*, *Bayān*, i. 178) and sermons outside the Friday service had in any case become quite usual. Thus Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was already a noted preacher (*ibid.*, p. 190). Later it sometimes happened that a general like Djawhar himself acted as imām at the ṣalāt, while the *khuṭba* was left to a learned man (Maḳrīzī, iv. 44). As the *khaṭīb* in theory represented the ruler, he uttered a blessing upon him; to this extent the office had a political significance. The caliph was blessed and the heir-apparent and the king of the country (cf. above D 1). When the caliph himself preached, he also pronounced a prayer for himself (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, ii. 349 sq.) and the Fāṭimids mentioned their fathers. The sermons gradually became quite stereotyped; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i. 348) praises the *khaṭīb* in Mecca, because he gave a new sermon every Friday. A *qāḍī* was frequently chosen as *khaṭīb* and a chief *qāḍī* could sometimes preach in a large mosque (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 589; Maḳrīzī, iv. 132; Ibn Dīubair, p. 156; according to Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, II/ii. 25, a *qāḍī* was for the first time appointed *khaṭīb* in 694 [1925] in Damascus). The *khaṭīb* could also be a "witness" (Hilāl al-Sābi, *K. al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz, p. 421 *infra*) or hold another office like that of *kātib al-sirr* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 137, 138, 139, 140); in the last mentioned case the office was hereditary, which we also find elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 9, 98; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 185; al-'Irāḳī). The *khaṭīb* had frequently a *khalifa*. In the Rāshida mosque, where in 414 two *khaṭībs* were deliberately appointed, they both preached at the same time on the minbar (Maḳrīzī, p. 63 sq.). Later we find in the larger mosques a number of *khuṭabā'* being appointed who relieve one another.

In Mecca the *khaṭīb* was a particularly imposing figure. In his black robe, trimmed with gold, and turban with *tailasān*, he went up to the minbar between two black banners carried by *mu'adhdhins*, while a servant walked in front of him cracking a whip; after he had kissed the Black Stone, the chiet *mu'adhdhin* went quickly in front of him with the sword with which he girded him on the minbar (Ibn Dīubair, p. 95 sq.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 376 sqq.).

The whip (*farḥa'a*: Ibn Djubair, p. 96, 97, 144, 156; Ibn Battūta, i. 376, 379, 390, 394; see *B. G. A.*, iv., s. v.) is also used as he goes out and on other occasions. The black was the colour of the 'Abbāsids; it was also used in Egypt (Ibn Djubair, p. 50). The Fātimid *khaṭīb* wore a cap (*kalansuwa*: Maḳrīzī, iv. 44, 22 sq.). The dress of the *khaṭīb* varied with time and country (cf. *ibid.*, p. 90; *B. G. A.*, iii. 129, 416; Ibn al-Ḥādīdj, *Madkhal*, ii. 73). In Mecca there were celebrations when a young man became a *khaṭīb* (Ibn Djubair, p. 149).

Very frequently the *khaṭīb* and the imām were one individual, especially in the smaller mosques, but sometimes also in larger ones (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 174, 179; Maḳrīzī, iv. 124). Ibn al-Ḥādīdj even regards this as the normal thing (*K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 59, 60, 73, 74); s. also al-Subkī, *Mu'id*, p. 160 sq. and the article *KHAṬĪB*.

3. *Ḳāṣṣ* and *Ḳārī*?

On these see C 3. Sometimes, in the later usage *wā'iz* is used of the official speaker, very like *khaṭīb* (cf. Ibn Battūta, iii. 9), while al-*ḳāṣṣ* is only applied to the street story-teller (al-Subkī, *Mu'id al-Nifam*, p. 161 sq.). The *ḳurra'* are also frequently appointed to madrasas and particularly to mausoleums (Maḳrīzī, iv. 223; Yāqūt, iv. 509; Subkī, *Mu'id*, p. 162; v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i., No. 252).

4. The *Mu'adhdhin*.

According to most traditions, the office of *mu'adhdhin* was instituted in the year 1, according to others only after the *isrā'*, in the year 2, according to some weak traditions while Muḥammad was still in Mecca. At first the people came to the ṣalāt without being summoned. Trumpets (*būḳ*) were blown and rattles (*nāḳūs*) used or fires lit after the custom of Jews, Christians and Mādjūs. 'Abd Allāh b. Zaid learned the *adhān* formula in a dream; it was approved by the Prophet and when Bilāl proclaimed it, it was found that 'Omar had also learned the same procedure in a dream (Ibn Hishām, p. 357 sq.; *Khamīs*, i. 404 sq.; Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 1; Zirkānī, i. 121 sqq.). There are also variants of the story, e.g. that the Prophet and 'Omar had the vision, or Abū Bakr or seven or fourteen Anṣār; according to some, the Prophet learned it at the *mi'rādj* from Gabriel, wherefore the introduction of the *adhān* is dated after the *isrā'*; among the suggestions made, the hoisting of a flag is mentioned (*Sira Ḥalabīya*, ii. 100 sqq.). Noteworthy is a tradition which goes back to Ibn Sa'd, according to which at 'Omar's suggestion at first a *munādī*, Bilāl, was sent out who called in the streets: *al-ṣalāta djamī'atan*. Only later were other possibilities discussed, but the method already in use was confirmed by the dream, only with another formula, the one later used (*Khamīs*, i. 404; *Sira Ḥalabīya*, ii. 100 sq.). According to this account, the consideration of other methods would be a secondary episode and probably the tradition in general represents a later attitude to the practices of other religions. But in Islām other methods were certainly used. In Fās, a flag was hung out in the minarets and a lamp at night (*J. A.*, ser. II, xii. 341). The flag is also found in the legend of the origin of the practice.

The public crier was a well-known institution

among the Arabs. Among the tribes and in the towns important proclamations and invitations to general assemblies were made by criers. This crier was called *Munādī* or *Mu'adhdhin* (*Sira Ḥalabīya*, ii. 170; Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 62 sqq., 146; do., *Berceau*, i. 229 note; do., *Mo'awia*, p. 150). *Adhān* therefore means proclamation, *Sūra* ix. 3, and *adhdhāna*, *mu'adhdhin*, *Sūra* vii. 70 "to proclaim" and "crier". *Munādī* (Bukhārī, *Fard al-Khums*, bāb 15) and *Mu'adhdhin* (*ibid.*, *Sawm*, bāb 69; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 10 = *Djizya*, bāb 16; *Sira Ḥalabīya*, ii. 270) are names given to a crier used by the Prophet or Abū Bakr for such purposes. Official proclamations were regularly made by criers (cf. Tabarī, iii. 2131, 3). Saḍjāh and Musailima used a *mu'adhdhin* to summon the people to their prayers (Tabarī, i. 1919, 1932; cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 410 sq.; 638 sq.). It therefore was a very natural thing for Muḥammad to assemble the believers to common prayer through a crier (*nādā li'l* or *ila 'l-ṣalāt*, *Sūra* v. 63; lxii. 9); the summons is called *Nidā'* and *Adhān*, the crier *Munādī* (Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 5; *Adhān*, bāb 7) and *Mu'adhdhin*; the two names are used quite indiscriminately (e.g. *ibid.*, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 5; Tabarī, ii. 297 sq.). *Munādī* 'l-Ṣalāt, *B. G. A.*, iii. 182, 12, also *Ṣā'ih* "crier" is used (Tabarī, iii. 861; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 340).

In these conditions, it was very natural for the crier in the earliest period to be regarded as the assistant and servant of the ruler; he is his *mu'adhdhin* (Ibn Sa'd, i. 7; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr. 4; Maḳrīzī, iv. 43, etc.; cf. Tabarī, ii. 1120). 'Umar sent to Kūfa 'Ammār b. Yāsir as emir and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd "as *mu'adhdhin* and *wazīr*" (*B. G. A.*, v. 165); he is thus the right hand of the ruler. Al-Ḥusain had his *munādī* with him and the latter summoned to the ṣalāt on al-Ḥusain's instructions (Tabarī, ii. 297, 298; cf. Ibn Ziyād, *ibid.*, p. 260 and in the year 196 the 'amil in Mecca, *ibid.*, iii. 861, 13; also *Chron. Mekka*, i. 340). During the earliest period, the *mu'adhdhin* probably issued his summons in the streets and the call was very short: *al-ṣalāta djamī'atan* (Ibn Sa'd, i. 7, 7; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 340; Tabarī, iii. 861; cf. also in the year 196, *Sira Ḥalabīya*, ii. 101; *Khamīs*, i. 404 sq.). This brief summons was, according to Ibn Sa'd, also used later on irregular occasions (i. 7 sqq; cf. the passage in Tabarī). Perhaps also the summons was issued from a particular place even at a quite early date (see D 2a). After the public summons the *mu'adhdhin* went to the Prophet, greeted him and called him to prayer; the same procedure was later used with his successor: when he had come, the *mu'adhdhin* announced the beginning of the ṣalāt (*aḳāma 'l-ṣalāt*: cf. Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 5; *Adhān*, bāb 48; *Sira Ḥalabīya*, ii. 104 sq.; Maḳrīzī, iv. 45). The activity of the *mu'adhdhin* thus fell into three sections: the assembling of the community, the summoning of the imām and the announcement of the beginning of the ṣalāt. With time changes were made in all three stages.

The assembling of the community by crying aloud was not yet at all regular in the older period. During the fighting, Ibn Ziyād in the year 60 called his *munādī* with threats to the evening ṣalāt in the mosque and when after an hour the mosque was full he had the *iḳāma* announced (Tabarī, ii. 260). When a large number of mosques had come into existence, the public call to prayer had to be organised lest confusion arose, and the custom

of calling from a raised position became general after the introduction of the minaret. While previously the call to prayer had only been preparatory and the *ikāma* was the final summons, the public call (*adhān*) and the *ikāma* now formed two distinct phases of the call to prayer. Tradition has retained a memory of the summoning in the streets, now completely fallen into disuse, when it tells us that 'Othmān introduced a third *adhān*, a call in al-Zawrā', which was made before the call from the minaret: this call however was transferred by Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik to the minaret (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 22, 25; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 110; Ibn al-Hādīdj, *Madkhal*, ii. 45). This may be evidence of the gradual cessation of the custom of summoning the community by going through the streets. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, but this is exceptional, tells us that the mu'adhdhins in Khwārizm still fetched the people from their houses and those who did not come were whipped (iii. 4 sq.), which recalls Wahhābi measures. When exactly the Sunnī and in distinction to it the Shī'ī formula, finally developed can hardly be ascertained [see *ADHĀN*]. The call *ḥaiya 'ala 'l-falāḥ* is known from the time of 'Abd al-Malik (65-85) (Akḥṭal, ed. Ṣāḥḥānī, p. 254; see Horowitz, in *Isl.*, xvi., 1927, p. 154; on *takbīr* see *ibid.*; on *adhān* formulae see further *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 105 sq.). At first the call was only made at the chief mosque, as was the case in Medina and Miṣr (Maḥrizī, iv. 43 *infra*) but very quickly other mosques were also given mu'adhdhins: their calls were sufficiently audible in the whole town. The chief mosque retained this privilege, that its mu'adhdhin called first and the others followed together (Maḥrizī, iv. 43 *infra*, 44).

The summoning by the imām in Medina was therefore quite a natural thing. The custom, at first associated with the ruler's mosque, was not observed in Medina only (see for 'Othmān and 'Alī: Tabarī, i. 3059 sq.) but was also usual under the Omayyads. The formula was: *al-Salām 'alaika ayyuha 'l-Amīr wa-Raḥmatu 'llāh wa-Barakātuhu, ḥaiya 'ala 'l-Ṣalāt, ḥaiya 'ala 'l-Falāḥ al-Ṣalāt, yarḥamuka 'llāh* (Maḥrizī, iv. 45; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 105). After the alteration in the *adhān* and the greater distance of the ruler from the mosque, to summon him was no longer the natural conclusion to the assembling of the community. In the 'Abbāsīd period and under the Fāṭimids there was a survival of the old custom, in as much as the mu'adhdhins ended the *adhān* call before the *ṣalāt al-faḍr* on the minarets with a *salām* upon the caliph. This part of the mu'adhdhin's work was thus associated with the first *adhān* call. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn came to power, he did not wish to be mentioned in the call to prayer, but instead he ordered a blessing upon the Prophet to be uttered before the *adhan* to the *ṣalāt al-faḍr*, which after 761 only took place before the Friday service. A muhtasib ordered that after 791 in Egypt and Syria at each *adhān* a *salām* was to be uttered over the Prophet (Maḥrizī, iv. 46; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 110). Ibn Djubair relates that in Mecca after each *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, the foremost mu'adhdhin pronounced a *du'ā* upon the 'Abbāsīd Imām and on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn from the Zemzem roof, in which those present joined with enthusiasm (p. 103) and according to Maḥrizī, after each *ṣalāt* prayers for the Ṣultān were uttered by the mu'adhdhins (iv. 53 sq.). Another relic of the old custom was that

the trumpet was sounded at the door of the ruler at times of prayer; this honour was also shown to 'Aḍud al-Dawla in 368 by order of the caliph (Ibn Maskawaih, vi. 499; Cairo 1315, p. 396).

The *ikāma* always remained the real prelude to the service and is therefore regarded as the original *adhān* (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 24 sq.). In the earliest period it was fixed by the arrival of the ruler and it might happen that a considerable interval elapsed between the summoning of the people and the *ikāma* (cf. Tabarī, ii. 260, 297 sq.). The times were later more accurately defined; one should be able to perform 1-3 *ṣalāts* between the two calls (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 14, 16). Some are said to have introduced the practice of the mu'adhdhin calling *ḥaiya 'ala 'l-ṣalāt* at the door of the mosque between the two calls (*Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 105). From the nature of the case the *ikāma* was always called in the mosque; at the Friday service, it was done when the imām mounted the minbar (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 22, 25; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 110; Maḥrizī, iv. 43) while the mu'adhdhin stood in front of him. This mu'adhdhin, according to some, ought to be the one who called the *adhān* upon the minaret (*Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 109), while Ibn al-Hādīdj ignoring the historical facts only permits the call from the minaret (*Madkhal*, ii. 45). In Tunis, the *ikāma* was announced by ringing a bell as in the churches (Zarkashī, transl. Fagnan, in *Rec. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, 1894, p. 111 sq.). A similarity to the responses in the Christian service is found in the fact that the call of the mu'adhdhin, which contains a confession of faith, is to be repeated or at least answered by every one who hears it (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 23); this is an action which confers religious merit (Ibn Kuṭūbughā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Hanafīya*, ed. Flügel, p. 30). It is possible that we should recognise in this as well as in the development of the formulae the influence of Christians converted to Islām (cf. Becker, *Zur Gesch. d. islam. Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii., 1912, p. 374 sqq. and *Islamstudien*, i. 472 sqq. who sees an imitation of the Christian custom in the *ikāma* in general; on the possibility of Jewish influence see Mittwoch, in *Abh. Pr. A. W.*, 1913, Phil.-Hist. Cl. 2).

The mu'adhdhin thus obtained a new importance. His work was not only to summon the people to divine service, but was in itself a kind of religious service. His sphere of activity was further developed. In Egypt we are told that Maslama b. Muḥallad (47-62) introduced the *tasbīḥ*. This consisted in praises of God which were uttered by the mu'adhdhins all through the night until *faḍr*. This is explained as a polemical imitation of the Christians, for the governor was troubled by the use of the *nawāḳiz* at night and forbade it during the *adhān* (Maḥrizī, iv. 48). In the time of Ahmad b. Tūlūn and Khumārawaih, the mu'adhdhins recited religious texts throughout the night in a special room. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered them to recite an *'aḳida* in the night *adhān* and after 700 *dhikr* was performed on Friday morning on the minarets (*ibid.*, p. 48 sq.; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 111.). In Mecca also the mu'adhdhins performed *dhikr* throughout the night of the first Shawwāl on the roof of the ḡubba of the Zemzem well (Ibn Djubair, p. 155, 156; cf. for Damascus: Maḥrizī, iv. 49). Similar litanies are kept up in modern times as well as a special call about an hour before dawn (*Ebed*, *Tarḥim*: see Lane, *Manners and Customs* [Everyman's Library],

p. 75 sq.; cf. p. 86; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 84 sqq.).

The original call of the mu'adhdhins thus developed into a melodious chant like the recitation of the Qur'an. Al-Makdisi tells us that in the fourth century in Egypt during the last third of the night, the adhān was recited like a dirge (*B. G. A.*, iii. 205). The solemn effect was increased by the large number of voices. In large mosques, like that of Mecca, the chief mu'adhdhin called first from a minaret, then the others came in turn (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 424 sq.; Ibn Djubair, p. 145 sqq.; cf. *B. G. A.*, vii. 111, 2 sqq., *et supra*). But in the mosque itself the ikāma was pronounced by the mu'adhdhins in chorus on the dakka (see D 2e) erected for this purpose, which is also traced to Maslama. In the third and fourth centuries we hear of these melodious recitations (*taṭrib*) of the mu'adhdhins on a raised *podium* in widely separated parts of the Muslim world (Ṣan'ā', Egypt, *Khurāsān*: *B. G. A.*, iii. 327; vii. 111; the expression *al-mutala'ibin*, "the musicians", if correct, probably refers to the mu'adhdhins: *B. G. A.*, iii. 205; cf. also Kindi, *Wulāt*, p. 469; for Fārs we are expressly told that the mu'adhdhins call without *taṭrib*: *B. G. A.*, iii. 439, 17). Sometimes in large mosques they were stationed in different parts of the mosque to make the imām's words clear to the community (*tabligh*). The singing, especially in chorus, like the *tabligh*, was regarded by many as *bid'a* (Kindi, *op. cit.*; *K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 45 sq., 61 sq.; *Sira Halabiya*, ii. 111). In other ways also the mu'adhdhins could be compared to deacons at the service. The khaṭīb on his progress to the minbar in Mecca was accompanied by mu'adhdhins and the chief mu'adhdhin girded him with a sword on the minbar (Ibn Djubair, p. 96 sq.).

The new demands made on the mu'adhdhins necessitated an increase in their number, especially in the large mosques. The Prophet in Medina had two mu'adhdhins, Bilāl b. Ribāh, Abū Bakr's *mawla* and Ibn Umm Maktūm, who worked in rotation. 'Othmān also is said occasionally to have called the adhān in front of the minbar (i. e. the ikāma) (Maḳrīzī, iv. 43). It is therefore regarded as commendable to have two mu'adhdhins at a mosque (Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr. 4; cf. Subki, *Mu'id*, p. 165). Abu Maḥdūra was also the Prophet's mu'adhdhin in Mecca. Under 'Omar, Bilāl's successor as mu'adhdhin was Sa'd al-Qaraz, who is said to have called to prayer for the Prophet in Ḳubā' (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*; cf. *Sira Halabiya*, ii. 107 sqq.). In Egypt under 'Amr, the first mu'adhdhin in al-Fustāt was Abū Muslim: he was soon joined by nine others. The mu'adhdhins of the different mosques formed an organisation, the head ('arif) of which, after Abū Muslim, was his brother Shurahbīl b. 'Āmir (d. 65); during his time Maslama b. Mukhallad built minarets (Maḳrīzī, iv. 44).

The office of mu'adhdhin was sometime hereditary. The descendants of Bilāl were for example mu'adhdhins of the Medina Mosque in al-Rawḍa (Ibn Djubair, p. 194); we also find in Medina the sons of Sa'd al-Qaraz officiating (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Handb. d. Gesch.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 132, 279), in Mecca the sons of Abū Maḥdūra (*ibid.*, p. 278; *Sira Halabiya*, ii. 106), in Baṣra, the sons of al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān al-'Abdī, mu'adhdhins of 'Ubaid-allāh b. Ziyād (Ibn Ḳutaiba, p. 279); it is however possible that this was really the result of a system of guilds of mu'adhdhins. In the *djawāmi'*

of the Maghrib in the eighth century each had regularly four mu'adhdhins who were stationed in different parts of the mosque during the ṣalāt (*K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 47 *supra*); but there were often quite a large number. In the Azhar mosque in the time of al-Ḥākim there were fifteen, each of whom was paid two dinārs a month (Maḳrīzī, iv. 51). Ibn Baṭṭūta found seventy mu'adhdhins in the Mosque of the Omayyads (i. 204). About 1900, in Medina there were in the Mosque of the Prophet fifty mu'adhdhins and twenty-six assistants (Batānūnī, *Rihla*, p. 242). Blind men were often chosen for this office; Ibn Umm Maktūm for example was blind (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 11; *Sira Halabiya*, ii. 104; cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 75). The Prophet is said to have forbidden the Ṭhaḳif to pay a mu'adhdhin (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 383). 'Othmān is said to have been the first to give payment to the mu'adhdhins (Maḳrīzī, iv. 44) and Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn gave them large sums (*ibid.*, p. 48). They regularly received their share in the endowments, often by special provisions in the documents establishing the foundations.

The mu'adhdhins were organised under chiefs (*ru'asā'*: Maḳrīzī, iv. 14). In Mecca the *ra'is al-mu'adhdhinin* was identical with the *mu'adhdhin al-Zamzamī* who had charge of the singing in the upper story of the Zemzem building (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 424 sq.; Ibn Djubair, p. 145; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 322). The *ra'is* was next to the Imām but subordinate to him; in certain districts, it was the custom for him to mount the pulpit during the sermon with the imām (when the latter acted as khaṭīb) (*K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 74; correct above p. 928, l. 31 sq. in keeping with this). The position which they originally occupied can still be seen from the part which they play in public processions of officials, e. g. of the *Ḳaḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt*, when they walk in front and laud the ruler and his vizier (Maḳrīzī, ii. 246).

Closely associated with the mu'adhdhin is the *muwakkīt*, the astronomer, whose task it was to ascertain the qibla and the times of prayer (Subki, *Mu'id*, p. 165 sq.); sometimes the chief mu'adhdhin did this (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 322).

5. Servants.

According to Abū Huraira, the Mosque of the Prophet was swept by a negro (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 72, cf. 74). The larger mosques gradually acquired a large staff of servants (*khuddām*), notably *bawwāb*, *farrāsh*, and water-carriers (cf. e. g. v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i, N^o. 252). In Mecca there have always been special appointments, such as supervisor of the Zemzem and guardian of the Ka'ba (*sādin*, pl. *sadana*, also used of the officials of the mosque: Maḳrīzī, iv. 76; cf. Ibn Djubair, p. 278). In Ibn Baṭṭūta's time the servants (*khuddām*) of the Mosque of the Prophet were eunuchs, particularly Abyssinian; their chief (*shaiikh al-khuddām*) was like a great emir and paid by the Egyptian-Syrian government (i. 278, 348); cf. the title of an emir of the year 798: *shaiikh mashū'ikh al-sūda al-khuddām bi 'l-haram al-sharif al-nabawi* (v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i, N^o. 201). In the Mosque of Jerusalem about 300 A. H., there were no less than 140 servants (*khādīm*: *B. G. A.*, v. 100); others give the figure 230 (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 163) and according to Muḍjir al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Malik appointed a guard of three hundred black slaves here, while the actual menial work was done by

certain Jewish and Christian families (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jér. et Hébr.*, p. 56 sq.).

In other mosques superintendents (*kaïyim*, pl. *kawama*) are mentioned, a vague title which covered a multitude of duties: thus the Madrasa al-Madjudiya had a *kaïyim* who looked after the cleaning, the staff, the lighting and water-supply (Maḳrîzî, iv. 251), the Azhar Mosque had one for the miḳḳa'a, who was paid twelve dīnārs (*ibid.*, p. 51) and also 4 *kawama*, who were paid like mu'adhdhins (two dīnārs a month) and are mentioned between them and the imāms, probably supervisors of the staff (*ibid.*, p. 51). In other cases a *kaïyim al-djāmi'*, sometimes a *kādi*, is mentioned, who is apparently the same as the imām, the *khaṭīb* or some similar individual of standing (*ibid.*, p. 75, 121, cf. 122; cf. Ibn Djbair, p. 51). A *muṣṣhrif*, inspector, is also mentioned, e. g. in the Azhar (Maḳrîzî, iv. 51).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(JOHS. PEDERSEN)

II.

The Mosque in the Dutch East Indies.

In the Dutch East Indies, two kinds of mosque have to be distinguished, the mosque for the Friday service — these alone are called mosques (*masigit*, also *misjdjid*) — and simple houses of prayer. This second category is found all over the country, especially in smaller villages and owes its origin, partly to private initiative and partly to public efforts; they have native names (*laṅgar* [Javan.], *tajug* [Sum.], *surau* [Malay]). The *laṅgar*, or whatever it may be called, of the village is a centre at which the *ṣalāt* can be performed, but it also serves other purposes of general interest. The upkeep of the building is the affair of the community and in particular one of the tasks of the religious official of the village. The upkeep of the other *laṅgars*, erected by private individuals, is left to them. The building stands on its own site and is maintained by the founder or his descendants. The owner cannot however refuse admission to strangers who desire to use it for the *ṣalāt* or as shelter the night. Such private chapels are always found beside the Muḥammadan seminaries (Jav. *pasantren*). We sometimes find that these *laṅgar* are endowed as *wakf* (Jav. Mal. *wakap*). The village *laṅgar* on the other hand has a more public character.

The mosques, i. e. the *masjdjid djāmi'*, are found in larger places usually in those which are also centres of administration. Their erection and maintenance is regarded as a duty of the Muslim community; every one contributes his share in materials, work or money, according as he is requested and is able to do. When a new mosque is to be built, not only is the site necessary for the building railed off, but also that for the dwellings of the staff and other people, whose piety induces them to seek a dwelling-place near the mosque; here they find the spot, where in their opinion they can be best benefitted by the atmosphere of their faith, spiritually and socially. This mosque area, at least the mosque itself and its immediate neighbourhood, is popularly regarded as *wakap* although the conditions necessary to make it an endowment in the sense of the *shari'a* are not fulfilled. In *wakap* affairs, the *shari'a* is regarded as authoritative and not affected by common law.

Each mosque has its own staff, of the size it

requires; in the large mosques there may be 40 or more. In Java and Madura, they form a regular hierarchy; this holds also for the relation of the larger and smaller mosques to each other. A mosque serves the requirements of a definite area; the staff of the mosque at the chief place in a smaller district is subordinate to that of a larger one and so on up to the capital of a regency (which is the highest native administrative unit). At each mosque a superintendent is appointed and the head of the mosque at the capital of the regency is regarded as head of all the mosque officials in the whole district. On the other islands the native, political organisation is less developed, the hierarchy of the secular power therefore less influenced by it. Generally speaking the personnel of the mosque is the same everywhere; the more the secular hierarchy is graded, the more noticeable is the classification of the personnel of the different mosques into various ranks; but we always find one recognised as the head of the staff.

The superintendent of a mosque in Java and Madura bears the general name *pañ[h]ulu*. His main duty is to see that the Friday service is held; he can act as imām at it himself but usually he leaves this to someone else. Besides him there are a large number of other officials, whose names usually are taken from the Arabic and whose duties are very varied; among them however we find the *kḥtib* (Jav. Ar. *khaṭīb*). He delivers the sermon; but this also can be done by some one else. The maintenance of the building is also the duty of the superintendent. The expenses have to be met from the money collected by the staff, of which he has control (see below).

In Java and Madura generally, and very often elsewhere, the superintendent of a mosque is also an official, i. e. he is the legal authority who is present at the marriage ceremony; sometimes he acts as *wakīl* of the *wālī*. He is also authorised to give in marriage women who have no blood-relative to act as wali; in this capacity he is called *wālī ḥākim*. Marriages are concluded in the mosque; it is exceptional for the *pañ[h]ulu* to perform the marriage ceremony in person; he usually leaves this to one of his subordinates. People of high rank marry in the house; on these occasions the *pañ[h]ulu* himself acts. The same holds *mutatis mutandis* of *ṣalāk* and *rudjū'*; these also are reported to the *pañ[h]ulu* and recorded by him along with marriages in a register.

In smaller centres, where there are only *laṅgar* (chapels) there is an official, who assists the villagers in matters of Muḥammadan law; he belongs to the village administration and may be regarded as the lowest rank of the mosque hierarchy; people desirous of matrimony apply to him; he accompanies them to the mosque of the district to which his village belongs; he also acts for the *pañ[h]ulu* as *ʿamil* of the *djakat* (*zakāt*) and *pitra* (*zakāt al-fiṭr*) (see below). From this capacity comes the name he bears in some parts of the country: *amil*.

The appointment of the mosque officials (as distinct from the village officials in whose cases the local customary law is followed) is not done everywhere in the same way. In Java and Madura, it is in the hands of the native chiefs who are also the highest state officials; on the other islands of the East Indian Archipelago, in so far as Islām prevails on them, the wishes of

the Muslim community are more or less respected; the secular authorities however exert a great influence.

The revenues of mosque officials come from various sources: donations, freewill offerings, in cases where their services are required: — at religious festivals, burials, etc. — need only be mentioned. The chief source of revenue is the so-called marriage fees, less from *djakat* and *pitra*; these are administered and distributed by the superintendent of the mosque. As already mentioned the mosque and its accessories have to be maintained out of the income. Neglect of this duty has induced the chiefs in Java and Madura to intervene and form a special fund, the so-called mosque fund for this purpose. This was arranged as follows: a certain percentage of marriage fees and of the *djakat* and *pitra* was set aside; the chiefs took charge of these funds. The revenues of the mosque officials earmarked in this way were however only a small fraction of the total; the greater part, perhaps $\frac{4}{5}$ or more, remained at the disposal of the officials. This same procedure is found here and there on other islands but is not general.

The Dutch government maintains a neutral attitude to Islām, in all business matters of the mosque also. It takes no part in the building or restoration of mosques; only very exceptionally does it give a contribution in money for such purposes. This was done for example in Kuta Raja (Atjeh), where the chief mosque, which had been destroyed during fighting, was rebuilt from government funds in 1881. But this act of the authorities was not appreciated by the Muslim population; in general, the government officials only see that no compulsion is used to procure materials or funds for the building or maintenance of mosques.

With the end of the nineteenth century the Colonial administration began to pay some attention to the regular organisation of the staffs of the mosques, primarily in Java and Madura. Their measures aimed at maintaining things as they were and at getting rid only of abuses and such customs as had proved to be a burden on the people.

Djakat and *pitra* are regarded as "freewill offerings" by the colonial authorities; the native chiefs and village authorities were therefore forbidden to interfere with them. It is left to the individual to give them or not; he is also free to give his gifts to whom he pleases. The giving of *djakat* varies very much with places and persons and is smallest in Central Java. It is concerned almost entirely with agricultural produce, especially with the staple product and even then it rarely happens that the legal quantity is given. In practice the *djakat*, where it is levied, is collected by the village mosque officials and handed over to the *pañ[h]ulu*; he then distributes it in a certain proportion among his subordinates. The proceeds go almost entirely to the staff of the mosque and the village officials, firstly because they are *āmil* and secondly because they consider themselves *fakir* and *maskin*; they have, as they say, no means of livelihood like other people.

Pitra is paid regularly; it happens very frequently with this "donation" that it is paid direct to those entitled to it and not through the officials. Nevertheless a considerable portion goes the same way as the *djakat*.

The government confined itself to seeing that

the *djakat* and *pitra* collected by the *Pañ[h]ulu*, was distributed as it ought to be according to custom but this was not always done.

Marriage, *ṭalāk* and *rudjū*^c have been regulated by a colonial law. The *pañ[h]ulu* or his deputy was confirmed in his already mentioned functions as an official with legal standing. At the same time, others than the appointed *pañ[h]ulu* were forbidden by the secular authority to perform marriages. The registration of marriages, *ṭalāk* and *rudjū*^c was improved. The fees and their distribution among the staff were fixed according to local custom. Every effort is made to keep these as low as possible. Similar regulations were later promulgated for the other islands.

As to the funds of the mosques, it was ascertained that there was more money in them than was required for the maintenance of the building and that they were being used for other purposes than the traditional ones. This caused the government to place the funds of the mosques under the joint control of European and native authorities. This holds particularly of Java and Madura; but wherever else the mosque had funds, these were retained.

The regulations promulgated for Java and Madura have recently been attacked by Muslims; they wanted as far as possible to withdraw everything relating to marriage from government interference. The intervention of the government is now (since 1929) limited to the fact that parties who wish to enter into matrimony have to report themselves to a registrar. *Ṭalāk* and *rudjū*^c have also to be reported to him. The marriage ceremony may be performed by others, but they are under the control of the registrar; this last method is now the exception; the majority continue to go to the district officer.

In one other respect the mosque has come under the control of government regulations. In Muslim districts of the East Indian Archipelago hardly a mosque is built without the consent of the local secular authority. Although it does not have to give its approval expressly, no work will be begun until the plan is approved. In Java and Madura the chiefs have long held themselves entitled to decide on the question whether a new mosque should be erected, though they justified this claim by saying among other things that a new mosque, if not desired by the entire community, may easily lead to jealousy and disputes about the validity of the Friday service etc., which might result in general unrest.

The custom of making the site of a mosque *wakaf* — or at least regarding it as such, — results in it being impossible to use such pieces of ground for public purposes, even if it is long since the mosque buildings had been removed from them.

These and other difficulties induced the government to require the approval of the chiefs for the building of new mosques on Java and Madura and also that the sites should become *wakf*. It was however expressly laid down that there can be no possible question of interfering with the religious requirements of the Muslims; the chief can only refuse his consent in the public interest.

The law of the Dutch Indies demands the presence of the *pañ[h]ulu* or some one with similar functions, at the courts for Muslim natives and also when a native appears as accused or plaintiff

in a court, to assist the court as adviser. An endeavour is made to get the most suitable people as advisers: they are officially appointed. It was found to be desirable to combine this office and that of the administrator of the mosque in the one individual; and this is now the usual practice. The influence of the government on the appointment of the personnel of the mosque, which otherwise is reserved for the chief, has thus been increased, especially as in the appointment of the assistant[s] of the *pañ[h]ulu*, the ability of acting as adviser is also taken into account.

The bonds which connect the personnel of the mosque and the secular authority are thus fairly close; — in the opinion of some too close. In recent years the effort has been made in nationalist Muslim circles, to loosen or even break all secular connections in the fulfilment of religious duties. One way of doing this is to get private individuals to found mosques with the help of similar-minded people. This is quite possible in the conditions described and is still done.

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III.

Architecture.

The mosque with an open quadrangle was the natural form for the hot southern lands of Islām, and is simply a continuation of the many types of pillared halls and chambers which were to be found all over the near east, beginning with the Egyptian temples and coming down to the apadanas of the Persians and the stoas of the Greeks, of which of course only the latter influenced the development of the early Muslim mosque. This consists of a courtyard or quadrangle (*ṣaḥn*) usually very large which is surrounded by cloisters (*riwāḳ*) which are either connected by flat beams, or more usually by arches and covered by a flat roof. At the *qibla* side the *riwāḳ*s were deeper so that the rows of worshippers could find shelter from the sun. The supports were at first very often columns taken from ancient buildings and where these were not obtainable, were of wood or brick. The pillared hall at the *qibla* side was called *al-īwān al-qibli* or *īwān*. A portion of the *īwān* was shut off by a railing and reserved for princes and priests. On the quadrangle side of the *īwān* is a podium (*dikka*) supported by pillars and reached by a staircase or ladder; this is for the officials of the mosque, who repeat the words of the imām during the service to make them audible on all sides. At the end of the *īwān* the *miḥrāb* is set into the middle of the wall and beside it is the *minbar*. In the centre of the court is a well, originally intended for ritual ablutions but these were as a rule performed in rooms specially set apart for the purpose.

These mosques with open quadrangle were built in the first century A. H. on a large scale, as they were primarily intended to be mosques for the troops, whence they were called *askar* mosques.

The *Djāmi'* Ibn Ṭūlūn in al-Qatai, Cairo is a comparatively well preserved specimen of one of these *askar* mosques. It was built in 264—267 (876—879) and measures 466×383 feet and its court is 300 feet square. The principal *īwān* had originally five rows of pillars but has now only four since the first one fell down, the others had two rows each, which are connected by pointed arches, parallel to the walls, thus still following the type of the Hellenistic agora. The piers are built of brick and into the corners are let small columns. Between the pillars are pointed arches and ornamental windows with little pillars at the sides. Similar windows with stucco gratings pierce the outer walls. The roof, most of which is now modern, was made of palm trunks with sycamore planks nailed over them. In front of the *miḥrāb* was a *maḥṣūra* for the ruler. This *maḥṣūra* was as here usually distinguished by its cupola. In the later mosques of this kind an aisle of some width led through the pillars up to the *maḥṣūra*, usually through the naves of the *īwān* so that an aisle was created for a ceremonial procession by the ruler into the mosque. In the *Djāmi'* Ibn Ṭūlūn as in the *askar* mosques of the third (ninth) century in general there are no transepts as yet so that the succession of pillars is quite uniform. The *miḥrāb* projects out as the wall juts out a little here and the niche has two steps cut into the wall and then projects in a semi-circle. Two marble pillars are built into the angles formed by the projection of the niche, which have been taken from older Christian buildings. The white stuccoed surfaces of the walls are ornamented along the upper margins and archivolts with decorative strips of carving, which were originally painted. The interiors of the arches were also originally decorated but are now for the most part whitewashed. Immediately below the roof on a wooden frieze runs a Kūfic inscription two miles long with *sūras* from the *Qur'ān*, the letters of which are cut out of wood and nailed on to the boards. The mosque has a battlemented wall, which again was surrounded on three sides by a second outer wall so that the whole area was square in shape and the outer courtyards put some distance between the quadrangle of the mosque and the surrounding streets. The outer walls of these early army mosques were turreted like a fortress with round projecting towers even though not intended for defence. This was not the case with the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. On the minaret, which stood outside the mosque among the outer buildings on the north side and like the mosque itself was restored under the Mamlūk Sultān Laḍjīn, cf. the article *MANĀRA*. Similar mosques for the troops were built in all the garrison towns of the young empire, like Baṣra, Kūfa, Baghdād, Samarra, Raḳqa, in Cairo, Kairawān and elsewhere.

The type of mosque with quadrangle and piers or columns was however by no means limited to the mosques for the troops but was general in the early centuries of Islām and survived much longer than this, just as the early Christian basilica had done. Many pillared mosques, the foundation of which dates back to the early centuries A. H. are still in use, like the mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus, the great mosque of Sidī Uḳba in Kairawān, many mosques in the Maghrib, where they have frequently remained faithful to this type down to the present day, the *Djāmi'* al-Azhar and others in Cairo. In towns that are cold in winter, the

ḥarām was shut off by doors and windows from the quadrangle as in the pillared mosques in Konya, Siwās and Turkish towns, but also in Damascus and Córdoba.

The Domed Mosque. The great mosques built on piers — in so far as they were not simply army mosques — were primarily used for the Friday service in the larger cities. In addition to these, there were in every town several smaller mosques either for the use of the separate quarters or for special purposes. For these also in Egypt and the lands of the Maghrib the type of pierced mosque with open quadrangle persisted while in Mesopotamia, the lands of the Caucasus and Persia, suiting the ruder climate and undoubtedly stimulated by the influence of the Christian churches the closed domed mosque became the type. Some of these mosques (e.g. in Werāmin) reveal with their combination of a long building and a dome such a striking similarity to the older, mainly Nestorian, churches that M. Dieulafoy and van Berchem comprised them under a type to which they gave the name "mosquée-église". Typical mosques of this kind with a central domed chamber and internal piers are to be found in Tabriz, Eriwān, Diyār Bakr etc. It was only under the Ottomans in Asia Minor that the domed mosque attained the next stage in its development and it reached its zenith — not by chance — where the similar Christian style of church architecture had reached its final development, namely in Constantinople.

Madrasa. The foundation for the further development of the mosque with a great open quadrangle, as perfected under the Saldjūks in the east, was the type of madrasa which had in the meanwhile been evolved [cf. the articles MADRASAS and ARCHITECTURE]. The ideal plan of a madrasa is an open court with vaulted cloisters opening on a central quadrangle in the centre of the four façades, i.e. at the intersection of the axes. This plan however only became regular in Persia and we only find a few specimens exceptionally in Cairo. On both sides of these four iwāns are the cells and dwelling apartments of the teachers and pupils usually in two stories. In contrast to the pillared mosque with an open court, which arose out of a Hellenistic Mediterranean type of building, the model for the development of the eastern madrasa, which combined both school and monastery, was on the one hand the Indian Buddhist monastery and on the other the Khurāsān iwān, while the madrasa of Syria, Egypt and the Maghrib was influenced by native types of mosque and house. The Turkish peoples, as representatives of the Sunna and its propaganda through the madrasa, before they invaded Persia and became Muslims, were mainly under the influence of Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity, which survived much longer in Turkestan and the Tarim basin than in Persia and still was very important as late as the xiiith century A. D., as is evident from the narrative of William of Rubruck. The Turks before they adopted Islām had, among the Buddhists and Nestorians, become acquainted with the missionary side of religion. This seems to explain the prominent part later played by them as propagandists of Islām in Persia and Asia Minor. It must have seemed to them that the most suitable centre of propaganda was the same type of building as that used by the Nestorians and Buddhists, namely the monastery. The Buddhist monasteries which were courtyards with cells built round them, numbered hundreds

in Central Asia. They are as a rule oblong quadrangles with cells built round them and a stūpa in the centre and several large rooms for meetings. In Persia, under the influence of these buildings, the type of quadrangle and cells with 4 iwāns in the form of a cross became established as the ideal scheme of a madrasa. That this plan which was architectonic in origin was also the practical ideal for the fourfold doctrine of the Sunnis, was a fortunate combination, which in some large state madrasas became of practical significance.

The Persian Mosque-Madrasa. The quadrangle surrounded by cells with four iwāns of the Persian Madrasa was now combined with the old pierced mosque and the result was a very happy combination: the mosque-madrasa (as we Europeans call it). The important result of this combination was from the architectonic point of view the monumental quadrangle with cells, which now replaced the old courtyard with pillars or piers which was no longer architectonically satisfactory and was also foreign to the spirit of Persian architecture. But with this transformation of the quadrangle a change was brought about in the spiritual aspect of the mosque. It symbolised the transformation which had meanwhile taken place internally and externally in Islām from a combative, conquering religion organised on military lines into a spiritual attitude to life, controlled by theologians and men of learning. The fighting, however, which was still conducted by military forces, and the conquests had now become more or less the private business of the secular rulers, above whom was the religious propaganda of the Muslim clergy. The most instructive example of this penetration of the older type of mosque by the Persian quadrangle surrounded with cells is the Masdjid-i Djum'a in Isfahān. This mosque, like all the Friday mosques in Persia was originally built as a pillared mosque and had been frequently enlarged. At the present day, as the plan shows, it consists of colonnades which have in course of centuries been added to one another from time to time. A great deal of wood must have been built into its framework, since Yākūt tells us that during the siege of Isfahān by the Saldjūk Tughrl Beg (442 = 1050/1051) the mosque was destroyed to obtain wood. From the contemporary accounts that have been handed down, we further learn that the Saldjūk Sultān Malik Shāh when the mosque was completely restored by his orders began with roofing the walls of the courtyard. He is credited with building the southern iwān. The other three iwāns are over their present form of later origin. By covering over this huge quadrangle, the courtyard, the only characteristic architectural feature of the mosque, received the necessary unity and importance. (Around it, this mosque, like most Friday mosques, was completely surrounded by bazaars which made any external development impossible: the quadrangle was therefore all the more important). The rows of cells had here no longer any practical significance as dwellings but became an architectural feature. Behind the southern iwān, directed towards Mecca, a large domed hall was built as a sanctuary, in the south wall of which were the mihrāb and pulpit. Here the solemn Friday service was held. Thus the Friday mosque was created of the type which became general in Irān and Turkestan. Mosques and madrasas were frequently combined with mausoleums [cf. the article ARCHITECTURE].

The Mosque building in the early period. Muḥammad left no instructions as to how future mosques were to be built so that the earliest mosques varied considerably and we can hardly talk of a fully developed type before the third (ninth) century. The Prophet's house in Medina, where he performed the ṣalāt with his faithful followers and instructed them, was a *dār* of the usual local type quite unsuitable as a model for the future mosque. It consisted of a courtyard surrounded by a brick wall with living rooms and outhouses along the inner wall. As was usual and still is in every house of this kind in Arabia and other tropical lands, palm trunks were put up in the courtyard and a flat roof of palmleaves put over them and covered with a layer of clay. This is how the earliest accounts would lead us to picture the Prophet's house. In the courtyard was a reception tent furnished with fine carpets and materials, for Muḥammad did not despise the nomadic luxuries and comforts of his people (cf. H. Lammens, *Fatima et les filles de Mahomet* and *do.*, in *J. A.*, 1915, p. 238 *sqq.*). Around this establishment of the Prophet, his wife and daughters, lay the court in which his friends and followers used to assemble for the daily prayer and which thus became the first quadrangle of the first mosque. The use of a typical Arabian courtyard arranged in this way as a masjid however gives us no idea of the future imposing building. For half a century, it is true, they were content with this primitive mosque, during the patriarchal period of the first four caliphs, out of respect for the Prophet's mosque; but the first Omayyad caliph Walid I who in transforming the church of St. John in Damascus into the Mosque of the Omayyads had acquired experience "in matters of building" and connections with builders, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Medina in 90 (709) ordered the primitive mosque which had served the purpose so far, to be removed so that an entirely new building could be erected on its site, which was extended. For this purpose, as Samhūdī tells us, he asked the Byzantine emperor for skilled workmen and shells for the ornamentation, which were sent to him. "The walls and columns of the new mosque were built of large hewn stones of equal size and bound with plaster, ornamentation in shell and marble was carried out and the roof built of palm wood and covered with gold paint". Instead of the early primitive mosque, Walid had thus given the Medinese a substantial pillared mosque, like the first mosques which he had built in Syria with the help of Byzantine artisans from pillars plundered from Hellenistic colonnades and Christian churches. It was only in this Hellenicised form that the mosque of Medina could have influenced the further development of the mosque in so far as we can speak of such influence at all. (It was given its present form by the Mamlūk Sulṭān Kā'it Bey in 888 = 1483). The ordinary Arab village mosque is different in appearance. It has retained the form of the Arab pre-Islamic *muṣallā*. This "place of ṣalāt" was and still is a long hall supported by pillars, open on one side without a courtyard and having no *miḥrāb* and *minbar*.

The lack of any generally binding or recognised rules or tradition is shown by the varying form of the mosque in the early centuries A. H. The earliest mosque of the general 'Amr in Fuṣṭāṭ

of 21 (642) was an enclosed rectangular hall without a courtyard, with a *ḥibla* which was not yet marked by a *miḥrāb*. The first mosque in Baṣra was, like the whole city of encampments, built of reeds so that it could be taken down with the camp. In the year 16 or 17 A. H. Abū Mūsā, the newly appointed governor of Baṣra, built a mosque of unbaked brick and clay with a roof of grass. It was only under the Omayyad governor Ziyād that a mosque was built of brick and plaster with a roof of teak and pillars, which came from the quarries of Ahwāz on the Kārūn river. The first mosque in Kūfa on the other hand of 17 A. H. was "a covered hall... which had no side wings nor buildings behind it" (Tabarī); before it was an open square "and so, continues Tabarī, were all the mosques except the *Masjd al-Ḥarām* (i. e. Mecca); out of respect for the sanctity of the latter, it was not copied in the other mosques". This mosque also was rebuilt by Ziyād, governor for the first Omayyad Mu'āwiyā I (41-62 = 661-680). For it he had plans drawn up by Mazdaean architects: "Uno degli architetti gli fece un disegno sul modello degli edifici eretti dai rei sassanidi, ossia un vasto colonnato con tetto e chiuso ai lati" (cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, III, § 47, p. 857). When, on the other hand, the conquerors found buildings in towns which were suitable for masjids from the point of view of space, they utilised them. In al-Madā'in, for example, the old twin-city of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the *iwān* of the white palace was used as a place of assembly for the Friday ṣalāt, and the pictures of men and animals in it were not destroyed. In Syria, however, the churches were turned into mosques by changing the orientation from east to south and placing a quadrangle in front of them. In this way the building of the mosque of any place in the early centuries A. H. was adapted to the traditions in existence and where there were no buildings, as in the newly founded camp-cities, it was on every occasion a problem for the governor requiring much consideration. In spite of this uncertainty, as one can deduce from the descriptions, they were more inclined, even as early as the first century A. H., to the type of piered mosque with a quadrangle, to which all the prototypes as well as the climate pointed.

Development of the Masjid and the Madrasa in the different countries.

Syria. As the place of residence of the first dynasty of the young Muslim empire and a land of ancient culture, Syria was naturally destined to build the first substantial mosques and to influence early developments. This influence it exercised on the one hand indirectly through the Syrian mosque built by Walid in Medina, next to Mecca the most sacred and most visited city of Islām; on the other hand, the Mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus, as we know from Arabic sources, was taken as a model as far away as Córdoba. The earliest centre of Muslim building was Jerusalem, which the Omayyads endeavoured to play off against Mecca. Beside the rotunda of the *Kubbat al-Ṣakhra* on the Ḥarām al-Sharīf, the sacred rock of which was to supplant the Ka'ba, 'Abd al-Malik used the parts still standing of Justinian's Church of the Virgin to build the *Ḍjāmi' al-Aḥṣā* (finished in 83 = 702). According to de Vogüé's plan, this building, later often restored or rebuilt, was a pil-

lared hall with three naves, of necessity oriented to the south with the mihrāb in the long axis. At a later date the transept with the dome and four side naves was added. The Mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus arose out of the rebuilding of the Church of St. John, which had been built on this site by Theodosius out of the pillars and other stones of the Antonine temple of Jupiter. We must assume that Walid had the pillars of the basilica moved so that three equal naves were built. These were crossed in the centre by a transept, which led up to the mihrāb and had a dome over its centre. The rich decoration with mosaics was a suggestion from Syria and was probably done by Syrian workmen (plan and history of these buildings in Diez, *Die Kunst d. islam. Völker*, p. 14 sqq. of the first and p. 32 sq. of the second edition; with references to the literature). The mosque of Damascus was the first to have a transept, the prototype of which Thiersch no doubt rightly finds in the chalke of Byzantium (*Pharos*, p. 214), which frequently appears again in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. The great mosque of Aleppo was also built after the plan of the Omayyads with a transept, as the latter can hardly have been added until the rebuilding of 365 (976) (pictures in Saladin, *Manuel*, p. 85). The mosque of 'Isa in Ephesus, finished in 777 (1375), and the mosque of Diyār Bakr are northern outposts of this type, the influence of which can also be often traced in Cairo and the Maghrib.

Alongside of these principal mosques in Syria a series of smaller mosques arose, partly out of ancient temples (Aleppo, Hamā, Ḥomṣ, Ba'albekk, Tripolis, al-'Umtāya), partly built out of material available from Christian buildings (Ramla, Kuṣair, al-Hallābāt, Boṣrā). Some of these mosques may have been pre-Omayyad foundations, certainly the Mosque of 'Omar in Baṣra. All these mosques, except Kuṣair al-Hallābāt, have the same type of quadrangle with halls around it, two or more being on the kibla side, without transept. The development of these halls varies however, as a result of local tradition or the material available (e.g. the naves of Christian churches). They are as a rule vaulted with pointed arches but sometimes have gable roofs and thus, along with their closed façades, in front of which we exceptionally have a bowered corridor, bear a western or northern stamp in keeping with the ruder climate. The later Syrian mosques under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks differ very much in their plans. The Mosque of Firdaws in Aleppo, for example, has a small pillared court and a broad nave, with a row of five small domes, as the ḥarām besides various side-rooms; cf. M. v. Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (M. I. F. A. O., Cairo 1914, 2 vols.).

Madrasas in Syria. A very complete study of the madrasa in Syria and Egypt by K. A. C. Creswell (*The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of the Cairene Madrasas*, B. I. F. A. O., 1920) has brought some clearness into the question of its typical form etc. After an examination of eight madrasas built before 1270 A. D., the plans of which can still be traced in Aleppo, Damascus and Hamā, Creswell shows that the symmetrical plan was unknown in Syria and that there was no regular scheme in the arrangement of the rooms, but it depended on the site available. A typical specimen is the always correctly oriented mosque: a nave of three vaulted rooms with three pointed arched

doors to the court; a *liwān* on the court, rows of cells in the rest of the court and usually two tomb-cupolas usually flanking the mosque; the rest of the area is occupied by rooms. Madrasas used by two rites had two *liwāns*. Of the 80 madrasas counted by al-'Ilmawī in Damascus in the xvth century (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vol. iii.—iv.), 33 were Ḥanafī, 31 Shāfi'ī, 9 Ḥanbalī, 1 Māliki, 6 used by Shāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs. Creswell's investigation shows that in Syria there was not one madrasa of all four rites nor a cruciform one, a result, which suggests new deductions for the Egyptian madrasas.

Arabia. The indigenous form of the masjid in Arabia is a large hall formed of chambers with pillars and arches. The author found such oratories, more correctly to be described as muṣallās, in Manāma on Baḥrain (picture in Diez, *K. d. isl. V.*, p. 46). These praying chambers, open to the street without a courtyard, have no furniture, not even a minbar or mihrāb. The latter was foreign to Arabia and in the larger masjids its place was taken simply by a slab of stone with some adornment. But these pillared halls were only a more substantial form of the local native masjid of palm-trunks, which could probably often be found in the simple villages of the interior and whose sanctified precursor was the Masjid al-Nabawī in Medina built in this fashion. Alongside of this type of mosque which was indigenous to Arabia we find imported forms, like the masjid in Medina (see above), of slight importance from the archaeological point of view. Mention may be made of the ruins of a mosque near Manāma of 740 (1339/1340) described in an inscription as *mashhad al-sharif dhū 'l-mināratain*, with old pillars of teak of the fourth (tenth) century; the Shi'a form of the creed on this as well as the inscriptions on the kibla stones of the xvth century mark it as a Shi'a edifice (cf. Diez, *Eine schiitische Moscheerueine auf der Insel Bahrayn*, in *Jahrb. d. asiat. Kunst*, II, 1925).

Irāk and Mesopotamia. The earliest settlements of the conquering Arabs in the Irāk were primitive camps built of reeds; equally primitive were the earliest mosques. Sāsānian buildings were used for the purpose in conquered cities, like Ctesiphon. A pillared mosque was early built in Kūfa (17 A.H.) which Ṭabarī describes and which was rebuilt as early as the beginning of the Omayyad period by "Persian builders" in the form of a completely enclosed pillared hall (see above). In the capital of the caliphs also, as a result of its complete destruction by Timūr nothing worthy of note has survived. We know however that the Friday Mosque of al-Manṣūr (149 = 766) was built of pillars of teak with capitals of wood and a flat roof. A wooden dome over the *maḥṣūra* is probable. It was rebuilt under Harūn in 192—193 (808). Al-Mu'taḍid began to enlarge it after the return of the troops from Samarra (280 = 893) (cf. Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, II, 134 sqq. with plan). Outside of Baghdād the unlimited space available permitted great mosques for the soldiers to be systematically planned, as in Raḳḳa and Samarra; these were the great piered mosques of the third (ninth) century, which were copied in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo. Of the three large old mosques in Mōṣul, that of the Omayyads has completely disappeared; according to Yāqūt's description it was "completely vaulted, with alabaster slabs". This seems to be the origin of that type of piered mosque

with vaulted arches which was later further developed by the Saldjūks and Ottomans (see below). The Mosque of Nūr al-Dīn (541—569 = 1146—1173) or Džāmi' al-Kabir was also vaulted from the first (with cross-vaulting) on piers (543 = 1148) and on its rebuilding in 566—568 (1170—1172) was not given cupolas. The third Mosque of al-Mudjahid, Khidr Ilyās, has been completely modernised. Smaller mosques of the viith (xiith) century like the Džāmi' Nabī, Djirdis have single domed chambers as praying-rooms.

In Baghdād the following madrasas were built under the 'Abbāsids: the Shāfi'i Nizāmiya in 459 (1066), the Tādjiya in 482 (1089), the Ḥanafī Tutuṣhiya in 508 (1114), the Nāṣiriya, c. 600 A. H. and the Mustanṣiriya about 630 A. H. Only the latter is still in existence and is used as a customs warehouse (sketch-plan in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 161). Of remarkable oblong shape (86 × 210 feet) it has six liwāns, a large vaulted hall, rows of cells and side-rooms. Besides the four rites this, the first state madrasa, also accommodated a *dār al-ḥadīth* and a *dār al-Kur'ān*. If the Mustanṣiriya was not planned in a strictly symmetrical way with four liwāns at the intersection of the axes, it nevertheless incorporated the same idea and may therefore have stimulated the development of the next type. In Mōsul there were several Ḥanafī madrasas.

Egypt. The type of pillared mosque imported from the 'Irāk under Ibn Ṭūlūn prevailed in Cairo along with the pillared mosque down to the Mamlūk period. It is the regular rule that the large military and Friday mosques always have piers, the smaller mosques intended for the people of the quarter have pillars. Some of the latter however were on occasion also used as Friday mosques. The rows of piers were always parallel to the Qibla wall and connected by arches, a natural result of the rectangular form of the piers, which had to run parallel to the rows of worshippers. In the pillared mosques the naves might also be perpendicular to the Qibla wall, without inconveniencing the worshippers. The Cairo mosques of this group are:

The Mosque of 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ in Fustāt, which received its present form as a result of repeated rebuilding and additions to the above mentioned hall of the year 21 (642) (cf. E. K. Corbett, *The History of the Mosque of Amr at Old Cairo*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1890).

The Mosque of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn of 263—265 (876—879; for a description see above; cf. E. K. Corbett, *The Life and Works of Ahmad Ibn Ṭūlūn*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1891, p. 527—562).

The Mosque of al-Azhar of 359—361 (970—972) on pillars: the first Mosque of Fātimid Cairo, remarkable for the central nave, broader than usual with two domes (*seldjūka*) probably borrowed from the Maghrib and unusual here; also for its stilted pointed arches which henceforth became frequent in Cairo; finally for the rich decoration of the plaster in the arches, which were recently cleaned. (They will be published by S. Flury in Creswell's great work on the architecture of Cairo). The Azhar has long been used as a *Dār al-Funūn* (state madrasa).

The Mosque of Ḥākim, a piers mosque of the year 380—403 (990—1012), with valuable decorations on the plaster and inscriptions and two unvalled, historically important manāras [q. v.] (cf. M. v. Berchem, *Notes d'Archéologie Arabe, Monum.*

et Inscr. Fatimites, *J. A.*, 1891, reprint, p. 23).

The Mosque of al-Aḥmar, a small pillared mosque historically important for its façade built by Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr al-'Āmir (495—524), finished 519 (1125); restored by Barḳūk in 799 (1396—1397) and given a manāra which was removed in 815 (1412) (cf. M. v. Berchem, *l. c.*, *J. A.*, 1891, reprint, p. 81).

The Mosque of al-Faḫihāni, built by the Fātimid caliph al-Zāfir in 543 (1148—1149); completely restored in the Ottoman period.

The Mosque of al-Šāliḥ Talā'ī outside the Bāb el-Zuwēle, built about 550 (1160). A smaller pillared mosque of the usual type, which was sometimes used as a Friday Mosque (cf. M. v. Berchem, *l. c.*, reprint, p. 3 *sqq.*; pictures in R. L. Devonshire, *Some Cairo Mosques and their Founders*, London 1921, p. 1—10).

The Mosque of al-Zāhir Baibars of the year 665—667 (1266—1269), a mosque with piers of brick, built for the troops with a very strong stone wall and three portals jutting out like the Mosque of al-Ḥākim. The six rows of columns in the ḥarām are crossed by a transept with a dome of three naves breadth in diameter before the mihrāb. Porticoes with double naves surrounded the court.

The Mosque of Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir on the citadel, of the year 718—735 (1318—1335) on pillars.

The Mosque of Amīr al-Mās (Shāri' Ḥilmīya) of 730 (1329—1330).

The Mosque al-Mardāni of 739—740 (1338—1340) on pillars.

The Mosque of Amīr Akṣunḱur of 747—748 (1346—1348) on pillars.

The Mosque al-Mu'ayyad of 819—823 (1416—1420).

Of pillared mosques in Egypt outside Cairo we may mention the Mosque of "St. Athanasius" and the Mosque of the "Thousand Pillars" in Alexandria the plans of which were recorded by the French expedition (*Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, v., reproduced in Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 224). Shortly before the arrival of the French, Alexandria still had 88 mosques, 46 of which were large. Practically nothing of these is left at the present day. The two above mentioned were pillared mosques and particularly the second, also called the "Mosque of the Seventy", with its liwāns of equal depth on all sides (only the northeastern one has 4 instead of 5 rows of pillars) the arches of which always run parallel to the outer walls, i. e. palm-like, continue the type of the Hellenistic pillared agora or the gymnasium as Thiersch has pointed out. The same type predominated in the towns of the Delta. The second, later type of mosque in Egypt was decisively influenced by the madrasa, to which we may now turn our attention. As Creswell has shown, the Egyptian madrasa was by no means always cruciform, as was usually supposed previously. It is also distinguished from the Syrian type and cannot be at once said to have been introduced from Syria. It is true that the first madrasa for all four rites in Cairo was built by Šāliḥ Naḍīm al-Dīn Aiyūb, but this Šāliḥiya was a building divided into two halves and cannot be considered as the original of the later type (641 = 1243—1244). The first cruciform madrasa with 4 liwāns in Cairo was the Zāhiriya which was built on the site of a part of the old Fātimid palace which was cleared for this purpose and consecrated in

660 (1263). The south liwān belonged to the Shāfi'is, the north to the Ḥanafis; lectures on Ḥadīth were given in the east liwān and in the west liwān the seven ways of reading the Qur'ān were taught (Maḳrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ii.). While the Ṣālihiya held all four rites but was not cruciform, the Zāhiriya was cruciform but did not accommodate all four rites. The Nāsirīya of 695 (1295-1296) was the first madrasa of the rare type which, cruciform and accommodating all four rites, allotted a liwān to each. Maḳrīzī also mentions a large number of other madrasas of one or two rites which have completely disappeared but probably were of different forms, as the existing madrasas and ruins show. One great difference in principle between the Syrian and Cairene madrasas was the installation of the mosque. In Syria this was always a broad chamber with a central dome and two tunnel vaults but in Cairo one of the liwāns was always used as a mosque and with this object was furnished with a miḥrāb. The Egyptian madrasas also always had minarets, which was the exception in Syria. Creswell's assertion that the cruciform mosque is of Cairene origin, although it remained the exception, therefore will hardly find acceptance. Timūr and his successors certainly did not get the design for their numerous cruciform madrasas from Cairo but followed the old Khurāsānian tradition. It remains to be seen whether future excavations in Niṣhābūr, Tūs and other towns of Khurāsān will supply further information on this point. Creswell gives a chronological list of the madrasas of Cairo mentioned by Maḳrīzī and others, which were built between 566-811 (1170-1408); these number 55, 26 of which are still in existence. Two of these are devoted to all four madhhabs, the Madrasas of Sulṭān Ḥasan 757-764 (1356-1363) and of Djamāl al-Dīn of 811 (1408) (Creswell, *loc. cit.*, p. 44). Further details of these madrasas will be found in Creswell, *op. cit.* and in Diez, *Kunst d. isl. V. 2*, p. 118-125. Here we shall just mention the most celebrated building of this kind in Cairo, the tomb-mosque-madrasa of Sulṭān Ḥasan. It belongs to the group of buildings which contain several places of worship and are devoted to all four rites, the school liwāns of which were however outside the central court at the four corners of the building, quite separate from one another. The four liwāns had therefore only an architectural significance. In keeping with the Cairo tradition, the ḳibla liwān was made much larger and arranged as a masdjid.

With this adaptation of the madrasa for use as a mosque, the foundations were laid for the further development of the mosque during the period of the Circassian Mamlūks when it may be described as a transformed and roofed madrasa. As a rule we can distinguish in it three compartments, the ḳibla liwān, a central chamber sunk a step lower occupying the place of the former open courtyard and a room at the back, as a rule a smaller one. Of little importance from the architectural point of view, these small mosques were elaborately decorated and formed fine specimens of the decorative art of Cairo. The tomb mosque of Ḳā'it Bey of 880 (1475), the mosques of Kishmā al-Ishāḳī of 885-886 (1480-1481), of the Amir Akhōr of the year 908 (1503) and of al-Ghūrī of the year 908-910 (1503-1504) are building of this group. The Ottoman domed mosques from 935 (1528) follow the Turkish tradition.

The Maghrib (North Africa and Spain).

The typical mosque of the Muslim west is the mosque with courtyard, on pillars or columns. It was only under Turkish rule that the domed mosque became established in those parts of North Africa affected by it. The rows of pillars run, as a rule, perpendicular to the ḳibla wall from which however they are separated by a transept. The axis of the latter is a continuation of the axis of the central nave which is always broader. Of the rows of pillars in the axis the two or three outermost ones are continued over the court and form the arcades, of which the inner entrance side of the court has as a rule only one. The beginning and end of the central nave are as a rule marked by a dome. The western mosques are given their characteristic features by the horseshoe and bulbous arch (a mixture of the horseshoe and the pointed arch). The miḥrāb of the western mosques is as a rule a pentagonal niche considerably deeper than the eastern semi-circular one. The oldest surviving large mosques in the west are in Ḳairawān, Tunis and Córdoba (since the expulsion of the Church).

The foundation of the Great Mosque of Ḳairawān like that of 'Amr in Cairo goes back to the first century A.H. but like that in Cairo also retains nothing from its founder 'Uḳba b. Nafi' except the name. By 76 (695) the original masdjid was rebuilt, and later enlarged but in 221 (836) it was completely taken down by the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh and rebuilt and in the third (ninth) century again enlarged on two occasions. In spite of many later restorations, the mosque has retained the form it was given in the third (ninth) century. Seventeen naves on pillars run perpendicular to the ḳibla wall from which however they are separated by the transept. The central nave is broader and flanked by double columns and marked externally by two domes. It may be noted as a special feature that the first two travées of the ḥarām seem to be one with the court arcades while the part behind was shut off by doors. The arcades of the court rest on pillars with double columns in front of them, which with their bulbous arches give the court its special charm. The Djāmi' Zaitūna in Tunis was built as early as 114 (732) by the Omayyad governor Ibn al-Habbāb but entirely rebuilt in 250 (864); in spite of many internal restorations, it has in the main retained to the present day its old form of the end of the ninth century. In Spain we have from the Omayyad period the (former) Mosque of Córdoba. It was built by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (138-172 = 756-788) and several times extended by his successors until the ḥarām contained 19 naves each with 35 pillars. The special feature of this mosque is the double storied arrangement of its rows of arches, a bold innovation, which does not seem to have been imitated elsewhere. Recent investigations have revealed the original floor of the mosque at a much lower level, which is decorated with mosaic. This would alter the proportions. The horseshoe arch taken over from the Visigoths was varied in the clover leaf and indented arch and these arches were imitated in the Maghrib (mosques of Algiers, Tlemcen etc.). The domes swelling into various shapes were frequently imitated in Ḳairawān and Córdoba. The mosques of Sūs (236 = 850) and Sfax (235 = 849) were founded in the Aghlabid period but the latter was completely restored in the tenth century. The rise of

the Fāṭimid empire in North Africa (297 = 909) brought about a new development of mosque building. The mosque of the new Shī'ī capital Mahdiyya in Tunis however corresponds completely to the preceding Aghlabid type. A novelty however is the use of cross vaulting which henceforth we find frequently, first of all in the two mosques of Monastir and in the new part of the Great Mosque of Sfax. Of the great pillared mosque of the Kal'a of the Banī Hammād, the minaret of which still stands and was mentioned in the article MANARA, it is only possible to reconstruct the ground plan, which had 13 naves with 8 travées (cf. Blanchet, *Nouvelles archives de Missions*, vol. xviii., p. 13 sqq. and De Beylie, *La Kalaa des Beni Hammād*, p. 77 sqq.). A second mosque of the Banī Hammād has been destroyed in Bougie but it is evident from an old description that it belonged to the type of Kairawān (De Beylie, *op. cit.*, p. 102—104).

Mosques of the Almoravids (448—541 = 1056—1147) and Almohads (524—667 = 1120—1267). The great mosques in Algiers and Tlemcen, the Kutubiya in Marrākesḥ and the mosque in Tinmāl are pillar mosques with bulbous arches. On the other hand the Mosque of Ḥasan in Rabāt, now completely destroyed, the largest mosque of the Maghrib, stood on round pillars (610 × 465 feet; begun 539 = 1196—1197). A noteworthy feature is the mausoleum behind the mihrāb in the mosque of Tlemcen, which now becomes frequent in the Maghrib (but seems not to have been unknown in eastern Islām, as the plan of the madrasa of Khargird shows; cf. Diez, *Churasan. Baudenkmäler*, p. 73).

Marinids in Morocco (1195—1470), successors of the Almohads (xiiith—xivth century): a large mosque in Tāza, Morocco, piers, broad central nave and transversal nave, finished in 693 (1294). A large mosque in Auyda on the Algerian-Moroccan frontier (696 = 1296). Sidi bel-Ḥasan in Tlemcen (696 = 1296), a small mosque with onyx columns, and Awlād al-Imām in Tlemcen (710 = 1310), small, but richly decorated. The great Maṣṣūra mosque in Tlemcen (736 = 1336), a very regular building, thirteen naves on onyx columns, a broad central nave, a three naved transept, a maṣṣūra in the centre, a polygonal mihrāb with mausoleum behind. Sidi bū Medyen of al-Awbād (739 = 1339) and Sidi al-Halwī (754 = 1353), both in Tlemcen, small, the former on piers, the second on columns with slightly modified horseshoe arches with a wide span. Shella (harbour of Rabāt), Necropolis of the Marinids, a tomb-mosque (739 = 1339) (plan in Marçais, *Manuel*, ii., p. 498). Around Tlemcen are several small mosques of the xivth century.

Mosques of the Hafsids in Tunis, xiiith—xivth century: Mosque of the Kaṣba in Tunis, built by the founder of the Hafsīd dynasty Abū Zakariyā Yahyā I (625—647 = 1228—1249), finished in 633 (1235). Pillars with chaprels, supporting horseshoe arches in the quadrangle and cross vaulting, the usual form of roof in Ifrikiya from the tenth century (cf. Sfax etc.) is similar. The Mosque of al-Hawā of the xiiith century is similar.

Mosques in Morocco under the Sharīfs 951—1311 (1544—1893).

In Morocco preference was given to the old Almohad type of mosque as exemplified in the

Kutubiya. The Bāb Dukkālā 965 (1537) and Muasiyn 976 (1562) mosques in Marrākesḥ have seven naves at right angles to the qibla, and a transept along the qibla wall. Innovations seem to be, in addition to the broader central nave, that the two outside naves left and right along the side walls were broader and a dome was placed at each of the four corners of the mosque. A second transept on the court side of the Ḥarām seems to be exceptional, as in the Bāb Dukkālā. The mosque of the Kaṣba of Marrākesḥ dates from a foundation of the Almohad al-Manṣūr. After the explosion of 1574 it was rebuilt and in the xviiith and xixth centuries repeatedly restored (cf. the monograph by H. Basset and Terrasse). The mosques of al-Karawiyīn and Mūlāy Idrīs in Fēs have likewise been restored.

Mosques in Algeria under Turkish rule (1518). In addition to the two mosques which date from the Almoravid period, the Great Mosque 490 (1096) and the M. Sidi Ramḍān in Algiers, only two other mosques of the old type are believed to exist; all the others, over 100 in number, are Turkish. The oldest Turkish mosque is 'Alī Bitshnūn (1622), now Nōtre Dame des Victoires. This building had a large central dome, which is surrounded by small domes. It is noteworthy that the square minaret was not ousted by the Turkish type. All the later mosques of Algeria show variations of this type, except the "Mosque on the Fish-Market" 1070 (1660) the plan of which recalls those of the Jesuit churches of the xvth century; it may however owe nothing to them but derive from Byzantine-Turkish models.

Mosques in Tunis under the last Hafsids and Turks (from 1534). Under the last Hafsids the venerable Djāmī' Zaitūna was again restored, enlarged and given its present portico and the outer gallery of arcades. The oldest Turkish mosque is Yūsuf Dā'ī (1610—1637). It is significant that it is built after the old Tunisian type on pillars with cross-vaulting, as are the later M. of Hammūda Bey finished in 1067 (1654) and several mosques of the xviiith and xixth centuries. The Turkish style (Aḥmediya in Constantinople) represented by the Sidi Mahrez (second half of the xviiith century) remains the exception in Tunis.

The medersa in the Maghrib. Medersas were first introduced into the western lands of Islām by the Almohads but nothing of these seems to have survived. The oldest medersas date from the xiiith—xivth centuries. The Marinids in Maghrib al-Akṣā were particularly active in building and encouraging medersas, which, as in Syria and Egypt, were also state institutions. This evolution of the medersa was apparently a result of the Sunni, particularly Mālikī, revival under the Marinids (1195—1470). Al-Ṣaffārīn, the oldest medersa in Fēs, built by the great warrior and champion of the taifa Yaḳ'ūb Yūsuf (685—706 = 1286—1306) of the Marinids who also built Shella (see above), was the prototype of all the later medersas in the extreme Maghrib. An angular gateway, such as is usually only found in private houses leads into a court with a central basin and the cells. A domed chamber with a pentagonal mihrāb adjoins it. On the analogy of the tombs, it is called ḳubba. Adjoining it reached by a corridor is a miḍa'a, with a basin in the centre for ablutions and latrines. These three main parts of the building, ṣaḥn, ḳubba and miḍa'a and usually

a separate minaret, are found continually in a number of variations, usually dependent on the space available, which Marçais, *op. cit.*, ii. 504, divides into three groups. In Fēs in addition to those mentioned there are other seven medersas of the xivth century. With the medersas of Meknes, Sale, Taza and al-Awbād in Tlemcen we have in all eleven medersas of the Marinids extant (cf. the list in Marçais, *op. cit.*, ii. 504 sqq.). The most imposing and finest medersa in Fēs is the Bū 'Aināniya, founded by Abū 'Ainān, 749-759 (1348-1358). With its masjid of two transepts at the end of the square court and two domed chambers in the central axis of the court it recalls the mosque of Ḥasan in Cairo with its iwāns. The façades on the court display the wealth of wall adornment usual in the Maghrib: tiles, stucco moulding and stalactites.

Medersas of the xvth-xixth centuries in Morocco: The Medersa of Ben Yūsuf in Marrākesh is regarded as the largest in the Maghrib and stands on the site of an originally Almoravid (?) and next Marinid Medersa Abu 'l-Ḥasan. The plan seems to be old and in its regularity recalls the *al-Hirī* type of Arab palace and the palaces of the Omayyads and 'Abbāsids built in this style in the desert (plan in Marçais, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 702). The Medersa al-Sharrāṭin in Fās, begun in 1670, shows a similar plan but is smaller and simpler.

Medersas of the xvth-xixth centuries in Tunis. In the xvth century the Ḥafṣids built a number of medersas here. Of the Turkish, the most interesting is the Medersa Bashīya of 'Alī Pasha (1740-1755): a court with cells, masjid on pillars and *miḍa'a*, but, like the Egyptian madrasas, it has also the tomb of the founder and a public fountain. In Tunis, probably as the result of Egyptian or Oriental influence, it is common to find medersas and mosques associated with the tomb of the founder. The three varieties distinguished in Egypt by van Berchem, mosque-mausoleum, madrasa-mausoleum and monastery-mausoleum were also built in Tunis.

Saldjūk empire in Rūm, Armenia and Georgia. In Saldjūk Anatolia (470-700 = 1077-1300) the three types of piered mosque, the court-iwān madrasa and domed madrasa are to be distinguished. The piered hall was used as the large public mosque. On account of the colder climate the open courtyard with pillars was not found here. The pillars were sometimes of wood (Eshref Rūm Djāmi'), usually however of stone. The flat wooden roof rested directly on the piers or on the arches which connected them, which run sometimes parallel, sometimes perpendicular to the kībla wall. The Ulū Djāmi' in Wān has a vaulted roof resting on pillars, a system later often used in the Ottoman empire. Of more importance architecturally are the smaller (mosque-)madrasas, which played a prominent part in the Saldjūk empire; but they fell far behind the Persian madrasas in impressiveness and harmonious development. The model for the evolution of the iwān-madrasa was the Mesopotamian-Anatolian *ṭarma*-house. From the latter came the bowers along the sides of the court which were placed in front of the iwān and the rows of cells. The combination of school and mausoleum in which the builders, usually high officers of state, were interred, was the rule. The domed madrasa consists of a domed hall

with a water basin in place of the open court with living rooms, a lecture-room and a mausoleum adjoining it. The external ornamentation of these Saldjūk madrasas and mosques is confined to the gateways. The façades of the gates, irrespective of the material used elsewhere in building (brick or moulding), were always covered with slabs and the portals then ornamented with strips of decoration or inscriptions; fantastic looking candelabra of palmettes (Diwrigi), bundles of rods and convolutions in low and high relief and thus one of the highest points in Muslim decorative art was attained. The iwāns along the court, interiors of the comparatively low domes (which here usually bridge over the corners on triangular consoles), the friezes on the wall and the mihrābs are frequently adorned with glazed brick and mosaic friezes in a style which in pattern and colour is readily distinguished as an independent pattern from the Persian decoration. Here we find geometrical network patterns, which were not usual in Persia and a colour scheme which receives its special character from the much used black, alternating with bright and dark blue, although other colours are also found. The following is a list of the most important buildings, so far as they are known: 1. Piered mosques: Mosque of 'Alā al-Dīn in Konya, completed 616 (1209-1210), Djāmi' Kebir in Siwās, xivth-xvth cent., citadel mosque 576 (1180-1181) and great mosque 679 (1280-1281) in Diwrigi, Eshref Rūm (Eski) Djāmi', xiiith century, in Beyşehir, Ulū Djāmi' in Egerdir, xiiith century (?), Ulū Djāmi' in Caesarea (Cappadocia), mosque of Minuḍehr 464-495 (1072-1100) in Anī (with octagonal Manāra), Ulū Djāmi' in Wān, xivth-xvth century. — 2. Court iwān madrasas: Sirdjely Madrasa 641 (1243-1244), Gök Madrasa, Barudjirdiya and Tjifte Mināre, all 670 (1271-1272) in Siwās, Khātūniya, 783 (1381-1382) in Karamān, Ibrāhīm Bey Madrasa, xiiith-xivth century in Aḳserai, Tjifte Mināreli, xiiith-xivth century in Erzerum. — 3. Domed madrasas: Kara Tai Madrasa 649 (1251) in Konya, Indje Minareli 650-684 (1252-1285) in Konya, Enirge Djāmi' 657 (1258) in Konya, Tāsh Madrasa 613 (1216) and 659 (1260) in Aḳşehir, Sultān Walīde xiiith and xvth century in Saiyid-i Ghāzi.

The mosque of the Turcoman ruler 'Isā I (1348-1390) in Ayasoluk (Ephesus) is an exception in Asia Minor; it was finished in 777 (1375-1376) and its architect is said to have been 'Alī b. al-Dimishki. The interior is modelled on the mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus; the walls however are in the Turkish style of that period, as developed in the provinces of the Atābegs. The west façade is closely related to the façades of the mosque of Ḥasan in Cairo, which also drew inspiration from Northern Mesopotamia.

The Ottoman empire. The Ottoman Turks further developed the types of mosque built by their predecessors, the Saldjūks. A second very important factor in the development was their expansion into Europe and the new model, the Byzantine domed churches, especially the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Here three main types of mosque may again be distinguished: the piered hall, the cruciform domed mosque and the central or great domed mosque. The first and third were

commonly used for Friday mosques and mosques for the people, while the second type was reserved for the Sultān's Friday service and religious instruction, and was more used for private mosques. The Ottoman pierced hall mosque is distinguished from the Saldjūk, principally by its vaulting, rows of cupolas over the piers. The court is limited to a hypaetral water-basin of the same size as the dome above it. The Ulū Djāmi' in Brussa for example is an unadorned pillared hall, rectangular in shape with five aisles each with four domes in a row. The second group of four pillars in the central aisle was originally uncovered (now it has a glass dome) and contains the basin for ablutions, the rudiments of a court. The domes of the five aisles rise one above the other to the central row. The most important buildings of this group are: Ulū Djāmi' 1370—1420 in Brussa, Uč Šerefeli Djāmi' 889—893 (1484—1487/8) in Adrianople, Ulū (Eski) Djāmi' ca. 1403—1420 in Adrianople, Ulū Djāmi' xvth century (?) in Manissa (Magnesia on Sipylus), Djumaya in Filibe (Philippople), old mosque (now museum) 882 (1477—1478) in Sofia, Sindjirli Koyu Djāmi' ca. 1500, Aḥmad Pasha Djāmi' by Sinan ca. 1555 and Piale Pasha Djāmi' 1573, all in Constantinople, Eski Walide in Scutari ca. 1570. The pierced hall as an unmixed form became extinct in the xvth century. The Hekim Oghlu Djāmi' in 1734 in Constantinople is a mixture of the latter with the great dome. The origin of the cruciform domed mosque is rightly sought by Wulzinger in the Saldjūk madrasas with courtyards which come in time to be covered over with a dome. The centre which lies somewhat below the level of the rest, is occupied by a square roofed with a dome, again the rudiments of the former courtyard, and still often containing a fountain. The Kibla chamber is vaulted with a barrel or dome, the praying chambers to right and left are either like iwāns open towards the centre or have barrel-vaulting. The similarity of these mosques to Byzantine churches (in plan, not in structure) is involuntary and lies in the system. On the other hand, the open pierced outer court (*khayāl*) may go back to Byzantine stimulation. These outer courts however are very general in the east to give shade. The most important buildings of this type are according to Wulzinger's list (*op. cit.*, p. 186): Mosque of Murād I (1359—1389) in Brussa, fin. end of xivth century, two storied, Mosque of Bāyazīd I Yıldırım (1389—1403), fin. after 1402, Yashil-Djāmi' in Brussa, fin. 1423, Mosque in the Koimesis church in Isnik, beg. of xvth century, Nilufer Khātūn 'Imāret, end of xivth century, Piruz Bey Djāmi' in Milas, fin. 797 (1394), Mosque of Murād II (1421—1451), fin. 1447 in Brussa, Mosque of Murād II in Adrianople, 'Imāret Djāmi' in Philippopolis 1359, Mosque of Ḥamza Bey before 1451 in Brussa, Ghāzi Michal Djāmi' ca. 1400 in Adrianople. The great domed mosque developed out of the more primitive single domed mosque which was very common throughout Asia Minor and Turkey as the simple village mosque, private mosque etc. and continued to survive. (In Ayasoluk alone 14 small single domed mosques can be counted). This type of building was also used for the numerous türbes. The following are more important single domed mosques outside Constantinople: Yashi 'l-Djāmi' 794 (1392) and Maḥmūd Čelebi Djāmi' about 1400 in Isnik,

Masjdjid of Khodja Yadygyar beg. 1369 in In-Önü, Masjdjid of Elias Bey fin. 806 (1404) in Balāt (Milet). The development of the great domed mosque from this type took place in part through combination with cruciform domed types, but its aim was however the elimination of all minor domes which at first it had for constructional reasons to put at the sides. A. Gabriel's table gives a good idea of the different variations. He gives the mosques of Constantinople, which number 42 (with Scutari), under six main types (*Les Mosquées de Constantinople, in Syria*, vii., 1926, p. 352—419):

A. Square or oblong halls with one or more domes, sometimes flanked by secondary domed chambers: Maḥmūd Pasha Djāmi' 868 (1464), Murād Pasha Djāmi' 870 (1466), Dāwūd Pasha Djāmi' 890 (1485), 'Atik 'Alī Pasha Djāmi' 902 (1497), Sultān Selim Djāmi' 926 (1520).

B. Quadrangular single domed halls (continuing the list just given of the not yet very large single domed mosques from the city area of Constantinople): Firūz Agha Djāmi' 896 (1491), Djezeri Kāsim Pasha Masjdjid 921 (1515), Khāṣṣeki Khurem Djāmi' 946 (1539), Mehmed Agha Djāmi' 993 (1585), Činli Djāmi' 1050 (1640), Nūri 'Othmāniya Djāmi' 1169 (1755), Laleli Djāmi' 1177 (1763), Walide Djāmi' 1287 (1870).

C. Square hall with a central dome, usually supported by two half domes: Sultān Bāyazīd Djāmi' 906 (1500), Sultān Sulaimān Djāmi' 957—964 (1550—1557), Kılıdji 'Alī Pasha Djāmi' 988 (1580).

D. Square hall with a central dome supported by four axial half domes: Shāhẓāde Djāmi' 955 (1548), Sultān Aḥmad Djāmi' 1026 (1617), Veñf Wālid Djāmi' 1120 (1708), Sultān Mehmed Djāmi' 867 (1463), reconstructed 1180 (1767); variants: oblong hall with a central dome supported by three half domes: Iskele Djāmi' in Scutari 954 (1547).

E. Oblong hall with six domes of equal size (old type of people's mosque, cf. above): Zindjirli Kuyu Djāmi' ixth (xvth) century, Piale Pasha Djāmi' 981 (1573).

F. Oblong hall with central dome and aisles.

Group a. Central dome with square plan and pendentives: Balı Pasha Djāmi' middle of xth (xvth) century, Miḥrimāh Djāmi' middle of xth (xvth) century, Zal Maḥmūd Pasha Djāmi' 958 (1551).

Group b. Central dome on octagonal basis: İbrāhīm Pasha Djāmi' 958 (1551), Rustam Pasha Djāmi' middle of xth (xvth) century, Eski 'Alī Pasha Djāmi' 994 (1586), Veñf Wālide Djāmi' 1120 (1708) in Scutari, A'zāb Kapu Djāmi' 985 (1577), Aiyūb Sultān Djāmi' founded ixth (xith) century, rebuilt xiiith (xviiith) century, Nishāndjī Mehmed Pasha Djāmi' 992 (1584).

Group c. Central dome on hexagonal basis: Aḥmad Pasha Djāmi' 962 (1555), Şukūl or Mehmed Pasha Djāmi' 979 (1571), 'Atik Wālide Djāmi' 991 (1583) in Scutari, Djerāh Pasha Djāmi' 1002 (1594), Ḥakim Oghlu 'Alī Pasha Djāmi' 1147 (1734).

A survey of this list shows that the type given under A. is also the earliest. This was directly linked up with that in use in the older capital Brussa and already being built in Konya in the xiiith century (Kara Tai Madrasa, Yıldırım and Yashil Djāmi') which seems to be continued in the Maḥmūd and Murād Pasha Djāmi'. But already the original Sultān Mehmed Djāmi' (rebuilt in the xviiith century)

which forms a striking anachronism in Gabriel's list under *D.* with its date 1463 (only the second modern Mehmediya of 1767 belongs properly there), had made the first important step towards a single great chamber (cf. Agha Oghlu's reconstructed plan in Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 2nd ed., p. 105) and this plan was repeated for the 'Atîk 'Alî Pasha Djâmi', while the Dâwûd Pasha Djâmi' of 1485 had already used another variation (cf. the plans in Gabriel, *op. cit.*). This in brief is the historical development of the Constantinople mosque from the Anatolian Saldjûk-Ottoman type. The next important step to the gigantic domed mosques of Constantinople given under *D.* was completed by the greatest of Ottoman architects Sinân (1489—1588) step by step in the Shâhzâde Djâmi', the Sulaimâniye and the Selimiye (1567—1574) in Adrianople. His guiding idea was, by thrusting the pillars of the domes as far back into the walls as possible, to get a single domed chamber of the largest possible dimensions, no longer interrupted by pillars; Sinân achieved this end in the Selimiye in Adrianople.

Persia, Turkestan and Afghânistân, Old mosques or remains of them have not survived in Persia, as in Egypt, the Maghrib and Syria, except perhaps for a few old parts still standing in the great complex of buildings, that forms the Friday Mosque of Isfahân or in the old Friday Mosque of Shirâz. We know however from literary sources that at the beginning of the 'Abbâsîd period large mosques were built everywhere in the towns and some must have existed even earlier. Abû Muslim, the celebrated general and 'Abbâsîd propagandist, built mosques in Merw and Nishâbûr. The latter was built on pillars of wood and similar structures are occasionally mentioned in Persia (e.g. at Rubât in the province of Djurdjân, Shirâf on the Persian Gulf etc.). In the ninth century, however, greater use began to be made of columns of brick or stone or marble columns taken from older buildings where they could be obtained, as in Ištakh'r at Persepolis. 'Amr b. al-Laith (265—287 = 878—900), the second ruler of the Saffârid dynasty, renovated the Friday Mosque in Nishâbûr and among other mosques built the Djâmi' 'Atîk in Shirâz, both mosques with columns of brick, of which parts are still standing in Shirâz. The Friday Mosque of Balkh destroyed by the Mongols in 1220, is said to have had splendid pillars, as Ibn Battûta records. An old mosque on piers of the fourth (tenth) century has survived in the remote desert town of Naiyin, east of Isfahân, and enables us to make deductions about the architecture of mosques in the early period in Irân. The ḥarâm consists of eleven barrel-vaulted aisles running perpendicular to the kîbla wall, of which the central one is broader than the others. The court is flanked by four-aisled riwâqs which run parallel to the kîbla wall, only the wall of the entrance has an arcade. The plan is therefore similar to that of the mosques of the Maghrib. It is built on columns or piers of different forms. The part around the mihrâb is richly ornamented in stucco and has bands of inscriptions around it (cf. H. Viollet and S. Flury, *Un monument etc., Syria*, ii., 1921). How securely the pîered hall, as the type of Friday Mosque, maintained itself in the Sunnî east, is seen from the rebuilding of Timûr's great mosque in Samarkand after his return from his raid on India

in 1410, a mosque with columns, which was directly connected with the madrasa of Bibi Khanum, but has now completely disappeared. The mosque had 460 columns of hewn stone, each seven ells in height. The vaulting was covered with large beautifully carved and polished slabs of marble. There was a minaret at each of the four corners of the mosque. The door was of bronze and the walls were covered inside and outside with inscriptions in relief (according to Sharîf al-Dîn 'Alî Yazdî). How far there was any Indian influence here cannot now be ascertained. In any case, the iwân and mihrâb court became established in Persia in the fifth (eleventh) century and as the above described Friday Mosque in Isfahân shows, became blended with the pillared court. The great Mosque of Herât (cf. Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, p. 55 and figg. 149—153) shows a similar mihrâb court adapted to the (probably older) pîered halls. In the completely new buildings of the Timûrid and Safawîd period, the pîered hall completely disappeared and the ḥarâm is extended by a central dome with vaulted halls at the side, when the kîbla iwân itself does not fulfil the purpose. The mosque of the great sanctuaries in Kûm Mashhad, Kerbelâ', the Masjdîd-i Shâh in Isfahân and many other urban mosques of Persia are built on this plan. Only in Eastern Khurâsân, as in the Turbat-i Shaikh Djâm, does the old pîered mosque survive but with vaulted arches and a large dome in the centre of the ḥarâm, all of which betrays Indian influence (cf. the plan in Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, p. 79).

Of the already characterised type of domed mosques may be mentioned: the "Blue Mosque" in Tabriz and the Masjdîd-i Shâh in Mashhad, both similar in plan with a large central dome and two flanking minarets. The former was built during the reign of the Turkoman ruler Djihân Shâh (1437—1467), the latter by Amîr Malik Shâh, the architect being Ahmad b. Shams al-Dîn Muhammad Tabrizî (cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1131). The Tabriz mosque had a chapel leading from the domed area with a second smaller dome. Both domes were decorated with tiles, the larger with white tendrils on a green ground, the smaller with white stars on a black ground (Tavernier). Only fragments survive of the Blue Mosque, which show how splendidly it was once decorated; on the other hand, the Masjdîd-i Shâh in Mashhad is still standing, although the dome has lost its decoration. To this group belong also the mosque on the citadel mound of Eriwân, the mosque of Shaikh Luṭf Allâh in Isfahân, the Kâliyân mosque used as a royal private mosque and the public Mosque of i611 in Bukhârâ, both with high entrance iwâns and without a court. At largely attended common prayer, the people assemble in front of such mosques. This is particularly the case in Turkestan; for the iwân and niches were simply very large mihrâbs and nothing further was necessary. In Balkh also there is a similar, formerly domed mosque probably intended for the ruler with a towering iwân (xvth century) (cf. Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, figg. 204—205). Besides these large main types, there were and are in these lands of eastern Islâm hundreds of smaller mosques in the towns and villages, which sometimes show very interesting structures. Thus in Djâdjarm in the Isfarâ' in steppe (northern Persia) there is a mosque with a small

open court and domed chamber in front of the mihrāb, and two triple yoked aisles, probably a reminiscence of Nestorian churches (cf. Diez, *Churas. Bdkm.*, p. 83). We also find everywhere small masjids, which are simply little oratories, where the people can promptly worship at the proper time: flat-roofed large halls on wooden pillars, which are frequently richly carved in Turkeṣtān, Afghānistān (Kābul) and Central Asia (Kashmir etc.).

The Madrasa in Persia, Turkeṣtān and Afghānistān. Shāfi madrasas were built in the 'Abbāsid period in Nishābūr (where Hāfiḡ Abrū counted 17), Merw, Bukhārā, Āmol, Tūs and other towns. Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, is said to have built the first state madrasa. Under the Saljūqs, Nizām al-Mulk, vizier of Alp Arslān and of Malik Shāh, built three state madrasas in Nishābūr, Tūs and Baghdād. None of these pre-Timūrid madrasas in Persia has survived; unless the ruined iwān in Khārgird is what is left of a madrasa, which is very probable (cf. Diez, *op. cit.*, p. 71 sq.). The ruins of the Timūrid period however give us a picture of the Persian madrasa of the golden period of Muslim Persian architecture. The madrasa in Khārgird near Khāf close to the Afghān frontier, completed in 848 (1444—1445), still shows a pure unmixed madrasa design: a quadrangular court with four barrel-vaulted large iwāns, equal in size, at the intersection of the axes, each flanked by two or, with the upper storey, four cells, four vaulted corner-chambers, a narthex-like outer building, consisting of three successive domed chambers; low confined mihrāb façades with low flanking towers at the corners. The walls, especially of the court, were adorned with rich tiled mosaic, the walls of the domed chambers with ornamental frescoes (cf. Diez, *Churas. Baudkm.*, p. 72—76, pl. 31—34). In contrast to the low façade of Khārgird built by a West Persian (Shīrāz) architect are the Turkeṣtān madrasas with their high iwāns, characteristic of the east in general, and gateways especially. In Samarḡand we have the three Rīgistān madrasas: Shīr Dār (c. 1610), Tillya Kāri (c. 1610?) and Ulūgh Beg (c. 1434); also the Madrasa Bibi Khanūm (about 1410) built by Timūr, all large courtyards with mihrāb courts and domed chambers, usually four minarets at the surrounding walls. In Bukhārā, the Madrasa Mir Arab of the end of the xvth century is related to the Madrasa Shīr Dār. Of the madrasas in Herāt, e.g. the celebrated Ekklaussiya, nothing has survived, nor do we have anything left of the madrasa of Turbat-i Shaikh Djām in Eastern Khurāsān (cf. Diez, *op. cit.*, p. 78). A ruin architectonically interesting is the state madrasa founded in the xvth century by Malik Hamza, the Gumbaz-i Surkh at Kal'a-i Fath in Sidjistan (cf. Tate, *Seistan*, fig. p. 78). The cells are vaulted with the typical Persian house and bazaar domes. The last fine Persian madrasa is the Mader-i Shāh Sultān Husain in Isfahān built by the Ṣafawid Shāh of this name (1694—1722). The tiled decoration of the court is among the finest of its kind that has survived in Persia (cf. Sarre, *Pers. Bdkm.*, and Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, p. 106—107). The dome still shows the original glazed tiles with foliage patterns: dark blue and white, changing to black stalks and and yellow leaves on a turquoise blue ground.

India. In India the history of Muslim archi-

itecture so far known does not go beyond the xiiith century. The two earliest mosques of which the ruins still survive, the mosques of Adjmir and of Dehli, are large covered courts, built of pillars taken from Jaina temples. The domes on eight pillars found in all Jaina temples are here found ranged in rows. The richly sculptured pillars were simply cleared of any figures on them before being used. Vaulting on square piers continued in use after there were no more pillars to plunder (mosques in Kulbarga and Bidjāpūr). For the rest, Indo-Muslim mosque architecture developed in different ways according to varied traditions and local conditions. In towns completely islamised like Mandu on the Narbada, the capital of the sultanate of Mālwa founded by Dilāwar Shāh at the beginning of the xvth century, or Djaṇpūr near Benares, which was founded by the sultān of Dehli in 1359, Muslim places of worship show a marked synthesis of Hinduistic tradition with the rigid forms of Muslim symbolism. Similarly in the Muslim towns of Guḡjārāt, in Aḥmadābād, Cambay, Dholkā, Maḥmūdābād, Muslim sacred architecture developed out of the local Hindu art so that the demands made by Islām on the shape of a mosque, such as an entrance-iwān and minaret, were carried through by purely Indian means and only the arch gave the building a Muslim stamp. In Bengal again, where the curved bamboo roof prevailed, mosques were built with curved roofs from the bricks in use there, as is shown, notably by the ruins in Gaur on the Ganges. Instead of glazed tiles, the walls were generally adorned with richly ornamented slabs of stone. South of the Vindhya range also, in the Deccan and in South India local schools of architecture grew up according to the same general principles. In Aḥmadnagar, Golkonda, Kulbarga, Bidār, Awrangābād and other capitals of Muḥammadan principalities, the building of mosques was much cultivated. Architectonically, the most important city was Bidjāpūr, the capital of the state of the same name, which became independent in 1490 under Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh and survived down to the xviith century, when its great period of building culminated in the gigantic dome of the mausoleum of 'Adil Shāh. The mosque of Bidjāpūr (second half of the xvth century) consists of a pierced hall with small domes over each group of four piers and a large dome in the centre. In the Moghul period little change was made in this mixture of Hindu and Muslim methods, although the Persian elements are often more marked. The huge mosque with courtyard built by Akbar in Fatḥpur Sikri has the usual plan with slight variations. The Great Mosque of Agra built by Akbar still shows little Indian pavilions on the tops of the cornices. It was only under his successors that a Puritan reaction set in, which finds its fullest expression in the mosques of Dehli and Lahore. The process of assimilation thus attained its end.

China and Indo-China. From the Maghrib to the Pamirs and southeast of them the general character of the country, plains and deserts, linked the peoples of Islām together by certain common features, which also secured the mosque its uniformity of structure in the early centuries. In China where Islām was only the religion of a few isolated groups of immigrants the mosque soon adapted itself to the well marked Chinese style of architecture and the mosques of the south and western

provinces, where Islām has established itself in places, are not distinguished externally from the Chinese temples or yamen and internally only by the absence of idols which are replaced by the mihrāb and minbar. Exceptions are the mosques in the seaports, where the colonies of Muslims kept up steady intercourse with the home of Islām and the mosques were at the same time built by native architects. This holds for example of the mosques of Ts'üan-tscheu, province of Fukien, the Zaitūn of mediaeval writers, which was built in 400 (1009—1010) and restored in 710 (1310—1311) by an architect, a native of Jerusalem, who came from Shirāz, as the inscription testifies. This mosque which is built of hewn stone consists of a hypostyle hall, such as we find in Asia Minor (e. g. Siwās) and has bulb-shaped niches (cf. G. Arnaiz and M. v. Berchem, *Mémoires sur les antiquités musulmanes de Ts'üan Tcheou, T'oung Pao*, vol. xii., 1911). The mediaeval chief mosque of Canton also followed the western tradition and even has a minaret, which is never seen on the mosques of the interior. The same holds of mosques in Burma and the Indian Archipelago. They are usually built of wood and adapted to the native architecture.

Bibliography: The works quoted under MANĀRA will also serve for Mosque and Madrasa. Special works are quoted in the text. For the Maghrib the new, excellent *Manuel d'art musulman* of G. Marçais was mainly used, which deals only with the Maghrib (2 vols., Paris 1927).

(ERNST DIEZ)

AL-MASDJID AL-AḲṢĀ, the mosque built on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem. The name means "the remotest sanctuary" and is first found in the Qur'ān, Sūra xvii. 1: "Praise Him who made his servant journey in the night from the holy place to the remotest sanctuary, which we have surrounded with blessings to show him of our signs".

As was explained in the article ISRĀ' [q. v.], the older exegesis refers this verse to the journey to heaven [cf. MĪRĀḌ] and sees in the name al-Masdjid al-AḲṣā a reference to some heavenly place (cf. *Sidrat al-Muntahā*, Sūra liii. 14).

This explanation had however in time to give way to another, according to which the expression is a name of Jerusalem. This explanation is connected with Muḥammad's "journey in the night" (*isrā'*). The combination of the *isrā'* and *mīrāḍj* thus gives the story of the Prophet's journey by night to the Masdjid al-AḲṣā (Jerusalem) and his journey following it from Jerusalem to the heavens.

The question arises how Jerusalem came to have this name among the exegists of the Qur'ān. According to Schrieke [cf. ISRĀ'] it is a result of the Omayyad tendency to glorify Jerusalem at the expense of the holy land of Islām. Horovitz has challenged this explanation (in *Islām*; cf. the *Bibl.*). In any case, Jerusalem was from very early times regarded in Islām as a sacred place, the original Qibla, which, although abandoned in favour of Mecca, still retained its sanctity as may be seen, for example, from the fact that 'Omar had a Masdjid built on the site of the Temple [see AL-ḲUDS, ii., p. 1097].

The name al-Masdjid al-AḲṣā is now particularly attached to the mosque in the south of the Temple area, which according to some was originally a church built by Justinian [cf. AL-ḲUDS, ii., p. 1096^b].

According to late Arab writers the mosque was built by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (785—805), a statement which might simply mean that Justinian's church was rebuilt. On this compare AL-ḲUDS, ii., p. 1098 *sqq.* where the further history of the mosque is given.

For a picture of the site and the mosque see Pl. v. to the article AL-ḲUDS; plan and description of the interior in *Travels of Ali Bey*, London 1816, ii. 214 *sqq.*; Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*⁷, p. 54 *sqq.*

Bibliography: *Bibl.* to the art. ISRĀ', and B. G. A., iii. 168—171; Muḍjir al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Djalil*, Cairo 1283, i. 201—203, 238 *sqq.*, 248 *sqq.*; Caetani, *Annali*, A. H. 21, § 87 *sq.*; a picture, *ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 504; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 140; do., in *Isl.*, ix. 161 *sqq.*; A. J. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, 1921, p. 31; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muḥammeds*, Leipzig 1930, p. 190, note 159. (A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-MASDJID AL-ḤARĀM, the name of the Mosque of Mecca. The name is already found in the pre-Muḥammadan period (Horovitz, *Koranische Studien*, p. 140 *sq.*) in ʿKais b. al-Ḳhatīm, ed. Kowalski, v. 14: "By Allāh, the Lord of the Holy Masdjid and of that which is covered with Yemen stuffs, which are embroidered with hempen thread" (?). It would be very improbable if a Medina poet by these two references meant anything other than the Meccan sanctuary. The expression is also fairly frequent in the Qur'ān after the second Meccan period (Horovitz, *op. cit.*) and in various connections: it is a grave sin on the part of the polytheists that they prohibit access to the Masdjid Ḥarām to the "people" (Sūra ii. 214; cf. v. 3; viii. 34; xxii. 25; xlvii. 25); the Masdjid Ḥarām is the pole of the new qibla (Sūra ii. 139, 144); contracts are sealed at it (Sūra ix. 7).

In these passages *masdjid ḥarām* does not as in later times mean a building but simply Mecca as a holy place, just as in Sūra xvii. 1 Masdjid AḲṣā [q. v.] "the remotest sanctuary" does not mean a particular building.

According to tradition, a ṣalāt performed in the Masdjid al-Ḥarām is particularly meritorious (Bukhārī, *al-Ṣalāt fī Masdjid Makka*, bāb 1). This masdjid is the oldest, being forty years older than that of Jerusalem (Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 10, 40).

This Meccan sanctuary included the Ka'ba [q. v.], the Zemzem [q. v.] and the Maḳām Ibrāhīm [see KA'BA], all three on a small open space. In the year 8, Muḥammad made this place a mosque for worship. Soon however it became too small and under 'Umar and 'Uthmān, adjoining houses were taken down and a wall built. Under 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubair, the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd caliphs, successive enlargements and embellishments were made. Ibn al-Zubair put a simple roof above the wall. Al-Mahdī had colonnades built around, which were covered by a roof of teak. The number of minarets in time rose to seven. Little columns were put up around the Ka'ba for lighting purposes. The mosque was also given a feature which we only find paralleled in a few isolated instances: this was the putting up of small wooden buildings, or rather shelters for use during the ṣalāt by the imām, one for each of the four orthodox rites. The fact that one of these maḳāms might be more or less elaborate than another occasionally gave

rise to jealousies between the Ḥanafis and the Shāfi'is. Ultimately the ground under the colonnades, which was covered with gravel was paved with marble slabs, in the maṭāf around the Ka'ba as well as on the different paths approaching the maṭāf.

The mosque was given its final form in the years 1572—1577, in the reign of the Sultān Selīm II, who, in addition to making a number of minor improvements in the building, had the flat roof replaced by a number of small white-washed cone-shaped domes.

A person entering the mosque from the Mas'ā or the eastern quarters of the town, has to descend a few steps. The site of the mosque, as far as possible, was always left unaltered, while the level of the ground around — as usual in oriental towns and especially in Mecca on account of the Sel — gradually rose automatically in course of centuries (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 18—20).

The dimensions of the Ḥarām (interior) are given as follows (al-Batānūnī, *Riḥla*, p. 96): N. W. side 545, S. E. side 553 feet, N. E. side 360, S. W. side 364 feet; the corners are not right angles, so that the whole roughly represents a parallelogram.

Entering the maṭāf from the eastern side, one enters first the Bāb Banī Shēba, which marks an old boundary of the masjid. Entering through the door, the Maḳām Ibrāhīm is on the right, which is also the Maḳām al-Shāfi', and to the right of it is the minbar. On the left is the Zemzem building. As late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, there stood in front of the latter, in the direction of the northeast of the mosque, two domed buildings (*al-Kubbatain*) which were used as store-houses (*Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ii. 337 sq.). These Kubbās were cleared away (cf. already Burckhardt, i. 265); they are not given in recent plans.

Around the Ka'ba are the maḳāms for the imāms of the madhhab, between the Ka'ba and the south-east of the mosque, the maḳām (or muṣallā) al-Ḥanbalī, to the south-west the maḳām al-Mālikī, to the north-west the maḳām al-Ḥanafī. The latter has two stories; the upper one was used by the mu'adhdhin and the muballigh, the lower by the imām and his assistants. Since Wahhābī rule has been established, the Ḥanbalī imām has been given the place of honour. The maḳām al-Ḥanafī stands on the site of the old Meccan council-chamber (*dār al-nadwā*) which in the course of centuries was several times rebuilt and used for different purposes. The maṭāf is marked by a row of thin brass columns connected by a wire. The lamps for lighting are fixed to this wire and in the colonnades.

The mosque has for centuries been the centre of the intellectual life of the metropolis of Islām. This fact has resulted in the building of madrasas and riwāks for students in or near the mosque, for example the madrasa of Kā'it Bey on the left as one enters through the Bāb al-Salām. Many of these wakfs have however in course of time become devoted to other purposes (Burckhardt, i. 282; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 17). For the staff of the mosque cf. SHEBA (BANŪ); Burckhardt, i. 287—291.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

MĀSHĀF. [See MUṢĤAF.]

MĀSHĀFI, GHULĀM HAMADĀNĪ B. WALI MUḤAMMAD, a distinguished Urdū poet, was born in Lucknow but went to Dihli in 1190 (1776), where he applied himself to the cultivation of Urdū poetry. His house was resorted to by the eminent poets of the capital. In 1201 (1786) he returned to Lucknow and spent the rest of his life there under the patronage of Prince Sulaimān Shikōh, son of Shāh 'Ālam. He died in 1240 (1824). He is the author of several *Diwāns* in Persian and Hindustānī, and of biographies of Urdū poets, called *Tadhkirat-i Hindī*. He also wrote another *Tadhkira* of Persian poets who flourished in India from the time of Muḥammad Shāh (1131—1161 = 1719—1748) to the reign of Shāh 'Ālam (1173—1221 = 1759—1806) entitled *Ikḍ Thurayyā*, and a historical work in verse which he entitled *Shāh-Nāma*.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MĀSHĀ'ALLĀH, the son of Ath(a)rī or Sāriya, a celebrated astrologer, who along with Nawbakht fixed the day and hour for the foundation of Baghdād by order of al-Manṣūr. According to the *Fihrist*, he was a Jew whose original name was Mīshā (a corruption of Manashshī, i. e. Manasse?); whether he later adopted Islām and for this reason took the name Māshā'allāh is not recorded. The date of his birth is unknown, but it can hardly be later than 112 (730). He is said to have died in 200 (815).

In numerous works Māshā'allāh covered the whole field of astrology, and also the making and uses of astronomical instruments. There has only survived in Arabic fragments of a treatise on the prices of various wares which was translated into Latin under the title *Mesahallae Libellus de Mercibus*. Many of his astrological works were translated into Latin by Johannes Hispalensis and others and later printed. Hebrew versions are also known. It may be safely assumed that Arabic originals will still be found in eastern libraries. The critical study of the Latin translations existing in manuscript and printed form is most desirable in view of the early date of the author.

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1902, p. 15—23; P. Duhem, *Système du monde*, ii., 1914, p. 204—206; G. Sarton, *Introduction*, i. 531.

AL-MASĪḤ, the Messiah; in Arabic (where the root *m-s-h* has the meanings of "to measure" and "stroke") it is a loanword from the Aramaic where מִשְׁחָה was used as a name of the Redeemer.

Horovitz (*Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 129) considers the possibility that it was taken over from the Ethiopic (*masih*). Muḥammad of course got the word from the Christian Arabs. In Arab writers we find the view mentioned that the word is a loanword from Hebrew or Syriac. Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr* on Sūra iii. 40: vol. iii., p. 169) gives only purely Arabic etymologies, either with the meaning "purified" (from sins) or "filled with blessing". Horovitz, *op. cit.*, calls attention to the occurrence of the word in inscriptions, proper names and in the old poetry.

In the *Qur'ān* the word is first found in the Meccan sūras, *a.* alone: Sūra iv. 170; ix. 30; *b.* with Ibn Maryam: Sūra v. 19, 76, 79; ix. 31; *c.* with 'Isā b. Maryam: Sūra iii. 40; iv. 156. None of these passages make it clear what Muḥammad understood by the word. From Sūra iii. 40: "O Maryam, see, Allāh promises thee a word from Him, whose name is al-Masīḥ 'Isā b. Maryam" one might suppose that al-Masīḥ was here to be taken as a proper name. Against this view however is the fact that the article is not found with non-Arabic proper names in the *Qur'ān*.

In canonical *Hadīth*, al-Masīḥ is found in three main connections: *a.* in Muḥammad's dream, in which he relates how he saw at the Ka'ba a very handsome brown-complexioned man with beautiful locks, dripping with water, who walked supported by two men; to his question who this was the reply was given: al-Masīḥ b. Maryam (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 68; *Ta'wīr*, bāb 11; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 302); *b.* in the descriptions of the return of 'Isā [q. v.]; *c.* at the Last Judgment the Christians will be told: "What have you worshipped?" They will reply: "We have worshipped al-Masīḥ, the Son of God". For this they shall wallow in Hell (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra iv., bāb 8; *Tawhīd*, bāb 24; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 302).

In *Hadīth* also we frequently find references to al-Masīḥ al-Kaḍḥḍāb and al-Masīḥ al-Daḍḍjāl; see the article AL-DAḌḌJĀL.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

MASKAṬ, *i.* a seaport on the Gulf of 'Omān, on the east coast of Arabia in 23° 37' 26" N. Lat. and 56° 15' 26" East Long. Maskat is the only harbour between 'Aden and the Persian Gulf, which ships of any size can enter and next to 'Aden and Djidda, the best harbour in the Peninsula. The port is of considerable importance from its position commanding the entrance to the Persian Gulf. It lies at the end of a horse-shoe-shaped bay 900 fathoms long and 400 broad which is enclosed and sheltered from the winds by multi-coloured rocks of volcanic origin, devoid of any vegetation. Behind the white town rises a series of extensive ranges of mountains on the highest of which, the Djabal Akḥḍar, 9,000 feet high, snow occasionally lies in winter-time. On the slopes we even find the Muscatel vine growing which is said to have been introduced by the Portuguese. The harbour is very busy; in the middle on the shore

stands the sultān's palace, at the south end the offices of the British political agent. On either side the town is flanked by an old Portuguese fort, Marānī and Djallālī. The chapel in one of them bears the date 1588. The bazaar consists of low buildings and is of little importance. The mosques are remarkable for the absence of the usual tall minarets.

The climatic conditions are by no means favourable. With al-Hodeida and Djidda, Maskat is one of the hottest towns in the world. In 1912 the maximum temperature was 45½° C., the minimum 17½° C.; the rainfall varies between 75 and 150 mm. The high temperatures are caused mainly by the hot winds which at certain periods in the summer months usually blow from the Arabian desert and from the rocky hills for several hours in the night. From November to the middle of March the weather is however quite pleasant, but one must beware of malaria and fever.

Maskat plays a considerable part as centre of trade with the nearer east. There are regular communications with India, Persia, East Africa and Mauritius. The ships of quite a number of steamship companies call regularly at Maskat, e.g. the British India Steam Navigation Company on the route from London to India, the Bucknall Steamship Company and the Strick Line to Basra, the West Hartlepool Steam Navigation Company on the 'Aden-Basra route, the Hamburg-America Line monthly to the harbours of the Persian Gulf, the Arab Steamers Ltd. on the Bombay-Basra route, and the Compagnie Russe de Navigation à Vapeur et de Commerce. In 1912—1913 the total tonnage entering the port was 98 steamers with 127,885 tons and 63 sailing vessels with 5,021 tons and leaving it 86 steamers of 90,803 tons and 30 sailing ships of 2,379 tons. The ships in question were mainly British (86.73%). Maskat has a regular postal service with the rest of the world instituted by the British, as well as a cable connection which the Indian Government has laid to Djashk. The population, which changes a good deal, is about 10,000 souls, primarily Arabs but there are also Persians, Hindus, Indian Muslims, Beludjis and a few Europeans settled here, mainly traders.

Maskat was at one time a flourishing centre of the silk and cotton trade but in recent years this has almost been destroyed by Indian and American competition. The gold and silver work done by Indians here is famous, notably richly ornamented swords and daggers. The imports of Maskat in 1912—1913 were valued at £ 463,551 and the exports at £ 301,477. The former were mainly arms and munitions, cereals, dyes, precious metals, pearls, foodstuffs, textiles, tobacco, building materials, enamel, glass and porcelain, ironmongery, perfumes and soaps, the latter camels, horses and asses, weapons, cereals, dried and salt fish, dates, lemons and pomegranates, *wars* and dragon's blood, pearls, melted butter (*ghī*), mussels, mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell, textiles, hides and leather. The chief importer was India, then Belgium, England and 'Aden, the exports went mainly to India, the Arabian coast, England, Persia, America and Zanzibar.

According to local tradition Maskat was founded at an early period by Himyar colonists. A. Sprenger has identified Maskat with the *κρυπτός λιμὴν* of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 12. As the harbour has only a narrow entrance on the north and is enclosed on

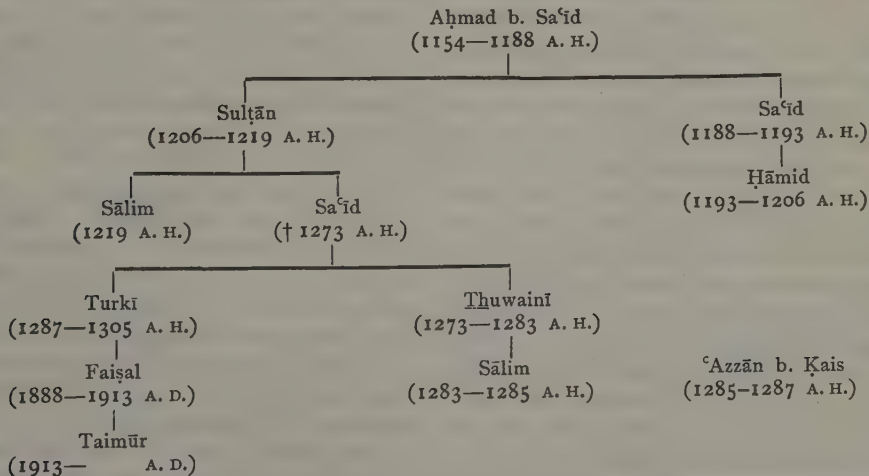
the east by rocky heights, it is, as a matter of fact, easy for sailors to overlook it, and the name "the hidden" would be quite appropriate. Al-Mukaddasī (*B.G.A.*, iii. 93 *sq.*) who mentions the port of al-Maskat, says that it is the first place which the ships from Yemen reach and is a fine town, rich in fruits. Ibn al-Faḥīh al-Hamadḥānī (*B.G.A.*, v. 11) says of Maskat that it is the very end of 'Omān, about 200 parasangs from Sīrāf, the starting point for ships sailing to India and to Kūlūmalī, a month's journey beyond it. Ships take in water here and Chinese ships pay 1,000 dirhams for it, the other 10—20 dinārs. Idrīsī briefly mentions Maskat as a densely populated town; Ibn al-Muḍjāwir is fuller (in A. Sprenger's *Post- und Reise-routen*, p. 145 *sq.*) and tells us that Maskat was originally called Maskat—so also Niebuhr, p. 296—and that it is a considerable centre of trade with Africa and the east coast of the Persian Gulf, whence the wares are forwarded to Sīdīstān, Khurāsān, Transoxania, Ghawr and Zābulistān. In the beginning of the xvth century A.D., Maskat, whose history had hitherto been that of 'Omān, attracted the attention of European powers. In 1506, Albuquerque appeared before the town and demanded that it should submit to the Portuguese. At the first the people seemed to be peacefully inclined and willing to accept his terms, but this attitude changed and the Portuguese admiral decided to attack and destroy the town. Forty large and small ships and many fishing-vessels and the Imām's arsenal were destroyed, the mosque pulled down and the town burned. The Portuguese fortified the place and in 1527 built two forts, Marānī and Djallālī, and factories; the present buildings of these names were however only built after the union of Portugal with Spain in 1580 by direct instructions from Madrid. The Portuguese had not an easy position here. They were frequently attacked by the surrounding tribes and in addition by the Turks; in 1526 a rising in Maskat was put down by Lopo Vaz, the governor of India. In 1550 a Turkish fleet under Pīr Bey appeared before Maskat, attacked the town and took it by storm after eighteen days' bombardment. The Portuguese commander and 60 men were carried off to be Turkish galley-slaves, but in 1553 the Portuguese succeeded in destroying the Turkish fleet and re-establishing their sway in the Persian Gulf. Maskat was now fortified as a naval base. But after 1631 Portuguese prestige began to decline rapidly. At the end of 1649, Maskat was attacked by the Imām's army and had to surrender on January 23, 1650, as relief came too late. The town now lost much of its former importance, although under Dutch influence its commerce was still considerable. Towards the end of the xviii century it attained an unenviable notoriety as a nest of pirates; in 1737 it was taken by the Persians, who were driven out by Aḥmad b. Sa'ūd, the founder of the dynasty still ruling in Maskat, who was elected imām in 1741. Since 1793 Maskat has been the capital of the sultānate of 'Omān. After 1797 the French began to be influential in Maskat; the town played a prominent part as a base for attacking India in Napoleon's grandly conceived plan for destroying England's power; we need therefore not be surprised that England also soon paid increased attention to the town. In January 1800, Capt. John Malcolm was sent to Maskat by the Indian government and concluded

a treaty with the Sultān by which an earlier agreement with the East India Company was ratified and an agent of the company established at Maskat. In 1807 and 1808 the French made treaties with the Sultān and also sent a consular agent to Maskat. The town flourished under this sultān, Sa'īd b. Sultān, and became a centre for commerce with the Persian Gulf. Maskat repelled an attack of the Wahhābīs with the assistance of the English in 1809, but in 1833 it became tributary to them. The change from sailing to steamships brought about a decline in the importance of the town. In 1863 Palgrave describes Maskat as an important harbour with 40,000 inhabitants, but in 1895, Bent puts the population at only 20,000 and at present it can hardly be more than 10,000. In 1833 however, the sultān was able to negotiate a commercial treaty with the United States, followed by a similar one with England in 1839; in 1844 France and Maskat drew up a commercial treaty by which France obtained the privilege of the most favoured nation and French subjects were given full freedom to trade in Maskat. The independence of Maskat, although expressly stated in the Anglo-French declaration of 1862, was however little more than nominal, for England, who had several times come forward to protect the sultānate, had through her political agent considerable control over the sultān. In connection with the slave-trade, which England was endeavouring to suppress, the sultān of Maskat had bound himself in various ways to England and in 1854 even ceded to England the Khuryān-Muryān Islands of which France was endeavouring to obtain possession. When Sultān Saiyid Sa'īd died in 1856, his kingdom was divided between his two sons Thuwainī and Madjīd of whom the former received Maskat, while the latter was given Zanzibar which had belonged to Maskat since the end of the xviith century. This division was negotiated by England through Lord Canning, the Viceroy of India. In 1861 Zanzibar was declared independent, but it had still to pay an annual tribute to Maskat, which England in 1873 undertook to pay in compensation for various concessions of the sultān of Maskat in connection with the suppression of the slave-trade so long as the sultān fulfilled his pledges and showed friendship for England. This readiness to meet the English was also seen in a telegraph agreement of 1864. In 1891 Sultān Faīsal concluded a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with England in which the Sultān bound himself and his successors not to cede, sell or let land except to England. The French opposed this and in 1894 succeeded in obtaining a coaling station five miles S. E. of Maskat. England raised objections and quoted the treaty with the sultān although France in the treaty of November 17, 1844, had secured the right to acquire land. Diplomatic negotiations finally brought about a settlement, by which France gave up the coaling station in the Gulf of 'Omān, and in compensation was lent half the coal depots of Mukallā. As France in 1916 again lent this coaling station to the English, the dispute was finally settled in favour of the English. A second *contretemps* was similarly settled, although for a time it caused grave diplomatic negotiations. The French consul of Maskat and Zanzibar had given French papers and flags to a number of ships belonging to 'Omān. The captains of these who often traded in slaves and smuggled arms, resisted the jurisdiction of their sovereign, the

sultān of Maskat, and when the latter took steps to deal with them they were protected by France. The affair finally became so serious that in 1903 there appeared to be danger of a conflict between England and France, but in 1905 the question was submitted to the Hague Tribunal which decided that only those sailing-vessels which had received the French flag before January 2, 1892, had the privilege renewed and licences later issued were cancelled as invalid, in so far as they were not given to French protégés of 1863. As, in 1917, only 12 'Omān sailing-vessels still carried the French flag, this privilege of France must soon die out. It was only natural that the active smuggling of weapons from Maskat not only to Persia and Afghānistān but also into the interior of Arabia, should cause anxiety to England. The flourishing trade in arms was put down in 1912 by the establishment of a depot for the sale of arms under government control, which alone could sell arms. It is true that the smugglers have now migrated to Birk, Shab'ain and Ru'ais, but the great decline in the import of arms into Maskat is best shown by the statistics of the year 1912—1913 when in the first half year 147,391 lbs. of arms were still imported while in the last five months the total was only 36,667. In 1913, the new ruler Sultān Taimūr, who succeeded his father on October 4 and was recognised by England and France on November 15, 1913, met with serious opposition from the tribes in the south of 'Omān, who declared themselves independent under an imām whom they chose themselves. It is only England's power that keeps these rebels from Maskat and thus secures the existence of the dynasty, whose rule has long been quite nominal.

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Genealogical Table of the Imāms of Maskat



2. Maskat al-Raml, a village on the road from al-Baṣra to al-Nibādī.

3. Market town on the Black Sea (Baḥr al-Khaṣar), said to have been founded by Khaṣraw Anūshirwān.

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1856) ruler of Oman and Zanzibar, London 1929; cf. also 'OMAN and the *Bibl.* of this article.

On 2. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 529; *Marāsid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, iii. 98.

On 3. al-Iṣṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, i. 186 sq.; Ibn al-Fakīh al-Hamadḥānī, *B. G. A.*, v. 288, 293, 298; Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B. G. A.*, vi. 124; Qudāma, *B. G. A.*, vi. 259; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 221, 438, 501; iv. 529; *Marāsid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, iii. 98.

(A. GROHMANN)

MASLAMA IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK, son of the second Marwānid caliph. "His chivalrous figure seems to have made a vivid impression on the popular imagination; one might think he came out of a popular romance" (C. H. Becker). Few of the Marwānid princes were so active and gifted in so many diverse directions. He lived long enough to give proof that he was not unworthy of the high hopes placed upon him. His gifts earned him the confidence of all the Marwānid rulers, to whom he was a Nestor whose counsels were always heeded, from 'Abd al-Malik to Hishām, not even excepting 'Omar II, who was not at all favourably inclined to the sons of 'Abd al-Malik, nor the hysterical Yazid II nor the criminal and fanatic Walid II, who wept at his loss. He had been carefully educated by his father 'Abd al-Malik. His long career as a military leader revealed his personal courage and his knowledge of the art of war. A man of good counsel and excellent judgment, versed in literature, a patron of poets and an accurate critic of their merits, adored by his men, Maslama made use of his exceptional position to be a protector of all the oppressed, to maintain the unity and cohesion at the heart of his dynasty, which was threatened by the absurd law of seniority which regulated the succession to the throne.

The chance of birth — his mother was a slave-girl — prevented him from rising higher. Walid I gave his brother Maslama the task of conducting the military operations against the Greeks. Henceforth — with a few short intervals — he was to hold the office of commander-in-chief of the Arab armies, in which he frequently had under him his nephew, the able and valiant 'Abbās [q. v.], son of the caliph Walid. In the year 91 (709-710) he succeeded his uncle Muḥammad as governor of Armenia, a province not completely subdued, which required a military man to rule it. He also governed the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn [q. v.], another frontier province continually exposed to the attacks of the enemy. He never spent much time in civilian appointments, for which his soldierly spirit seemed less adapted and in which the independent character of the Marwānid prince usually came into conflict with the central power.

His first campaign was marked by the capture of the important fortress of Tyana (Ṭuwāna): the rigorous winter of the high Anatolian plateaus did not interrupt the operations of this long siege, in which the assailants suffered great hardships [for the chronology see AL-'ABBĀS IBN AL-WALID]. The dismantled town remained deserted, a serious loss for the Byzantines. Their enemies now held both slopes of the Cilician Taurus, the gateway to Anatolia. Under Maslama's directions, his nephew 'Abbās in the next two or three years completed the conquest of mountainous Isauria. In 93 (712) the fortress of Amasia was taken and Maslama entered Galatia through Armenia. This opened up the road to Constantinople. In 98 he laid siege to the capital. The attack dragged on and caused unspeakable sufferings in the Arab army. Contemporary writers blame for their failure the lack of foresight and insufficient diplomatic skill in the commander-in-chief. 'Omar II recalled the besiegers to Syria and sent Maslama to the 'Irāk against the Khāridjīs. Yazid II sent his brother to put down the rebellion of Yazid b. Muhallab [q. v.] in the 'Irāk. After the death of this rebel (102 = 720), Maslama became governor of the two 'Irāks.

Before this, he had very opportunely persuaded the caliph not to modify the order of succession to the disadvantage of Hishām. Yazid was not long in finding fault with his brother, especially as he neglected to send him the taxes of his immense eastern vice-royalty. He recalled him to Syria, where Maslama endeavoured to combat the influence of favourites on this weak sovereign. Returning to the army in 108 he conquered Caesarea in Cappadocia. The following years were marked by Maslama's great campaign in Armenia and the land of the Khazars. After partial successes in which the country was laid waste, the stubborn resistance of the natives and the Turkish tribes forced him to retire. The retreat was a disastrous one: with great difficulty Maslama succeeded in bringing back the remnants of his army to Arab territory by sacrificing all his baggage and equipment (115 A. H.). His intervention to support the claims of Walid b. Yazid [q. v.], heir presumptive to Hishām, compromised him at court. He died before this caliph and seems to have taken with him to his grave the fortune of the Marwānids, for they rapidly declined after his time.

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(H. LAMMENS)

MAŞMŪDA (the broken plural *Maşāmida* is also found), one of the principal Berber ethnic groups forming a branch of the Barānis.

If we set aside the Maşmūda elements mentioned by al-Bakrī in the neighbourhood of Bone, the post-Islāmic Maşmūda seem to have lived exclusively in the western extremity of the Maghrib; and as far back as one goes in the history of the interior of Morocco, we find them forming with the Ṣanhādja [q. v.], another group of Baranis Berbers, the main stock of the Berber population of this country. Indeed from the first Arab conquest in the seventh century to the importation of the Hilālīs by the Almohad Sulṭān Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr in 1190, it was the Maşmūda who inhabited the great region of plains, plateaus and mountains, which stretches from the Mediterranean to the Anti-Atlas to the west of a line from N. E. to S. W. passing through Miknāsa (Meknās) and Dimnāt; the only parts of this territory which were not occupied by them were three small Ṣanhādja enclaves: the Ṣanhādja of Tangier, of the valley of the Wargha and of Azammūr. To the north and to the west, the land of the Maşmūda was bounded by the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. To the east and south it was bounded by the lands of the Ṣanhādja. To the north were the Ṣanhādja of the region of Tāzā and those of

Wargha; in the centre, the Zanāga or Šanhādja of the Central Atlas, to which should be added the Zanāta of Fāzāz; to the south, the Haskūra, the Lamta and the Gazūla.

It was from the presence of this Mašmūda bloc, extending continuously from Sūs to the Mediterranean, that eastern Morocco generally must have received the name of Sūs, a name found for example in Yāqūt (cf. *Mu'djam*, s. v. *Sūs*) who distinguishes a Hither Sūs (capital Tangier) and a Farther Sūs (capital Ṭarḳala?) separated from the other by two months' journey. It is also to this racial unity that are due the legends according to which all the N. W. corner of Morocco was once inhabited by the people of Sūs (*ahl Sūs*). Before the coming of the Hilālī Arabs, the Mašmūda peoples were divided into three groups:

1. In the north, from the Mediterranean to the Sabū and Wargha, the Ḡhumāra [q. v.].

2. In the centre from the Sabū to the Wādī Umm Rabi', the Baraghwāta [s. BERGHĀWĀṬA].

3. In the south, from the Wādī Umm Rabi' to the Anti-Atlas, the Mašmūda in the strict sense of the word.

Like the majority of the Barānis, who in this respect are a contrast to the Butr, who are inclined to be nomads, the Mašmūda were all settled; for if, in one passage, Ibn Khaldūn mentions two nomad tribes, the Lakhs and the Zaggan as forming part of the Mašmūda confederation of the Hāḥa, he also points out that they were tribes of the Lamta, i. e. of the nomadic Šanhādja, who finally became incorporated in the Dhawū Hassān, Ma'kili Arab nomads of Sūs. Ibn Khaldūn further makes special mention of the fortresses and fortified villages (*ma'akil wa-ḥuṣūn*) of the Mašmūda who lived in the mountains of Daran or the Great Atlas. Other Arab historians and geographers mention the many little towns (*ḥarya*) in the plains occupied by the Dukkāla or the Baraghwāta, a pastoral and agricultural people; but these were gradually ruined and destroyed in the course of the fighting which went on without interruption in their country from the establishment of the Zanāta principalities of Šhalla, Tādla and Aghmāt: the Almoravid and Almohad conquests, repeated campaigns against the heretical Baraghwāta, the Hilālī occupation, the struggle between the Almohads and the Marinids, the rivalry between the Marinid kingdom of Fās and that of Marrākush and lastly the wars with the Portuguese. Exterminated as heretics, dispossessed of their lands and driven from them by the Arab or Zanāta nomads brought into their territory, transported to a distance (region of Fās) by the Wātāsīd sultāns, for whose taste they showed too little hostility to the Portuguese, the central Mašmūda, the original inhabitants of the Azghār, of Tāmasnā and of the land of the Dukkāla finally disappeared; their place was taken by nomads, Hilālī Arabs (in the north, in Habṭ and Azghār, the Riyāḥ; in the south, the Djusham, Sufyān, Khult, Banū Djābir) and the Berbers (Zanāta Hawwāra); in the xvth century the coming to power of the Sa'dian dynasty brought about the immigration of Ma'kil Arab tribes to the same region: 'Abda, Aḥmar, Raḥāmina, Barābīsh, Wadāya, Awlād Du-laim, Zu'air, etc.

From the xvth century onwards, as a result of the occupation of their central plains by the Arabs, Hilālī then Ma'kili, the Mašmūda only survived in the mountainous regions which formed the

northern and southern extremes of their old domains.

The Mašmūda of the north (or *Mašmūdāt al-Sāhil*: "M. of the shore" of *al-Bayān*) were chiefly represented by the Ḡhumāra group [q. v.]. But, alongside of them, we find two small groups having the same racial origin:

a. The Mašmūda of the Straits, settled between the district of Ceuta, which belonged to the Ḡhumāra and that of Tangier, a Šanhādja country. It was they who gave their name to the fortified port of Ḳaṣr Mašmūda, also called Ḳaṣr al-Madījāz, the modern al-Ḳaṣr al-Šaghīr. Their presence here is attested in the tenth century, for it was while fighting here against them that Hā-Mīm, the prophet of the Ḡhumāra, was slain; al-Bakrī (xth century) knows them in the same area corresponding to that of the modern Andjra.

b. Al-Bakrī mentions another group of Mašmūda (tribe of the Aṣṣāda) settled in the land lying between al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr and Wāzzān; there is still a small Mašmūda tribe between these two towns.

The Mašmūda of the south, who inhabited the lands between the Wādī Umm Rabi' and the Anti-Atlas, were divided into two groups: those of the plain and those of the mountain.

a. The Southern Mašmūda of the plain lived to the north of the Great Atlas. The chief tribes were the Dukkāla; the Banū Māgīr (around Safi); the Hazmīra; the Ragrāga and the Hāḥa (to the south of the lower course of the Tānsift). The chief town in this region was Safi (Ar. *Asfi*), for the town of Azemmūr [q. v.] and the *ribāṭ* of Tiṭ [q. v.] were in the enclave of Šanhādja; beside the port of Safi, we must also mention that of Ḳūz (the *Agoz* of the Portuguese) at the mouth of the Tānsift, which gave Aghmāt access to the sea and had a *ribāṭ*, and that of Amagdūl (the *Mogador* of the Portuguese) which served the district of Sūs. Besides these three centres, there were, as in Tāmasnā, a large number of fortified little towns (*ḥarya*) many of which survived down to the xvth century; the Portuguese chroniclers, Leo Africanus and Marmol have preserved for us many names of these places which have now disappeared, their very memory being lost; the local hagiographic collections and notably the *Kitāb al-Taṣhawwuf* of al-Tādili (xiiith century) have preserved a good deal of valuable information on this subject. At the present day all the country to the north of the Atlas is arabicised and if the old Berber element has not completely disappeared, it is at least overwhelmed by Arabs of whom the majority seem to be of Ma'kili origin. The Hāḥa alone, between Mogador and Agadir, have remained almost intact and have retained the use of the Berber language.

b. The Southern Mašmūda of the mountains occupied the Great Atlas (*Djabal Daran*), the massif of Sirwā (anc. Sirwān) and the Anti-Atlas or mountains of the Nagisa (Berb. In Gist).

In the Great Atlas, the Mašmūda extended to the east as far as the upper course of the Tānsift (a pass called Tizi-n-Telwet). From east to west, the following were the chief groups: the Galāwa; the Hailāna (or Ailāna), the Warika and the Hazradja, near Aghmāt; the Aṣṣādan, including the Mašfiwa, the Māghūs and the Dughāgha or Banū Dagghūgh; the Hintāta, including the Ḡhaighāya; the people of Tin-Mallal, on the upper course of the river of Naffis; the Šauda or Zauda, in the lower valley of the Asif al-Māl; the Gadmiwa and

lastly in the west, the Ganfisa, the chief tribe of which was the Saksāwa or Saksīwa.

The massif of Sirwā and the high valley of the Wādī Sūs were inhabited by the Banū Wāwazgit and the Saktāna. The N. E. part of the Anti-Atlas was occupied by the Hargha.

Farther to the south, the Sūs, properly so-called, was inhabited by heterogeneous elements of Mašmūda origin (al-Idrisī, *akhlāt min al-Barbar al-Mašmūda*). Describing the road leading from Tārūdant to Aghmāt, al-Idrisī mentions between Tārūdant and the land of the Hargha, four tribes the names of which, corrupted by the copyists, are unfortunately hardly identifiable.

Besides these highlanders, who were strictly Mašmūda, we must mention the Haskūra (or Hasākira). These were highlanders of Šanhādja origin, brethren of the Lamta and Gazūla, who led a nomadic existence to the south of the Great Atlas and the Anti-Atlas. The Haskūra were settled in the high valley of Tānsift and the Wādī al-'Abid, on the two slopes of the mountain range which links the Great Atlas, the home of the Mašmūda, with the Central Atlas, the home of the Zanāga (= Šanhādja) of Tādla; their chief tribes were the Zamrāwa, the Mughrāna, the Garnāna, the Ghudj-dāma, the Faṭwāka, the Maštāwa, the Hultāna, and the Hantifa, who, according as they lived on one slope or the other, belonged to the Haskūrat al-Kibla (H. of the south) or to the Haskūrat al-Dill (H. of the north). Ibn Khaldūn, who calls attention to the Šanhādja origin of the Haskūra, adds that, as a result of their taking up the Almohad cause, it became customary to associate them with the Mašmūda tribes, but that they never enjoyed the same privileges as these latter.

History. In 682, 'Ukba b. Nāfi' marched against the Mašmūda of the Atlas with whom he fought several battles. On one occasion he was surrounded in the mountains and owed his safety solely to the help given him by a body of Zanāta. In the same year he attacked and took the town of Naffis which was occupied by "Rūm" and Berbers professing Christianity. Thence he went to Igli, a town of Sūs which he also took.

Legend adds that he even thrust his way to the Atlantic where he rode his horse into the water, calling God to witness that there were no more lands for him to conquer. This first submission of the Mašmūda does not however seem to have lasted after the departure of 'Ukba. In 707, Mūsā b. Nušair had to reconquer Morocco; he in person took Dar'a and Tāfilālt and sent his son to the conquest of Sūs and the land of the Mašmūda.

In 732 'Ubaid Allāh b. al-Habhāb was appointed governor of the Maghrib; he appointed his son Ismā'īl as assistant to the governor of Morocco and gave him particular charge of the district of Sūs.

In 735, the same 'Ubaid Allāh sent Ḥabīb, grandson of 'Ukba, to make an expedition into Sūs against the Mašmūda and the Šanhādja (Mas-sūfa). Later the latter's son 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri (d. 745) becoming semi-independent governor of the Maghrib occupied Igli and built a camp there, the remains of which could still be seen in al-Bakrī's time. It is to the same governor that is attributed the making of the wells which supply the road from Tāmdalt to Awdāghast via Wādān, through the modern Mauritania.

The land of the Mašmūda then disappears from history till the ninth century. The conquests of

Idris I did not extend in the south beyond the Tāmasnā and the Tādla. But in 812 Idrīs II made an expedition against the town of Naffis; on his death in 828, his son 'Abd (or 'Ubaid) Allāh obtained as his share of the kingdom, Aghmāt, Naffis, the lands of the Mašmūda and of the Lamta as well as Sūs. Al-Bakrī records that some of his descendants ruled as lords of Naffis and among the Banū Lamās, not far from Igli. Other Idrisids, descendants of Yaḥyā b. Idrīs, were at this time lords of Dar'a.

With the decline of Idrisid power in the tenth century, the Mašmūda again became independent and were ruled by elected chiefs or *imghāren* (= Arabic *shuyūkh*); al-Bakrī tells us that those of Aghmāt were appointed by the people for a term of one year. When at the end of the tenth century, Zanāta principalities became established in Morocco (at Fas, Šālla and Tādla), Maghrāwa established themselves at Aghmāt; but all we know of them is that they were attacked by the Almoravids. In 1057, after receiving the submission of Sūs and of the Mašmūda (Zauda, Šafshāwa, Gadmiwa, Ragrāga and Ḥāḥa), the Almoravid chief 'Abd Allāh b. Yā-Sin took Aghmāt, the last Maghrāwa ruler of which, Lagūt b. 'Alī, fled to Tādla. His wife, the famous Zainab, who was one of the Nafzāwa, finally became the wife of Yūsuf b. Tāshfin whom she initiated into the fine art of diplomacy.

From 1057 Aghmāt was the capital of the Almoravids till 1062, when Yūsuf b. Tāshfin founded Marrākush [q. v.]. In 1074 the same ruler, having divided his empire among several governors, gave his son Tamīm the governorship of Marrākush, Aghmāt, of the Mašmūda and of Sūs, then of Tādla and Tāmasnā.

The Mašmūda seem to have remained subject to the Almoravids till the rebellion in 1121 provoked by the *mahdī* Ibn Tumart [q. v.] of the tribe of Hargha, who, supported by 'Umar Īnti, *shaikh* of the Hintāta, and by 'Abd al-Mu'min [q. v.], brought about the foundation of the Almohad dynasty [q. v.]. The history of the Mašmūda is henceforth involved with that of the dynasty which they brought to power and which was to last till 1269. The Mašmūda, together with the Almohad dynasty, thus contributed to the rise of the Ḥafṣids [q. v.], who ruled over Ifrikiya from 1228 to 1574, through the descendants of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Īnti, *shaikh* of the Hintāta.

During the first half of the xiiith century, the power of the Almohads, routed by the Christians of Spain at the battle of Ḥiṣn al-'Uḳāb (las Navas de Tolosa) in 1212 and vigorously attacked in Morocco by the Banū Marin, soon began to decline. The Mašmūda of the Atlas, indifferent to the fate of the dynasty, took advantage of its plight to regain their independence. It was the tribes of the Hintāta and the Haskūra, which in 1224 at the proclamation of al-'Adil assumed the leadership in the movement; frequently allied with the Hilālī Arabs of the plains, Sufyān and Khult, we find them fighting in all the civil wars and supporting various pretenders to the throne.

When in 1269, the Marinids had definitely crushed the Almohads, the Mašmūda retained a certain amount of independence and lived more or less in submission to the central power, ruled by chiefs chosen from the great local families: Awlād Yūnus among the Hintāta; Awlād Sa'd Allāh among the Gadmiwa; among the Saksāwa, 'Umar b. Ḥaddū

was an independent chief who went so far as to claim the Berber title *agellid* (=king). In Sūs the Banū Yaddar founded an independent principality which lasted from 1254 till about 1340. As to the Haskūra, the power among them was exercised by the Banū Khaṭṭāb.

Down to the xvth century, except during the first half of the reign of the Almohad dynasty of which they had been the principal supporters, the Mašmūda of the Atlas were hardly ever under the direct rule of the Moroccan government; only the tribes of the plains, Dukkāla and Ḥāḥa in a position of inferiority as a result of their geographical situation, were able to offer less resistance and had to submit. The later dynasties, Sa'dian and 'Alawi, were no better able to subdue the Mašmūda of the highlands; but instead of gathering round local chiefs with temporal power, the latter now placed themselves under the leadership of holy men with religious prestige.

In the beginning of the xvth century, the land of the Mašmūda was in a state of anarchy. Some *ashyākh* of the tribe of the Hintāta held the lands of Marrākush; the most famous was Abū Shantūf; to the south of Tānsift, the xvth century saw the rise of the warlike group of the Ragrāga; in the xvth century, the power of the mystic al-Djazūli [q. v.] spread among the Ḥāḥa. In the adjoining country of Dar'a, the Sa'dian dynasty was rising, which after occupying Sūs imposed its domination on the whole of Morocco.

But it did not however succeed in subjecting completely the highlanders of the Atlas. The powerful Aḥmad al-Manšūr himself had to fight against a pretender who had proclaimed himself king of the Saksāwa.

After the death of al-Manšūr, the Atlas and Sūs were all under the authority of local religious leaders of whom the most important were to be found among the Ḥāḥa and in Tāzarwālt (family of Aḥmad U-Mūsā).

It was the 'Alawid Sulṭān Mawlāy Rashīd who restored Sūs and the Atlas to the Moroccan empire. The only episode to note is the constitution in Tāzarwālt, by a marabout Saiyidī Hishām of a kind of independent kingdom, the capital of which was Ilighet and which lasted from the end of the xviiith century till 1886.

Henceforth the Mašmūda disappear from history. The Atlas remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power of the ruling sovereigns, but all the important events in the region took place among the Ḥāḥa or in Sūs [q. v.]. The French occupation found the old Mašmūda grouped, since the death of the 'Alawid Sulṭān Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, into three bodies each under the authority of a local family: the Glāwa in the east, the Gundāfa in the centre, and the Mtugga in the west. The only one now in existence is the Glāwa; as a result of the disappearance of their leaders, the two others were recently broken up.

The name Mašmūda, still preserved in the north Morocco in the name of a little tribe of al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr, seems to have completely disappeared in the south, where the former Mašmūda peoples, continuing to talk Berber, bear the name of *Shulūh* (French *Chleuhs*, q. v.). It may even be asked if the name Mašmūda, which is found so often in the Arab historians and geographers, was ever in regular use among the peoples to whom they apply it; it is, indeed, suggestive that it is not

found in the long lists of ethnics given in the *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, published in the *Documents inédits d'Histoire Almohade*.

Sociology. The Mašmūda of the Atlas lead a settled life, living by a little agriculture and breeding a poor type of cattle; they live in villages or hamlets of stonehouses with clay roofs. Ibn Khaldūn notes the existence among them of numerous little strongholds and fortified villages (*ma'ākil wa-huṣūn*), the ancestors of the modern *tighremts* and *agādīrs*. There were no towns among the mountains; Tin Mallal, famous for the mosque where Ibn Tūmart was buried, was never a town. Before the Almoravid ruler Yūsuf b. Tāshfin founded Marrākush in 1062, built moreover in the plains out of reach of the highlanders, whom it was to control, the only urban centres in the district were situated at the foot of the Atlas on its lowest slopes. The principal towns were in the north, the double town of Aghmāt [q. v.] and that of Naffis on the river of the same name; in the south, in Sūs, Igli and Tārūdant; as places of less importance we may mention in the north, *Shafshāwa* (mod.: *Shishāwa*), Afīfan and Tamarūt; in the east, among the Ḥāḥa and in the borders of Sūs: Tadmast. The great trade-routes which traversed the region started from Aghmāt for the port of Kūz (at the north of the Tānsift), Fās (via Tādlā), Sidjilmāssa (through the land of the Hazradja and the Haskūra), and Sūs (via Naffis, the land of the Banū Māghūs and Igli; no doubt using the pass now called Tizi-n-Test). Al-Bakrī particularly mentions the industry and application and the thirst for gain, characteristic of the Mašmūda of the Atlas and of Sūs. The principal products of the country were fruits (nuts and almonds), honey and oil of argan (*hargān, argān*), a tree peculiar to the country, of which there were regular forests among the Ḥāḥa. The Mašmūda could cast and work iron and also copper, which they exported in the form of ingots or "loaves" (*tāngūll*); they also worked and chased silver jewellery. In Sūs also the cultivation of the sugar-cane enabled sugar to be made.

From the intellectual point of view, the Mašmūda seem to occupy a place of first rank among the Berbers. Each of their three principal groups has produced a reforming prophet, the author of sacred works in the Berber language: Ḥā-Mim of the Ghumāra; Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf of the Baraghwāta; Ibn Tūmart of the Mašmūda of the Atlas. It may also be noted that, Sūs is one of those few districts in which books were written in Berber down to a quite recent date (cf. H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, p. 73—81).

As regards religion, the Mašmūda were converted to Islām in the viith century by 'Uḳba b. Nāfi', who left his comrade Shikār among them to teach the new religion. The latter died among them and was buried on the banks of the Tānsift where his tomb is still venerated. The place is now called Ribāt Saiyidī Shikār near the confluence with the river of the *Shishāwa*. The Mosque of the town of Aghmāt of the Hailāna was founded at the beginning of the eighth century in 704.

Ibn Khaldūn describes the Mašmūda of the Atlas as being attached to Islām from the first conquest, in which they differed from their brethren of the north, the Baraghwāta and the Ghumāra, who remained faithful to their heretical beliefs. At the beginning of the eighth century, several

of them accompanied Tāriq on his conquest of Spain; the best known of these was Kuṭhaiyir b. Waslās b. Shamlāl, of the tribe of the Aṣṣāda, who settled in Spain and was the grandfather of Yahyā b. Yahyā, one of the *ruwāt* of the *Muwaffaʿ*; many others also settled in Spain and their descendants played important parts under the Omayyads.

In the eleventh century however, al-Bakrī notes Rāfiḍī heretics among the Mašmūda; these were the Banū Lamās settled to the north of the Hargha and the town of Igli. In this district he also mentions the existence of idolators who worshipped a ram: perhaps we have here a relic of the cult of the god Ammon among the ancient Berbers. The towns however formed important centres of Muslim culture, the influence of which was felt not only by the Mašmūda of the district but also by the Ṣanhādja of the adjoining deserts: Lamṭa and Gazūla. We know that it was in the town of Naffis, with Waggāg b. Zallū, a learned jurist of Lamṭa origin and a pupil of Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsi of al-Ḳairawān, that in 1039 Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gudālī recruited ʿAbd Allāh b. Yā-Sin al-Gazūlī who was the promoter of the Almoravid movement. For the Almohad period al-Tādilī's hagiographic collection, entitled *Kitāb al-Taṣhawwuf* shows us the land of the Mašmūda of the south full of wonder-working saints. Later the tribe of the Rag-rāga, settled on the lands now occupied by the Ṣhayāḍima, was the cradle of a movement at once religious and warlike, the details of which are little known but the memory still alive. In the first half of the xviii century, religious activity seems to be concentrated in the south of Sūs, in Tazarwālt where the descendants of the saint Saiyidi Aḥmad U-Mūsā carved themselves out an independent marabout principality.

Bibliography: See the indices to the geographers, especially al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī; Leo Africanus, ed. Schefer, i., p. 181—231; Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, chapters devoted to the Mašāmida; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, principally p. 55—67; R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930; H. Basset and H. Terrasse, *Tinmel*, in *Hespéris*, 1924, p. 9—91.

(G. S. COLIN)
AL-MAŠMUGHĀN, a Zoroastrian dynasty whom the Arabs found in the region of Dunbāwand (Dāmāwand) to the north of Raiy.

The origins of the Mašmughāns. The dynasty seems to have been an old though not particularly celebrated one as is shown by the legends recorded by Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 275—277, and in al-Birūnī, p. 227. The title of mašmughān is said to have been conferred by Faridūn upon Armāʿil, Bēwarāsp's former cook (Zohāk), who had been able to save half the young men destined to perish as food for the tyrant's serpents. Armāʿil (according to Yāqūt, ii. 606, a Nabataean, a native of the Zāb) showed to Faridūn in the mountains of Dailam and Shirriz, a whole nation of these refugees, which caused Faridūn to exclaim *was mānā kata āzād kardī* which is explained to mean: "What a large number of people of the house (*ahl bait*) thou hast saved!".

The first historical reference to a mašmughān is found in Ṭabarī's (i. 2656) account of the taking of Raiy by Nuʿaim b. Muḥarrin in the time of the caliph ʿOmar [according to Ibn al-Aṭṭir in the years 18, 21 or 22; Marquart however puts

these events as late as 98 (716—717)]. The King of Raiy, Siyāwakḥsh b. Mihrān b. Bahrām-Čōbin, had received reinforcements from the people of Dunbāwand, but when he was defeated, the mašmughān of Dunbāwand made peace at once with the Arabs and received honorable terms (*ʿalā ghairi naṣr in wa lā maʿunatin*) promising an annual payment of 200,000 dinārs. The charter given by Nuʿaim was addressed "to the mašmughān of Dunbāwand, Mardān-shāh, to the people of Dunbāwand, of Ḳh̲w̲ār, of Lāriz (Lāridjān) and of Shirriz". This gives us an idea of the extent of the sway of the mašmughān. His possessions included the country round Mount Dāmāwand [q. v.] and stretched down the plains as far as the east of Raiy. The district of Dunbāwand [*Dubā-wand, (the land occupied by) the *Dubā clan?] did not form part of Ṭabaristān. The Arabs mention it along with Raiy (Ṭabarī, i. 2653—2656; Muḳaddasī, p. 209; Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 275—277); but as we have seen at the time of the conquest, Raiy and Dunbāwand were under different dynasties. The old capital of Dunbāwand may have been at Mandān where, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, Armāʿil had built a wonderful house of teak and ebony, which in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashid was taken to pieces and transported to Baghdād. In the Arab period there were two towns in Dunbāwand: Wīmā and Ṣhalanba (the latter is marked on Stahl's map to the south of the modern town of Dāmāwand, which lies on the slopes of Mount Dāmāwand). According to Yāqūt, the mašmughān's principal stronghold was called Ustūnāwand or Djarhud. This should be sought above the village of Reinā, which must correspond to the old Ḳaryat al-Ḥadādīn. (Ibn al-Faḳīh's story of the shops [*ḥawānīt*] in which worked the smiths, the noise of whose hammers exorcised the enchained Bēwarāsp must refer to the chambers carved out of the rock near Reinā; cf. Crawshaw-Williams, *Rock-Dwellings at Reinā*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 551; 1906, p. 217).

An attempt made by Abū Muslim in 131 to conquer the mašmughān was a disastrous failure: his general Mūsā b. Kaʿb was attacked by the mašmughān's men and on account of the difficult nature of the country (*li-ḍiqi bilādihī*) was forced to return to Raiy (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, v. 304; cf. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū in Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 441).

The principality was not conquered until 141. In this period there were dissensions in the family of the mašmughān. Abarwiz b. al-Mašmughān, quarrelled with his brother and went over to the caliph al-Manṣūr who gave him a pension (Ṭabarī, iii. 130). The *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa ʿl-Ḥadāʾik*, p. 228, testifies to his bravery in the rising of the Rāwandiya and calls him "al-Mašmughān Mālik b. Dīnār, malik of Dunbāwand". This Abarwiz (or Mālik) had enjoyed considerable influence, for, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, the appointment of ʿOmar b. ʿAlā as commander of the army sent against Ṭabaristān was made on the advice of Abarwiz who had known him since the trouble with Sunbādh (on the partisans of this "Ḳhurrami" in Ṭabaristān cf. Maṣʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi. 188) and with the Rāwandiya.

In the year 141, the brother of Abarwiz who occupied the throne of Dunbāwand was at war with his father-in-law, the isphahad Ḳhurshid of Ṭabaristān; but when he heard that the forces sent by al-Manṣūr were on their way to Ṭabaristān, he hastened to effect a reconciliation with his adversary (Ṭabarī, iii. 136; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, v. 386).

The stories of the campaign against Ṭabaristān directed by al-Mahdī by order of his father al-Manšūr are very contradictory as is shown by their very detailed analysis in Vasmer, *op. cit.* After the defeat of the ispahbad, the Arabs conquered the mašmughān and captured him and his daughters Bakhtariya (?) and Šmyr (?) or Šhakla). Of these princesses one became the wife of Mahdī b. Manšūr and the other the *umm-walad* of 'Alī b. Raiṭa. According to a story in Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 314, Khālīd b. Barmak (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 100, thinks that his expedition was sent especially against the lord of Dunbāwand) sent the mašmughān and his wife and his two daughters to Baghdād, but in another passage, p. 275, the same writer says that the mašmughān obtained *amān* from Mahdī b. Manšūr and came down from the mountain of al-'Airain (?). He was taken to Raiy and there Mahdī ordered him to be beheaded.

After the death of the mašmughān, the people of these mountain regions lapsed into barbarism (*hawaiya*) and became like wild beasts (Ṭabarī, iii. 136). According to Ibn al-Faḳīh (p. 276) however, the descendants of the mašmughān (= Armā'il ?) were still well known.

Spiegel's and Marquart's hypotheses. Yāqūt i. 244 interprets *mašmughān* as *kaḥīr al-maḍjūs* "the great one of the magi" (*mas*, "great", N.W. Iranian form). Spiegel thought of connecting this dynasty with the prince-priests of Raiy, whose existence is known from a well-known passage in the Avesta (*Yasna*, ix. 18, transl. Darmesteter, i. 170; cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 202—205). In spite of Marquart's criticisms, who says it is impossible to quote the authority of Avestan traditions which relate to much earlier state of affairs, Spiegel's suggestion is still of interest. We have certainly to deal with vague memories and not with actual facts. In the time of the Arab conquest the descendants of Bahrām-Čōbin were ruling in Raiy, but the Arabs (Ṭabarī, i. 2653—2656) installed there a certain al-Zainabī, son of Kūla and father of al-Farrukhān. It remains to be seen if this family of Zainbadī, "whom the Arabs call al-Zainabī" (Balādhuri, p. 317) is connected with Dunbāwand. Their stronghold in Raiy was called 'Arin (?) which resembles the name of the mountain al-'Airain from which the last mašmughān came down (cf. the note by de Goeje in Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 275). Marquart wanted to connect the mašmughāns of the Bāwanid dynasty, the eponymous ancestor of which Bāw, a descendant of Kayūs, brother of Khusrāw I, is said to have lived in the time of the later Sāsānians. This Bāw was a man of piety and after the fall of Yazdagird III had retired to his father's fire-temple. Marquart regards him as a "magus" and identifies him with the father of the Christian martyr Anastasius, who bore this name (*Baṭ*) and was a "master of magian lore". Lastly he quotes the fact that the Bāwanids appeared in 167 only after the disappearance of the mašmughān (after 141) as if to continue their line. Unfortunately several details of the ingenious argument are not accurate: our sources (Ibn Isfandiyyār, *Zahīr al-Dīn* p. 204—205) give not the slightest suggestion that Bāw belonged to the priestly caste. According to Ibn Isfandiyyār (transl. Browne, p. 98), his grandfather's temple was at Kūsān, his grandfater's temple was at Kūsān, his grandfater's temple was a little distance west of Ashraf i.e. quite remote from Dunbāwand. The passage in Ṭabarī, iii. 1294, which Marquart quotes to prove the occurrence

of the name Mašmughān among the Bāwanids refers to the cousin of Māziyār of the Ḳārinid dynasty, which is quite different from the Bāwanids (cf. below).

The Ḳārinid mašmughāns. It is curious that neither Ibn Isfandiyyār nor *Zahīr al-Dīn* speak of the dynasty of the mašmughān of Dunbāwand, perhaps because they do not include this region in Ṭabaristān proper. On the other hand, they mention a mašmughān (*mašmughān* > **mazmughān*) Walāsh, who was the marzubān of Miyān-du-rūd (*Zahīr al-Dīn*, p. 42 says that this canton was near the Sārī between the rivers Kalārūd and Mihribān and that on the east it adjoined *Qarātughān*; Miyān-du-rūd is thus quite close to where Rabino puts Kūsān!). This mašmughān Walāsh (Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 101; *Zahīr al-Dīn*, p. 42) lived in the time of Djamāspid Farrukhān the Great (709—722 ?) and belonged to the elder branch of the Ḳārinids descended from Zarmihr b. Sūkhṛā. (We do not know why Justi, p. 430, takes this Walāsh to be the son of the last mašmughān of Dunbāwand ?). The Ḳārinid Wandād Hurmuzd (of the younger line, descended from Ḳārin, brother of Zarmihr) in his rising against the caliph (cf. Mahdī, p. 158—169 ?) had combined with the ispahbad Sharwīn (772—797) and the mašmughān Walāsh of Miyān-du-rūd. This latter (Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 126; *Zahīr al-Dīn*, p. 155) seems to have been one of the successors of the mašmughān Walāsh mentioned above.

Under 224 (838) Ṭabarī (iii. 1294) mentions a cousin of the Ḳārinid Māziyār, who was called Shāhriyār b. al-Mašmughān. According to this, al-Mašmughān would be identical with Wandād Ummid, uncle of Māziyār (cf. Justi, p. 430). On the other hand under the year 250 (864), Ṭabarī, iii. 1529, mentions a Mašmughān (*sic*) among the allies of the 'Alid Ḥasan b. Zaid. Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 165 calls him Mašmughān b. Wandā-Ummid. One must either suppose there is an error in Ṭabarī's genealogy or admit that the title of mašmughān was borne both by Wandā-Ummid and his son, but the form of the designation of the latter (ماشمغان with the article) would rather

show that the title had become a simple proper name (Browne is wrong in translating "*the* Mašmughān").

To sum up then: Alongside of the mašmughāns of Dunbāwand, we have the mašmughāns of Miyān-du-rūd. These *marzubān*, if we may rely on *Zahīr al-Dīn*, belonged to the Zarmihrid branch of the dynasty of Sūkhṛā (Sāsānian governor of Ṭabaristān descended from Ḳārin, son of the famous smith Kāwa). Later we find the title (or proper name!) of mašmughān recurring in the younger branch of the line of Sūkhṛā (the Ḳārinid branch), which occupied a position in Ṭabaristān subordinate to the Bāwandid ispahbads (*Zahīr al-Dīn*, p. 154, 14).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i. 2656; iii. 130, 136 (1294, 1529); Birūni, *al-Āthār al-bākiya*, p. 101 (transl. p. 109), p. 227 (transl. p. 213); *Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa'l-Ḥadā'iq*, ed. de Goeje and de Jong, p. 228; Ibn al-Āthir, iii. 18; v. 304, 386—387; Ibn Isfandiyyār, index; Yāqūt, i. 243—244 (Ustūnāwand); ii. 606—610 (Dunbāwand); *Zahīr al-Dīn*, index; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, 1871, iii. 563; Spiegel, *Über d. Vaterland d. Avesta*, Z. D. M. G., xxxv., 1881, p. 629—645; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 199 and 430 (tables); Marquart, *Beiträge*, Z. D. M. G., xlix., 1895,

p. 661; Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 127; Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Tabaristans.... zur Zeit des Chalifen al-Manṣūr*, in *Islamicica*, iii., p. 86–150. (V. MINORSKY)

MĀSSA (Berber *Māset*), the name of a small Berber tribe of Morocco of Sūs, settled some 30 miles south of Agadir at the mouth of the Wādī Māssa; the latter is probably the *flumen masatat* mentioned by Pliny the Elder (v. 9) to the north of the *flumen Darat*, the modern *Wādī Dar'a*, and the *Masatas* of the geographer would correspond to the modern *ahl Māssa*.

The name Māssa is associated with the first Arab conquest of Morocco: according to legend, it was on the shore there that, after conquering Sūs, 'Ukba b. Nāfi' drove his steed into the waves of the Atlantic calling God to witness that there were no more lands to conquer on the west. In any case, Māssa appears very early as an important religious and commercial centre. Al-Ya'qūbi (end of the third—ninth century) notes that the harbour was a busy one and mentions a *ribāṭ* already renowned, that of Bahlūl. Al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī mention the harbour of Māssat; al-Bakrī emphasises the fame of the *ribāṭ* and the importance of the fairs held there. Ibn Khaldūn devotes several passages in his *Kitāb al-'Ibar* to the *ribāṭ* of Māssa, where according to popular belief the expected Mahdī or Fātimid was to appear; this belief induced many devout people to go and settle in this *ribāṭ* and also sent many adventurers there to raise rebellions.

Towards the end of the xvth century, the religious movement begun by al-Djāzūlī made Māssa one of the great *zāwiya*'s of Sūs. In the middle of the ixth (xvth) century Leo Africanus describes Māssa as a group of three little towns surrounded by a stone wall in the middle of a forest of palm-trees; the inhabitants were agriculturists and turned the rising of the waters of the Wādī to their advantage. Outside the town on the seashore was a very venerated "temple", from which the Mahdī was to come; a peculiar feature of it was that the little bays in it were formed of ribs of whale-bone: the sea actually throws up many cetaceans on this coast and ambergris was collected here; local legend moreover says that it was on the shore of Māssa that Jonah was cast up by the whale.

After the fall of the Sa'dians, the development of the Marabout principality of Tāzarwālt again made Māssa a commercial centre. The port was frequented by Europeans but it was soon supplanted by that of Agadir. The rapid decline of the principality of Tāzarwālt and the steadily increasing influence of the central Moroccan power finally destroyed almost completely any religious and economic importance of Māssa.

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MAS'UD ABŪ SA'ID, the eldest son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, was born in the year 388 (998). In 406 (1015–1016), Sulṭān Maḥmūd nominated him his heir-apparent, and two years later made him governor of Herāt. In

411 (1020), at the command of his father, he led an expedition to Ghūr and reduced the north-western part to submission. Shortly after this, he was disgraced and sent as a prisoner to Multān, but he was soon taken back into favour and was reinstated in his government at Herāt. When the province of Raiy was conquered in 420 (1029), Sulṭān Maḥmūd placed it under Mas'ud who, after subjugating the outlying parts, conquered Hamadḥān and Iṣfahān from their Buwaihid ruler, 'Alā' al-Dawla b. Kākawaih, in the beginning of 421 (1030), and was making preparations for further conquest when news arrived of the death of his father and the succession to the throne of his brother Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad. Mas'ud hurried to Ghazna to claim the throne. In the meantime, the army tired of Muḥammad, deposed him, and had the *khutba* said in the name of Mas'ud. Muḥammad was blinded and sent to the fort of Mandish, and Mas'ud ascended the throne in Shawwāl, 421 (October 1030), about 5 months after the death of his father. The Caliph al-Ḳādir bi'llāh conferred on him the titles of Naṣir Dīni 'llāh, Ḥāfiẓ 'Ibādī 'llāh and Zāhir Khālifati 'llāh.

In 422 (1031), Sulṭān Mas'ud sent an army to punish 'Isā, the ruler of Mukrān, for his rebellion. 'Isā was defeated and put to death, and his brother named Abū 'l-Mu'askar was placed on the throne. In 424 (1032–1033), Mas'ud laid siege to a fort named Sarastī in the southern Kāshmir hills, took it by assault and returned to Ghazna in the spring. After this he attacked Tabaristān, as the ruler of that country, named Abū Kālingdār, had adopted a hostile attitude, and captured Astarābād. Abū Kālingdār was forced to offer submission and to promise to pay annual tribute. About the end of 426 (October 1035), Aḥmad b. Niyālṭigin, the governor of Lahore, rebelled. Mas'ud sent against him one of his Hindū generals who was defeated and slain in battle. He then sent another Hindū general named Tilak, who defeated Aḥmad and forced him to fly to Sind where he was drowned while attempting to cross the river Indus. About the end of 427 (October 1036), Mas'ud led an expedition to India, took the forts of Hānsī and Sonipat and returned to Ghazna, leaving his son Madjdūd as the governor of the Punjab. In 430 (1038–1039), Mas'ud crossed the Oxus to punish Pūrtigin, son of 'Altigin, ruler of Bukhārā, for his hostility, but before he could accomplish anything he received news that the Saldjūks were advancing to Balkh to cut off his retreat, and he immediately returned to Khurāsān.

Early in his reign, Sulṭān Mas'ud had been called upon to deal with the Saldjūks whose power had considerably increased during the period of disturbance following the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. They raided Herāt as early as 422 (1031) but were repulsed with heavy loss at Farāwah and forced to take refuge in the Balkhān Mountains. This however did not stop their activities, and by 425 (1033–1034) they had started to make systematic incursions into Khurāsān. In Sha'bān 426 (June, 1035) Mas'ud sent against them two of his generals, the Ḥādjib Baktrghdī and Ḥusain 'Alī b. Mikā'il, who inflicted a crushing defeat on them, but while the Ghaznawid troops were engaged in plundering the camp of their vanquished foes, a body of the Saldjūks under Dāwūd issued from the hills, fell upon their disorderly ranks, and made fearful slaughter among them. Ḥusain 'Alī was taken prisoner, and

Baktoghdi managed to escape. Instead of marching against the Saldjuks, Mas'ud wasted his time in a fruitless expedition to India in 427, as stated above, and the result was that they became bolder and more powerful. In 428 (1036—1037), they captured Balkh, but retired to Marw at the approach of Sultān Mas'ud, and sued for peace. Mas'ud gladly consented to it, but it was only a shampeace and when Mas'ud started on his return march to Ghazna, the Saldjuks fell upon his rear and put many of his soldiers to death. Mas'ud turned round and took terrible revenge for this treachery. The Saldjuks redoubled their efforts against the Sultān, and won over the people of Sarakhs, Nasā and Bāward to their side. Mas'ud now personally took the field against them. The Saldjuks advanced to meet him under their leader Tughrl. The two armies met at Dandānākān on 8th Ramaḍān, 431 (May 23, 1040). Mas'ud fought bravely but being deserted by his generals and finding himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, he fought his way out of the field of battle and managed to reach Ghazna in safety.

The Saldjuks had evidently become too strong for him, and he resolved to withdraw to India, possibly with a view to gaining a respite and preparing a large army there to retrieve his affairs. He left Ghazna with all his treasure, and accompanied by his captive brother Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad. At Ribāṭ-i Mārikalah, shortly after crossing the river Indus, his slaves rebelled against him, plundered his treasure, and, being joined by the rest of the army, they seized Mas'ud and acclaimed the blind Muḥammad as their sovereign. Mas'ud was sent as a prisoner to a fort where he was put to death on 11th Djumādā I, 432 (January 17, 1041). His reign had lasted 10 years and three months.

Mas'ud was a man of strong build and great physical strength. He was brave and generous, but he lacked the wisdom of his father, and early in his reign, he lost the co-operation of his officers by foolishly attempting to bring about the ruin of the old servants of the House on the advice of his young and ambitious courtiers, and demanding the return of the money which Muḥammad had distributed among them at the time of his succession to the throne. Mas'ud was a great lover of learning, and numerous scholars had assembled at his court, one of whom was the famous Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī who dedicated some of his greatest works to him. Several poets sang his praises and were given munificent rewards. He adorned his capital with beautiful buildings, and the New Palace with its magnificent throne was one of the wonders of the times.

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MAS'UD B. MAWDUD B. ZANGĪ, 'IZZ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FATH (or Abu 'l-Muzaḥḥar), lord of al-Mawṣil. Mawdud [q.v.] died in 565 (1170); he was followed by his son Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī [q.v.] as Atābeg of al-Mawṣil. When the latter came into conflict with Saladin [q.v.] in 570 (1175) he gave his brother Mas'ud command of the troops sent to relieve Ḥalab, which was being besieged by Saladin. After Saladin had left Ḥalab and seized

the citadel of Ḥims, Mas'ud, who had in the meanwhile attached the Ḥalabīs to his side, attacked him but was defeated in Ramaḍān 570 (April 1175) at Qurūn Ḥamāt. Saif al-Dīn died on 3rd Ṣafar 572 (Aug. 11, 1176), or according to another less authenticated statement in 576 (began June 29, 1180), and Mas'ud then became lord of al-Mawṣil. To this in 577 (1181—1182) was added Ḥalab, which his cousin al-Malik al-Sāliḥ [q.v.] bequeathed to him shortly before his death; but Mas'ud did not hold it very long. On the advice of the influential emīr Muḍjāhid al-Dīn Kaīmāz, he ceded his new possessions to his brother 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī who gave him Sindjār in exchange, and in Muḥarram 578 (May 1182) the latter occupied Ḥalab. Soon afterwards, Saladin took Edessa, al-Raḳqa, Sarūḍī and Naṣībīn, and in Raḍjāb (November) of the same year he appeared before al-Mawṣil but could not take it by force; so he retired in the following month and turned his attention to Sindjār. After he had taken this town, he forced 'Imād al-Dīn to capitulate (Ṣafar 579 = June 1183). In 581 (1185) Saladin again attacked al-Mawṣil but had once more to retire with his object unachieved. After the capture of the town of Maiyāfāriḳīn, he made a third attempt to take al-Mawṣil, and encamped at some distance from the town but fell ill and was taken to Ḥarrān. In spite of this, 'Izz al-Dīn did not dare to oppose him any longer but began negotiations. Saladin declared himself ready to make terms, and in Dhu 'l-Hiḍjja 581 (March 1186) peace was made on condition that 'Izz al-Dīn recognised the suzerainty of Saladin and gave him Shabrazūr with the lands behind the Zāb. 'Izz al-Dīn died in al-Mawṣil on Sha'bān 27 or 29, 589 (Aug. 28 or 30, 1193) after designating his son Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh as his successor. The Arabic historians pay him as high a tribute as they do to his father Mawdud.

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MAS'UD B. MUHAMMAD ABU 'L-FATH GHIVATH AL-DĪN, a Saldjuk ruler in the 'Irāq (529—547 = 1134—1152). Like Muḥammad's other sons, Mas'ud, when quite a child, was entrusted to an atābeg to be educated, namely the celebrated emīr Mawdud and when the latter was murdered, Aḳ Sonḳor and Aiaba Djuyūsh Beg acted successively as Mas'ud's tutors. The latter, an ambitious emīr, in the beginning of Maḥmūd's reign tried to secure the sultanate for his protégé, then an eleven-year-old boy, but the attempt failed; in an encounter with Maḥmūd's troops he was put to flight and Mas'ud as well as his wazīr, the famous Arab poet al-Tughra'i [q.v.], were taken prisoners (514 = 1120). On the fate of the poet see the article on him. Mas'ud was pardoned and later given Gandja by his brother (1130). After Maḥmūd's death (525 = 1131), his son Dāwūd was at first recognised as sultān but Sanḳjar decided that Mas'ud's brother Tughrl should be sultān. Mas'ud soon made peace with Dāwūd, after some fighting near Tabriz, and sought to obtain from the caliph al-Mustashid that the latter should mention him in the *khutba* in

Baghdād. The caliph, who had been approached with the same object by another brother of Mas'ūd named Saldjūk and his atābeg Qaradja, found himself forced to accede to both by having Mas'ūd's name mentioned first, followed by that of Saldjūk. He also collected his forces to go in alliance with them against Sandjar; but when he arrived in Khānikin, he withdrew so that Mas'ūd and Saldjūk had to continue the struggle against their uncle alone and they were routed by him near a hill called Pandj Anghusht in the neighbourhood of Dinawar (1132). Sandjar however allowed Mas'ūd to return unhindered to Gandja and at the end of the same year Mas'ūd found an opportunity to go to Baghdad where Dāwūd also now was. Both princes were received by the caliph in public audience and given robes of honour and other tokens of esteem. Homage was paid to Mas'ūd as sultān and to Dāwūd as heir-apparent. Thereafter he fought with varying fortune against his brother Tughril and after the latter's premature death (528—529 = 1134) was generally recognised as sultān. Anusharwān b. Khālid, the caliph's vizier, now was given the office of vizier to the sultān. Soon afterwards however, a number of Turkish emirs became dissatisfied with Mas'ūd because they had felt themselves insulted by the advancement of Qara Sonkor, the powerful emir of Adharbaidjān, and were able to win the caliph over to their party. In the hope that Dāwūd would join him, he went with some 7,000 horsemen towards Hamadhān, where Mas'ūd then was, but when the sultān's troops met him at Dāimarg, his own men left him in the lurch or even went over to Mas'ūd so that he and his vizier and other high officials were taken prisoners (529 = 1135). The sultān, it is true, treated him with deference, and began to discuss terms of peace, but he did not release him. He took him with him to Marāgha, where in the same year (cf. the various dates given: Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii. 231, note 4) he was murdered by a number of fidā'is. The murderers were apparently hired by the sultān, on the advice of Sandjar, who had been stirred up against the Caliph by Dubais [q. v.]. The latter, who was also with Mas'ūd, was soon afterwards treacherously slain by him. These deeds of violence naturally made a very bad impression. Dāwūd and Saldjūk began again to bestir themselves; the new caliph al-Rāshid bi'llāh, a son of al-Mustarshid, adopted a hostile attitude and other Turkish emirs, notably Zangī, the lord of al-Mawṣil, began to be insubordinate; in a word, anarchy soon prevailed everywhere. But when Mas'ūd returned to Baghdad with his troops they all retired. Mas'ūd thereupon had the caliph, who had escaped with Zangī to al-Mawṣil, deposed by a fatwā of the ^ḥqādis and jurists and approved the appointment of al-Muktafi (530 = 1136). After peace had in this way been to some extent restored, Mas'ūd thought he might now devote himself to his pleasures and remained the whole year of 1137 in Baghdad in comparative inactivity, without allowing his leisure to be disturbed by a demonstration by the mob of the capital, which was intended to remind him that it was his duty to wage war upon the unbelievers. Once again several Turkish emirs rebelled and tried to bring Dāwūd to the front again; among them the most dangerous were 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Tughanyerek, lord of Khalkhāl, and particularly the prince Mingubars, whom Sandjar after Qaradja's death had sent to Fārs and who

was vigorously supported by his deputy in Khuzistān, Buzāba. Mas'ūd, it is true, sent troops against them under Qara Sonkor but they had to retire, and a battle was only fought when Mas'ūd himself came up, at Kurshanbe near Hamadhān (532 = 1138). The sultān was at first victorious and put Mingubars, whom he had captured, to death; but when his troops were scattered plundering the enemy's camp, Buzāba fell suddenly upon them so that he and Qara Sonkor had narrow escapes and some twelve of the emirs with him were captured and all put to death by Buzāba. Fortunately for Mas'ūd, Buzāba did not pursue him, but was content with occupying Fārs; the sultān was also able to make peace with Dāwūd, and the deposed caliph was murdered in Isfahān on Ramaḍān 25, 532 (June 6, 1138). The sultān's position however was not one whit better, for the different provinces of the empire were in the hands of powerful emirs, who not only paid no heed to the sultān, but occasionally appeared in open rebellion against him in the name of various Saldjūk princes whose atābegs they were. The most powerful of these was still Qara Sonkor who began a war on Buzāba to avenge his son, who had been murdered by the latter. When he approached, however, Buzāba withdrew into an inaccessible citadel and when Qara Sonkor retired, he took prisoner the prince Saldjūk whom he had appointed to rule over Fārs and then continued to rule in Fārs as atābeg of two sons of Maḥmūd, Malikshāh and Muḥammad. After the death of Qara Sonkor, who died in 535 of a broken heart after the great losses he suffered in the terrible earthquake in Gandja in 533 (1138), Čawli al-Djāndār took his place and like his predecessor was generally attached to Mas'ūd. Buzāba's attempt along with another emir named 'Abbās [q. v.], who had gained an influential position in al-Raiy, to put the sultān's youngest brother Sulaimān on the throne therefore failed. Mas'ūd invited this prince to come to him and when he came he was imprisoned in spite of the sultān's promise. Čawli died in 541 (1146) in the same year as Zangī and in the following year 'Abd al-Rahmān and 'Abbās were disposed of by assassination so that Buzāba alone remained of the enemies of Mas'ūd. Buzāba now set out for Hamadhān to attack the sultān, but not far from this city was taken prisoner in a fierce battle and executed (542 = 1147). The princes Muḥammad and Malikshāh who were with him escaped. Mas'ūd afterwards sent for the latter, gave him his daughter in marriage and designated him his successor. In these negotiations the sultān followed the advice of his favourite beg Arslān b. Balangari, best known by the title Khāṣṣbeg, who in this way disposed of all his rivals, but at the same time aroused great discontent so that even the aged Sandjar came once more to al-Raiy to remonstrate with his nephew (544 = 1149). But all this was in vain; and when in 547 (1152) Mas'ūd died, Khāṣṣbeg put Malikshāh upon the throne; when in a short time the latter showed himself quite incapable, he sent for Muḥammad, who had Khāṣṣbeg treacherously murdered.

Bibliography: in the article SELDJUKS. — Ibn Khallikān's article on Mas'ūd (Bulāḳ edition 1299, ii. 531) is of no importance.

(M. TH. HOUTSMA)

MAS'UD B. SA'D B. SALMĀN, a poet in Arabic and Persian, was born in Lāhore. His father

remained for a considerable time in the service of the kings of Ghazna and had become the possessor of great wealth and lands in Lāhore and other parts of India. After his father's death these lands were confiscated by the Governor of Lāhore and Mas'ud was compelled to proceed to Ghazna to demand justice, but there also his enemies were able to put him to more troubles and bring against him a false accusation, which caused him to be imprisoned. He at last through the recommendation of Mas'ūd b. Sultān Ibrāhīm was permitted to return to India and take possession of his estate. When Saif al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Sultān Ibrāhīm came in India as viceroy, Mas'ud attached himself to this prince as courtier and panegyrist and became one of the special favourites of his court. But again, a false charge being brought against him, he once more fell upon evil days and loss of fortune. It was maliciously reported in 492 (1098) to Sultān Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd that his son Saif al-Dīn Maḥmūd intended to go to 'Irāq to Malikshāh. This report so much aroused the indignation of the Sultān that he ordered his son with all his courtiers to be arrested and put to prison. Our poet for the next ten years remained a prisoner. But on the intercession of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khāṣṣ, the Sultān pardoned him and released him from prison. He returned to India and was again placed in possession of his father's lands and dignity.

He died in 515 (1121). He is the author of two diwāns, one in Arabic and the other in Persian.

Bibliography: Āzād al-Bilgīrāmī, *Subḥat al-Mardjān*, p. 24; Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, p. 47; Ṣiddiq Ḥasan, *Adjab al-'Ulūm*, p. 890; Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, *Čahār Maḳāla*, ed. Browne, index; 'Awfi, *Lubb al-Albāb*, ed. Browne, ii. 246–252; 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb Ḳazwīnī, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 693–740; 1906, p. 11–52; and Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii., p. 324.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL-MAS'UDĪ, **ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAIN**, Arab historian and geographer and one of the most versatile authors of the fourth century A.H. Information about his life can only be gleaned from occasional references in his works; as his activity lay outside the lines of the regular schools of learning, he gets little mention from their representatives. The author of the *Fihrist* regards him as a Maghribī. According to his own statement, however, he was born in Baghdād and descended from an Arab family which could trace its ancestry to a Companion of the Prophet. While still quite young he travelled through Persia where he spent part of 305 (915) in Ištākhr. Next year he went to India and visited Multān and al-Manṣūra. He went by Kanbāya and Ṣaimūr as far as Ceylon, joined some merchants on a voyage to the China Sea and back to Zanzibar from which he returned to 'Omān. We again find him travelling along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and in 314 (926) at Tiberias in Palestine. In 332 (943) he visited Antioch and the Syrian frontier towns and after a brief visit to his native province of Baṣra, he was staying in Damascus in 334 (945). Afterwards he seems to have lived sometimes in Syria and sometimes in Egypt. He was in al-Fustāt in 336 (947) and 344 (955) and he died there in Djumādā II 345 (956) or 346.

His restless life is reflected in his literary activ-

vity. His travels were certainly stimulated not by thirst for adventure but by a strong desire for knowledge. But this was superficial and not deep. He never went into original sources, as did al-Bīrūnī later, but contented himself with superficial enquiries and accepted tales and legends without criticism. Nevertheless we owe him a good deal of valuable information about the lands on the periphery of Islām. His method of presenting his material has the same faults as his scholarship. He is never able to finish a subject he has begun but continually diverges from his theme. His literary activity, in addition to philology and theology in the narrower sense, touched on almost all the fields of interest of his time, particularly natural philosophy, ethics and politics as well as heresiography. His works, a list of which is given by de Goeje in the preface to the *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, p. vi., are for the most part lost because they were not of general interest. Posterity was only interested in him as a historian. In the year 332 (943) he began his great history of the world *Kitāb Akhbār al-Zamān wa-man ābādahu 'l-Ḥidḥān min al-Umam al-māḍiya wa 'l-Ādjiya al-khāliya wa 'l-Mamālik al-dāthira*, which is said to have filled 30 volumes. Burckhardt's statement (*Travels in Nubia*, p. 527) that twenty volumes of it are preserved in the Aya Sofia in Constantinople has unfortunately not been confirmed. Only a single volume, the first of the work, which A. v. Kremer obtained in Aleppo, is preserved in Vienna (see v. Kremer, *S. B. W. A.*, 1850, p. 207–211; Flügel, *Die ar. pers. u. türk. Hss. der K. K. Hofbibliothek*, ii., No. 1262; another MS. of the same part is in Berlin, see Ahlwardt, No. 9426). The work begins with the creation and after a brief geographical survey discusses the non-Muslim peoples and goes fully into the legendary history of Egypt. He reproduced extracts from this work in the *Kitāb al-awsaṭ* of which one volume perhaps survives in Oxford (see Uri, *Catalogus codd. MSS. or.*, i. 666). The substance of these two works he gave in briefer form in the *Murūdj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'adin al-Djawāhir*, which he finished in Djumādā I, 336 (Nov.-Dec. 947) but revised in 345 (956). In addition to the manuscripts used for the Paris edition, a number of others are in existence, e.g. in the Ambrosiana (*R. S. O.*, iv. 97), in Fez (*Fihrist Masdjid al-Ḳarawīyin*, No. 1298) and Moṣul (Dāwūd, *Makhtūṭāt al-Mawṣil*, p. 122, No. 22; p. 173, No. 32); printed as Maḳoudi, *Les prairies d'or* (the more correct translation would be "Gold-washings", see Gildemeister, *W. Z. K. M.*, v. 202), *Texte et Traduction* par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols., Paris 1861–1877, Bülāk 1283, Cairo 1313, on the margin of Ibn al-ʿAthīr, Bülāk 1303, of Maḳkarī's, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. I–3, Cairo 1302. A synopsis of the *Murūdj al-Dhahab* down to the fall of the Omayyads was made by Ibrāhīm al-Abshīhī in 1118 (1706) (MS. Vienna, Flügel, No. 807). Another synopsis of which it has still to be ascertained whether the two works on which it is based were not also used in addition to the *Murūdj*, with a continuation down to the year 638 (1248) was composed by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shāṭibī of Tāza in Morocco under the title *al-Djumān fi Mukhtaṣar Akhbār al-Zamān* (wrongly ascribed by de Sacy, *N. E.*, ii., 1787 to Maḳkarī; MS. Gyangos, 64, fol. 31–195; see Asin Palacios, *Escatologia*, p. 374; other MSS. in Cairo and

Damascus: see M. Kurd 'Alī, *R. A. A. D.*, iii. 239—242). An anonymous synopsis of his *magnum opus* with special reference to travellers' tales from the Indian Ocean with additions from the *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Hind* of Rāmhurmuzi, as well as from the legends of Egypt, entitled *Kitāb Akhbār al-Zamān wa-'Adjā'ib al-Buldān*, or *Mukhtaṣar al-'Adjā'ib wa'l-Gharā'ib* is preserved in several MSS. in Paris (see Carra de Vaux, *J. A.*, ser. 9, vol. vii., p. 133—144). Towards the end of his life, Mas'ūdī composed a survey of his whole literary activity and supplemented it where necessary from new sources in the *Kitāb al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishrāf* (ed. de Goeje, in *B. G. A.*, viii., Leyden 1894; additions to these in a Leipzig MS., *Z. D. M. G.*, lvi., 223—236; see Carra de Vaux, *Maḡūdī, le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, French transl., Paris 1897).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 154; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, v. 147—149; al-Subki, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iya*, ii. 307; Quatremère, *J. A.*, ser. iii., vol. vii., p. 1—31; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, No. 119; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 141—143; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 352—354; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, xxxiv/xxxv.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MAŠYĀD, a town in Northern Syria on the eastern side of the Djabal al-Nuṣairiye. The pronunciation and orthography of the name varies between the forms *Mašyād*, *Mašyāf* (in official documents and on the inscriptions mentioned below of the years 646 and 870 A. H.), *Mašyāt* and *Mašyāth* (on the interchange of *f* and *th* see Keschler, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxiv. 465; Praetorius, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxv. 292; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, p. 143, note 4; 209; 395, note 3). The variants *Mašyāb* (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 556), *Mašyāh* (Khalil al-Zahiri, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 49) and *Mašyāṭ* (al-Nābulusī, in v. Kremer, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1850, ii. 331) are no doubt due to mistakes in copying (van Berchem, *J. A.*, Ser. 9, ix. [1897], 457, note 2). At a later period, the pronunciation *Misyāf*, *Misyād* became usual (al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 208; al-Ḳal-kashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, Cairo, iv. 113; Ibn al-Shihna, *Bairūt*, p. 265; cf. *Mešyāf* on v. Oppenheim's map in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, lvii. [1911], ii. Taf. 11). The name is perhaps a corruption of a Greek *Μαρσία* (= *Μαρσία*) or *Μάρσου κάμυ*, which presumably lay on the *Marsyas amnis*, the boundary river of the Nazerini (ancestors of the Nuṣairis? Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 81) (cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realenzyklopädie*, xiv., Col. 1985 sq., s. *Marsyas*, No. 3).

A number of ancient pillars and capitals built into the gates of the fortress (some reproduced in G. L. Bell, *Syria: The Desert and the Sown*, p. 217—220) are its only remains of antiquity. An old Roman road (*raṣiṭ*) from Hamā to the west passed the town (according to Miss Bell, *loc. cit.*).

Mašyād is not mentioned in the early middle ages; the first mention of the fortress is probably in a Frankish account of the advance of the Crusaders in 1099: *pervenimus gaudentes hospitari ad quoddam Arabum castrum* (Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum, ed. Hagenmeyer, 1890, p. 418 with note 29; Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nuṣairis*, Paris 1900, p. 21,

note 4). When in 503 (1109—1110), the Franks advanced on Rafaniya, Tuḡtakīn set out to relieve it; by the terms of the peace concluded between them, the Franks bound themselves to abandon all designs on Mašyāth and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and in compensation these two places and Ḥiṣn Tuḡfan were to pay them tribute (Sibt b. al-Djawzi, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, in *Rec. Hist. Or. Crois.*, iii. 537). Before 521 (1127) the fortress was in possession of a branch of the Mirdāsids, who sold it to the Banī Munqidh. After the Nuṣairi citadels of Ḳadmūs and al-Kahf had fallen into the hands of the Ismā'ilis in 527 (1132—1133), the latter also seized the fortress of Mašyāf in 535 (1140—1141), by outwitting the commandant Sunḳur, a mamlūk in the service of the Banī Munqidh of Ṣhaizar, who was surprised and slain (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*, in *Rec. Hist. Or. Crois.*, i. 25; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, *ibid.*, i. 438; al-Nuwairi, *Cod. Leyden* 2^m, f. 222^b, in van Berchem, *J. A.*, 1897, p. 464, note 1). Mašyād now became the residence of the Syrian 'Master' of the sect (as we may call him, with van Berchem, to distinguish him from the Grand Master in Alamūt), known as *Shaiḫ al-Djabal*. After the Master (*Muḳaddam*) Abū Muḥammad had gathered round him the members of the sect in the hills of Ḳadmūsīya, about 557 (1162) Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān [q. v.] appeared in Syria, as envoy from the Persian Grand Master, took over command of the Assassins [q. v.] there and displayed his unusual organising ability, by raising the sect to be a well equipped and dreaded force, the terror of the Crusaders. Saladin, who wanted to punish them for two attempts on his life, invaded the land of the Ismā'ilis in Muḥarram 572 (July—Aug. 1176), laid it waste and laid siege to Sinān in Ḳal'at Mašyāf. Through the mediation of Saladin's uncle Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥārimī, lord of Ḥamā, Sinān however succeeded in obtaining Saladin's forgiveness; in the beginning of August, he went with his army to Ḥamā (Abu 'l-Fidā' and Ibn al-Athīr, in *Rec. Hist. Or. Crois.*, i. 47, 626). Shortly before he raised the siege of Mašyād (about the 1st Ṣafar), he received from Usāma b. Munqidh, who was in Damascus, a letter containing a panegyric of his great patron (Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousāma*, Paris 1893, p. 400 sq.). Rāshid al-Dīn died in 588 (Sept. 1192). The Syrian Masters, as the official epithet *al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn* henceforth regularly borne by them shows, were raised by him to a position with power and privileges equal to those of sovereign rulers (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 470). While Sinān had completely emancipated himself from the suzerainty of the headquarters of the sect in Alamūt, in 608 we find the old conditions completely restored (Abū Shāma, *al-Dhail fī'l-Rawḍatāin*, in van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 475 sqq., note 1). According to an inscription in the inner gate of the castle (van Berchem, *J. A.*, 1897, p. 482 = van Berchem—v. Oppenheim, *Beiträge z. Assyriol.*, vii/i., p. 17, No. 18), this building was restored by the Syrian Master Kamāl al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd under the suzerainty of the Grand Master of Alamūt 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad III (618—653). The reference is probably to the al-Kamāl, who according to al-Nasawī (*Hist. du Sultan Djelal al-Dīn Mankobirti*, ed. Houdas, p. 132) was for a period before 624, governor in Syria for the grand master of the Ismā'ilis. It is uncertain whether the commandant (*mustawallī*)

Maḡd al-Dīn, who received in 624 the ambassadors of Frederick II (Hamawī in Amari, *Bibl. arabico-sicula*, App. ii., p. 30) was one of the Masters (van Berchem, *J.A.*, 1897, p. 501, note 1). About 625/6 and still in 635, Sirādj al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. al-Ḥusain was Syrian Master (Nasawī, *op. cit.*, p. 168; inscription of al-Kahf, ed. van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 488). A Persian from Alamūt, Tādj al-Dīn, was in 637 *muḡaddam* of the Syrian Ismāʿilis (Ibn Waṣil, *Geschichte der Aiyūbiden*, Paris, MS. Ar. 1702, f. 333^b in van Berchem, p. 466, note 2). As Tādj al-Dīn Abu'l-Futūḥ he appears in an inscription in Maṣyād of Dhul-Ḳa'da 646 (Feb.—March 1249), according to which he had built the city wall of Maṣyād and its south gate. The commander of the fortress under him was 'Abd Allāh b. Abi 'l-Faḍl b. 'Abd Allāh (inscriptions A and B in van Berchem, *J.A.*, 1897, p. 456 = van Berchem-v. Oppenheim, *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, *op. cit.*, No. 19). Probably it was Tādj al-Dīn to whom the Dominican monk Yvo the Breton, a member of an embassy sent by Louis IX to the "Old Man of the Mountains" in May 1250, sent a naive and fruitless appeal for his conversion (Jean de Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis*, ed. Wailly, p. 246 sqq.; van Berchem, *J.A.*, 1897, p. 478—480). In the time of the Master Ridā' al-Dīn Abu'l-Ma'ālī in 658 (1260) the Tatars seized and held the fortress for a time, but after the victory of the Egyptian Sultān Ḳuṭuz at 'Ain Djalūt, they abandoned it. About two years later Baibars began to interfere in the affairs of the Ismāʿilis and to demand tribute from them. He very soon deposed the Master Naḡim al-Dīn Ismāʿil and appointed his son-in-law Ṣarīm al-Dīn Muḡarab in his place and took Maṣyād from him. When the latter returned there, Baibars had him seized and brought to Cairo, where he was thrown into prison. Naḡim al-Dīn was again recognised as Master for a brief period and then his son Shams al-Dīn, before the Sultān definitely incorporated Maṣyād in his kingdom in Raḡjab 668 (1270) (Abu 'l-Fida', in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 153; Muḡaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍl, *Gesch. d. Mamulūksultane*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv. 445; van Berchem, *J.A.* 1897, p. 465, note 2).

Maṣyād presumably at first belonged to the "royal province of fortunate conquests" the capital of which was Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, then to Ṭarābulus (after its capture in 688). It was later separated from this province and added to the *niyāba* of Dimashḡ to which it still belonged in the time of Ḳalkaṣhandī (*Ṣubḡ al-A'ṣḡā*, Cairo, iv. 113, 202, 235) about 814 (1412). Ḳhalīl al-Zāhirī (*Zubdat Kaṣḡf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 49) includes Maṣyād with Ḥamā (about 850) Under Egyptian rule the position of the lands of the Ismāʿilis with Maṣyād as capital was to some extent exceptional (Gaufroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 182, No. 3).

Abu 'l-Fida' (about 720 = 1320) described Maṣyād as an important town, with beautiful gardens through which streams flowed; it had a strong citadel and lay at the eastern base of the Djabal al-Lukkām (more accurately Djabal al-Sikkīn) about a *farsakh* north of Bārin and a day's journey west of Ḥamā (not Ḥims, as Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 507 erroneously says; Abu 'l-Fida', *Geogr.*, ed. Reinaud, p. 229 sq.). As a result of its high situation, it has a more temperate climate than the low ground on the Nahr al-ʿAṣī; the young Usāma

in 516 (1122—1123) brought to Maṣyād the wife and children of the emir of Shaizar, his uncle 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAsākir Sultān, from the heat of Shaizar which was causing the emir anxiety about their health (Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousāma*, p. 43).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through Maṣyād in 756 (1355) and al-Nābulusī in 1105 (1693—1694). The latter mentions that the governor of the town then was a certain Sulaimān of the tribe of Tanūkh. An inscription of Maṣyād of Ramaḡān 870 (April—May 1466) contains a decree about taxes of the Sultān al-Malik al-Zāhir Ḳhushḡadam (van Berchem-v. Oppenheim, *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, vii., p. 20, No. 23; No. 22 is perhaps of the same Malik al-Zāhir). Of a later date are two inscriptions of an emir Muṣṭafā b. Idrīs, one of the year 1203 (1788—1789) relating to the building of a well (*sabil*) (*op. cit.*, p. 21, No. 24), the other (No. 25) of 1208 (1793—1794) to the building of the house of the Ismāʿilī emirs.

The Ismāʿilis lived constantly in open or secret enmity with the Nuṣairis, although various tribes of the latter had offered their services to the Ismāʿilī Masters, for example as early as 724 (1324) to Rāṣḡid al-Dīn (Guyard, *Un grand maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin*, *J.A.*, p. 1877, p. 165; Dussaud, *Histoire et Religion des Nuṣairis*, p. 80). A number of Nuṣairis of the tribe of Raslān, whom the emir of Maṣyād had allowed to settle in the town under their Shaikh Maḡmūd, in 1808 murdered the emir, his son and about 300 Ismāʿilis and seized the town. The other inhabitants, who had sought refuge in flight, applied for protection to Yūsuf Pāshā, the governor of Damascus. He sent a punitive expedition of 4—5,000 men against the Nuṣairis; Maṣyād had to be surrendered by the Banī Raslān after three months' stubborn resistance and the fugitive Ismāʿilis returned to Maṣyād in 1810 (Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien*, p. 258). In 1812 Burckhardt estimated the population of Maṣyād at 250 Ismāʿilī and 30 Christian families. The population since then seems to have diminished still further. Burckhardt and Lammens found many houses in the town in ruins and large gardens within its walls. According to Burckhardt, the land east of the town is a desert moor, while in the north at the foot of the hills the citadel stands on a high steep rock; on the west side is a valley, in which the inhabitants grow wheat and oats. The town, which lies on the slope of a hill is about half an hour's walk, in circumference. Three older gates have been incorporated in the present more modern walls. The mosque is in ruins. The citadel has an outer wall from which the inner defences are reached by a vaulted passage (G. L. Bell, *Syria: The Desert and the Sown*, p. 218). The old citadel is for the most part destroyed; only a few buildings have been roughly restored and in parts are still inhabited.

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Ta'rif, Cairo 1312, p. 182: transl. by R. Hartmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx. [1916], p. 36, with note 11; *Kalkashandī*, *Subḥ al-Aṣḥā*, Cairo, iv. 113 [where in l. 13 the words *Hamā wa-* should be deleted, cf. l. 14]; al-Nābulusī, transl. v. Kremer, *S.B. Ak. Wien*, 1850, ii., p. 331; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 81, 352, 507; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 77, 182 sq.; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, p. 150 sqq.; German by Gesenius, p. 254 sq.; Quatremère, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, iv. 340, note c); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 822, 918, 922, 935, 967 sq., 972 sq.; E. G. Rey, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans le Nord de la Syrie* (1864—1865), in *Archives des missions scient. et litt.*, Ser. ii., iii., Paris 1866, p. 344; R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, p. 191, No. 715 (1193 A. D.); H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousāma*, Paris 1893, p. 8, 43, 281, 399 sq.; van Berchem, *Épigraphie des Assassins de Syrie*, in *J.A.*, Ser. ix., ix. [1897], p. 453—501; R. Dussaud, *Rev. archéol.*, 1897, i. 349; do., *Histoire et religion des Noṣairīs* (= *Bibl. de l'école des hautes études*, fasc. cxxix.), Paris 1900, p. 21, note 4, 23, 32, 80; do., *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 142 sq., 153, 187; H. Lammens, *Au pays des Noṣairīs*, in *R.O.C.*, v. [1900], p. 423—427; G. L. Bell, *Syria: The Desert and the Sown*, London 1907, p. 218 sq.; German transl. entitled: *Durch die Wüsten u. Kulturstätten Syriens*, Leipzig 1908, 21910, p. 211 sq.; M. v. Oppenheim, *Z.G. Erdk. Berl.*, xxxvi [1901], p. 74; do. and van Berchem, *Inscriften aus Syrien, Mesopot., Kleinasien*, 1913 (= *Beiträge z. Assyriol.*, VII/i.), p. 17—22; also the literature given under ASSASSINS. (E. HONIGMANN)

MAṬĀLĪ. [See MAṬĀLA.]

MATAMMĀ, a town in the Eastern Sūdān (province of Kassala, district of Gallabat). Matammā has a remarkable importance as a market on the Sūdāno-Ethiopic frontier near the route of the caravans between the Abyssinian region of Lake Ṭānā and Kharṭūm. Its economic value has greatly increased on account of the development of agriculture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān and the new survey of Lake Ṭānā as a possible reservoir of water to extend irrigation in the Sūdān and Egypt and by this means to increase and intensify the culture of the cotton which is the principal source of prosperity in those countries.

Matammā is famous in the recent history of Ethiopia because the Emperor (*Negusa Nagast*) Yoḥannes IV was defeated and killed in the neighbourhood of this town by the so-called Darāwīsh of the Sūdānese Mahdī, March 10, 1889 A. D. (1st *maggābit* 1881 of the Abyssinian era). The Emperor was preparing an expedition against Ṣhawā to oblige Menilek, King of that country, to recognise definitely his vassallage to the Ethiopian Crown. But, when he was informed that a corps of Darāwīsh had advanced as far as the frontier and that the zone of Lake Ṭānā with the ancient capital, Gondar, was menaced by the fanatic followers of the Mahdī, he came back to the Northern regions with his army, and met the Darāwīsh at Matammā. After a strenuous fight the Emperor Yoḥannes IV himself was killed and the Abyssinians were defeated.

The Darāwīsh cut the head of Yoḥannes and sent it to the Mahdī as a sign of their victory.

The battle of Matammā however had no greater value for the Mahdī's followers than a successful *razzia*: they retreated to the Sūdān after pillaging some neighbouring countries and did not occupy any territory of Ethiopia. On the contrary, Matammā caused the end of the Northern Abyssinian dynasties; and the southern region — the Ṣhawā kingdom — became the political centre of the Empire, when in the same year, 1889 A. D., King Menilek proclaimed himself Emperor (*Negusa Nagast*) as a descendant of the Salomonic dynasty.

The death of the Emperor Yoḥannes as a martyr during the battle against the Muslims, hereditary enemies of the Christian Abyssinians, has been celebrated in many songs and poems. The following is a very interesting example of the Abyssinian poetry in recent times:

"The Emperor Yoḥannes was a fool,
and we all despise him!

They said to him: "Reign in the middle of
the country!"

He answered: "I will be the keeper of the
frontier!"

The Emperor Yoḥannes was a liar!

He said: "I do not like drink".

And we have seen him drinking
a drink which causes the head to turn
around!"

(The last verses allude to the head of the Emperor sent to the Mahdī by the Darāwīsh).

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MAṬGHARA, the name of a Berber tribe belonging to the great family of the Butr; they were related to the Zanāta and brethren of the Maṭmāṭa, Kūmya, Lamāya, Ṣaddīna, Madyūna, Maghīla etc., with whom they form the racial group of the Banū Fātin. Like the other tribes belonging to this group, the Maṭghara originally came from Tripolitania: the most eastern members of the Maṭghara, however, known to al-Bakrī and Ibn Khaldūn were those who lived in the mountainous regions along the Mediterranean from Mil-yāna and Tenes to the north of Unjdja (port of Tābaḥrīt); those of the western part of this zone were allied with the Kūmya; their mountain rose not far from Nadrūma and the fortress of Tāwunt was on their territory.

Three sections had reached the western Maghrib as early as the eighth century and there formed an important bloc. These were:

1. The Maṭghara of Fās and the couloir of Tāzā; al-Bakrī observes that the source of the Wādī Fās was on their territory, in the region where Leo Africanus still mentions the *Sūḳ al-khamīs* of the Maṭghara "fifteen miles west of Fās".

2. The Maṭghara of the Middle Atlas in the Djabal Maṭghara which Ibn Khaldūn locates S.E. (*kīblī*) of Fās and which Leo Africanus says is five miles from Tāzā (to the south?). The reference then is to the mountain region now occupied by the Ait Wārāin; an important section of the latter, the Ait Djellidāsan, represents the Banū Gallidāsan

whom al-Bakrī gives as a section of the Matghara, settled near Tenes in Algeria. We still find among the Ait Wārāin several sections of the Imghilen who represent the Maghila, brethren of the old Matghara.

In al-Bakrī's time (vth = xith century) these two sections of the Matghara had as neighbours in the west, the Zawāgha of Fāzāz and of Tādla.

3. The Matghara of the oases of the Sahara settled in the region of Sidjilmāssa and in the town itself, in which they constitute the main element of the population, in the region of Figīg, in Tuwāt, Tāmanīt and as far away as Wallān (Ouallen).

At the beginning of the Arab conquest, the Matghara are represented by Ibn Khaldūn as settled and living in huts built of branches of trees (*khaṣāṣ*); those of the Sahara lived in fortified villages (*kuṣūr*) and devoted themselves to growing dates. In the time of Leo Africanus, the Matghara of the Central Atlas occupied about fifty large villages.

Like other peoples belonging to the group of the Banū Fātin, the Matghara took an active part in the events at the beginning of the Arab conquest and weakened themselves considerably in the fighting. As soon as they had become converted to Islām, a number of bodies of Matghara went over to Spain and settled there. Later, like their brethren, the Maṭmāṭa, they adopted the principles of the Ṣufriya; one of their chiefs, Maisara, provoked the famous schismatic rising of 740, which was the beginning in Morocco of the Baraghwāta heresy. In a list of the tribes which adopted this heretical teaching we find the Maṭmāṭa and Matghara of the Central Atlas, as well as the Banū Abī Naṣr, the modern Ait Bū-Nṣar, the eastern section of the Ait Wārāin.

With the rise of Idrīs, the chief of the Matghara, Bahlūl, declared himself at first a supporter of the caliph of Baghdād, Hārūn al-Rashīd, then rallied to the new dynasty. Later and down to the xvith century, the Matghara of the Central Atlas do not seem to have played any part in politics; they retained their independence at least. From the xvith century, they seem to have been supplanted on their territory by invaders from the south. As to the Matghara of the shore, settled in the region of Nadrūma, their alliance with the Kūmya gained them considerable political importance, when the latter became supporters of the Almohads. It was at this period that they built the fortress of Tāwunt. They then rallied to the Marinids but this brought upon them the wrath of the ruler of Tlemcen, the celebrated Yaghmurāsan, who finally crushed them.

Ibn Khaldūn uses the form *Madghara* instead of *Matghara*; in Moroccan texts of late date we also find *Madghara*.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī, *indices*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, transl. de Slane, i. 237—241; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, ii. 54 and 342; iii. 71 and 225. (G. S. COLIN)

MATHAL (A., pl. *amthāl*) is originally by etymology, like the Eth. *mesl*, *messālē*, Aram. *mathlā* and Hebrew *māshāl* (see O. Eissfeldt, *Der Maschal im Alten Testamente*, Beihefte zur Z.A.T.W., xxiv., Giessen 1913), simile, comparison; as popular sayings commonly appear in this form, the term was applied to them in general and thus obtained the general sense of proverb and popular saying. The fondness for similes and allusions,

which is common to all primitive cultures, survived among the Semites and especially among the Arabs with great tenacity and therefore plays an important part, even in the higher forms of literature. The simplest form of metaphor usually draws parallels between man and beast. Of a sleepless man, one says *bāta bi-lailati anḳada* (or *anḳadha*) "he spent the night like a hedgehog" (Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Madjma' al-Amthāl*, on the margin of Maidāni, Cairo 1310, i. 109, 15; *Lisān al-'Arab*, iv. 437) and with the downrightness beloved by the Arabs the good example and educative influence of a leader or father is described as *bāla ḥimārūn fa 'stabāla ahmiratan* or *bāla fādīrūn fa-bāla djafrūhu* (al-Maidāni, *Madjma' al-Amthāl*, Cairo 1310, i. 64, 65). The comparison to animals is also used to indicate veiled mockery of unpleasant social conditions as *al-bughāthū fi ardīnā yastansiru* "here among us the sparrow plays the falcon" (al-'Askarī, i. 193, 20). Such proverbs are sometimes developed into regular fables (see Brockelmann, *Fabel und Tiermärchen in der älteren arab. Litteratur, Islamica*, ii. 96—128). Among them we find much that is common to all nations, which it is hardly ever possible to trace back to a single source (cf. the discussion on the "goat and knife": *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 737 sqq.; xlvii. 86 sqq.), unless the origin is as well known as that of the two bulls from the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, which is given by al-'Askarī, i. 47, 16 sqq. and therefore 'Alī cannot have applied it to his relationship to 'Othmān.

But the circumstances of everyday life also provide material for similes which usually take the form *aṣ'atu min*, as in those which al-'Askarī and al-Maidāni quote at the end of each chapter of their collections of proverbs arranged in alphabetical order. Even quite banal happenings may pass into proverbs (*fa-ṣarat* or *dhaḥabat mathalan* or *ḍariba bihi 'l-mathal*, as so many Arabic stories end), like the story of Ku'ais of whom we know no more than that his aunt once gave him as a surety and never redeemed him (al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *al-Fākhīr*, ed. Storey, p. 24, N^o. 61); or the story of the poor woman selling butter of whom a rogue took advantage after inducing her to hold two skins of butter firmly together in her hands (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 70, N^o. 147). But the memory of important historical events is also perpetuated in proverbial sayings, like that of the fratricidal war between the Bakr and Taghlib provoked by Basūs (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 76, N^o. 157); al-Mufaḍḍal in his *al-Fākhīr*, p. 217—231, and al-Maidāni, ii. 38—47, therefore give the most notable battles of the Arabs in their lists of proverbs and proverbial allusions. Many incidents of the Muslim period have attained equal renown, like Mu'awiya's exclamation of joy on hearing that al-Ashtar had been poisoned (see above, i. 504; al-Maidāni, i. 8, 19) or the memory of the fine voice of the two singers of the bon vivant Caliph Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik (al-Maidāni, i. 137, 12). It is however not always epoch-making events that are handed down to posterity in this way, like the stormy night in the time of the Caliph al-Mahdī, which provoked him and his retinue to do such penance (al-Maidāni, i. 176, 12); or the story of the defeat and fall of the Khākān, apparently that chief of the Khuttal, whom Asad b. 'Abd Allāh conquered in the year 119 (737), which, according to Ṭabarī, ii. 1616, made a great sensation at the court of Hishām, while Mufaḍḍal in *al-Fākhīr*, p. 80, 11 sqq., refers it to the fighting

against the Khazars, but the historians record no event of the kind among them; or the story of Mu'awiya's ambassador to the Emperor of Byzantium (Ibn Kūtaiba, 'Uyūn, p. 238, and the proverb: 'Askarī, i. 76, 11 sqq.; Maidānī, ii. 72, 4). Such historical memories are frequently preserved in the form of allusions like the famous *ṣaḥīfat al-Mutalammis* and the *djazzā Sinimmār*. Many problems of this kind are of local origin, like the allusion to the two equally poor asses of the man from Hira (Maidānī, i. 72, 16) or to the Meccan dandy (Maidānī, i. 127, 11); such proverbial allusions are particularly numerous from Medīna (*ibid.*, i. 168, 6, 173, 20, 261, 18, 264, 2, 280, 25; 298, 1), but we also have them from Baṣra (*ibid.*, i. 145, 16 and 30; a parallel from Kūfa in Djāhiz, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, v. 153, 13), Kūfa (*ibid.*, i. 192, 15, as a nest of Shī'īs), Wāsiṭ (*ibid.*, i. 97, 6) and Ḥimṣ (*ibid.*, i. 190, 21). Men celebrated for particular qualities, as in other lands, are frequently commemorated among the Arabs in proverbial sayings, but the popular imagination very often invents the representative of such virtues; when Ḥatīm has to share the reputation for liberality with the Iyādī Ka'b b. Māmā and Harim b. Sinān ('Askarī, i. 223 sqq.; Maidānī, i. 123 sqq.), this is due to tribal rivalry. There are therefore various typical representatives of fidelity ('Askarī, ii. 251 sqq.; Maidānī, ii. 231 sqq.), of perspicacity (Maidānī, i. 219 sqq.), and also of stupidity (Dughā: *al-Fākhīr*, p. 24, N^o. 58; Maidānī, i. 147; Shawla: *al-Fākhīr*, p. 71, N^o. 148; Gothamites of Arabia, the people of al-Ḥadjar: Maidānī, i. 178, 19; Abū Ḡhabshān and others in Maidānī, i. 146 sqq., 150 sqq.); the best known is Djūḥā, around whom have crystallised the stories of a wandering rogue in the Adab literature (cf. Schwally, *Z.D.M.G.*, lvi. 237)¹), but we also have the Omayyad governor of the 'Irāq, Yūsuf b. 'Omar al-Thakafī (Maidānī, i. 99, 31). Memories of Penelope seem to have found their way to Arabia in completely perverted form ("stupidier than the woman who continually undid her weaving", which is found as early as Kūrān, xvi. 94; cf. 'Askarī, i. 283, 7; Maidānī, i. 172, 5) and of Sisyphus "greedier than he who turned the rock" (Maidānī, i. 297, 17), among the typical representatives of stupidity and greed respectively.

But among Arabic proverbs there are not a few the meaning and origin of which had already been quite forgotten at the time they were put on record, so that Arab writers invented all kinds of explanation for them from pseudo-history, with a particular fondness for the Amalekites; not infrequently a choice is given of several stories, as for the "naked warner" (Maidānī, i. 31, 20), "the gatherer of acacia shoots of the tribe of 'Anaza" (*ibid.*, i. 49, 21, 288, 17), "the repentance of al-Kusa'i" (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 74). We also find widely disseminated motives, as in the story of Khuzāfa which the Prophet is said to have told his wives (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 137, N^o. 280). In many cases the learned editors have gone so far as to invent stories because they passed over the simplest explanation as too easy. Thus the saying *ḥidā, ḥidā, warā'ākī bunduḳa* probably only means "Hawk, hawk, the ball (which was shot from the bow before the invention of fire-arms) is behind you",

which Abū 'Ubaida refers to a children's game; al-Kalbī and al-Sharkī however take *ḥidā* and *Bunduḳa* as names of South Arabian tribes who had fought with one another (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 38, N^o. 93). Similarly the same writers invent stories of the time of the Amalekites in which *Ḥimār* is a proper name to explain *tarakukhu djaufa ḥimārīn*, which al-Aṣma'ī rightly takes literally (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 12, N^o. 18).

The number of proverbs is naturally very large in which maxims of life, often very trivial, are laid down; they include some which owe their origin to social conditions in Arabia, like "assist thy brother whether he is right or wrong" (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 119, N^o. 259). They also include much that is the common property of all nations, the origin of which can rarely be demonstrated, as in the Arabic pendant to the definitely Roman *Res venit ad triarios* in al-'Askarī, ii. 32, 16. The subject can only be touched on here. To the references given by the writer in *Ostas. Zeitschrift*, viii. 66 sqq. we may add a few Arabic parallels to our proverbs: "Walls have ears" (Maidānī, i. 57, 21); "Speak of an angel and you hear his wings" (*ibid.*, p. 57); "Hammer and anvil" (*ibid.*, p. 58, 18); "A liar must have a good memory" (*ibid.*, i. 49, 13); "Festina lente" (*ibid.*, i. 87, 21); "Out of the frying-pan into the fire" (*ibid.*, ii. 25, 9); "To fall between two stools" (*ibid.*, ii. 64, 7); "To be on tenter-hooks" (ii. 74, 18); "Hoist with his own petard" (ii. 168, 11); "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" (*ḥuṣfārun fi 'l-kaffi ḥkairun min kurkiyīn fi 'l-djauwi*: al-Hamadḥānī, *Rasā'il*, Bairūt 1890, p. 44, 3).

Among sayings which are international in character those disseminated by religious communities occupy a special position. It is of course not an accident, but is quite in keeping with the importance, which is becoming more and more evident, of Christianity for the intellectual life of ancient Arabia, that New Testament sayings are common among Arabic proverbs, notably from the Sermon on the Mount, like Mt. 7,2 = Maidānī, ii. 67, 17; Mt. 7,15 = Maidānī, i. 192, 23; Mt. 7,16 = Maidānī, i. 34, 8, 336, 31; ii. 182, 4; 'Askarī, i. 68; Mt. 9,24 = Maidānī, ii. 113, 23; Mt. 17,3 = Maidānī, ii. 67, 26; Mt. 23,24 = Maidānī, ii. 259, 16; Gal. 6,7 = Maidānī, ii. 73, 12. On the other hand, except for a few echoes of Proverbs and Eccles. in which the origin is uncertain, the only one from the Old Testament is Maidānī, i. 228, 20, which looks like a quotation from Deut. 32,15. From Christian legend we have also the proverbial martyrdom of Djurdjus (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 256, N^o. 517) and the story of the Seven Sleepers which appears in various forms (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 109, 239; Maidānī, ii. 196, 14; Kālī, *Amālī*, i. 61; cf. *M. S. O. S.*, v. 228). On the other hand, of Old Testament figures we find only Noah once in a late proverb, probably native to Moṣul (Maidānī, ii. 250, 11). The Mandaean Creator-deity Fiṭaḥl must have gone into the proverb Maidānī, ii. 62 sq., from the verse of Ru'ba quoted there, to whom it was welcome, like other foreign matter, to give an appearance of learning (see Ahlwardt, *Der Diwan des Ru'ba*, xv.). Later tradition also associated with Luḳmān [q. v.], the wise hero of Arab antiquity, sayings attributed to Aḥīkar and common to many nations.

Although the proverb is from its nature anonymous, learned tradition often tries to find authors. Many proverbial sayings are therefore attributed

1) The *Nawādir Djūḥā al-Kubrā*, ed. Hikmet Bek Ṣharīf. Cairo 1346 (1928) are for the most part from the Turkish Naṣraddin.

to the Prophet and his Companions. The *Amthāl al-Nabī*, which circulated outside the canonical collections of Tradition were collected by Ibn Khallād al-Rāmhumuzī (*Fihrist*, p. 155) and Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī; al-Maidānī accuses the latter of being uncritical and quotes in his preface as an example of genuine Ḥadīth the parable of the good and bad companion in Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. Krehl, ii. 17). This does not prevent him however from putting in his collection a series of sayings of the Prophet, as his predecessors had done, and at the end of his book compiling a special chapter of them, which also includes sayings of the first Caliphs. Special popularity was always enjoyed — not only among Shīʿis — by sayings attributed to ʿAlī. Ibn Kūtaiba in his *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, in the fifth book, *K. al-ʿIlm wa-l-Bayān* (cod. Köpr., fol. 155b), already uses a collection of this kind, such as was current in various recensions (anonymous in *al-Tuhfa al-bahīya*, Stambul 1302, p. 107—114), e.g. in alphabetical order by ʿAbd al-Wahid b. Muḥammad al-ʿAmidī, about 510 (1116), entitled *Ghurur al-Hikam wa-Durar al-Kalim*, lith. Bombay 1280 and also edited in Persian and Turkish (s. i. 299, and also W. Yule, *Apophthegms of Alee the son of Aboo Talib* [*Maṭlūb kull Ṭalīb*] with an early Persian paraphrase and an Engl. translation, Edinburgh 1832; *Sad Kalimāʾi Maw-lāʾi Muttakiyān Amir al-Muʾminin*, Ṭeherān 1304; *Nāṭh al-Laʿālī*, the second coll. in Fleischer, with Turk. paraphrase by Muʿallim Nādjī entitled *Amthāl ʿAlī*, Stambul 1313, with Turk. comm. by Nasib entitled *Rishatī ʿDjāwāhir*, Stambul 1257).

Numerous also are the proverbs which have a metrical form, while it is impossible to say whether the poets, in whose *Diwāns* they are, originated the idea or only gave it its form. Al-Sukkārī (*Fihrist*, p. 78) and ʿUyaina b. al-Minhāl (*ibid.*, p. 48, 108) collected such *abyāt sʿira*. A fine collection has been made by al-Ibshihī in the *Kitāb al-Mustatraf*, Cairo 1320, i. 27 sqq. Among such metrical sayings are some by the greatest poets of the pagan period like Ṭarafa (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 254, 509; al-Maidānī, i. 161), Imraʾal-kais (ʿAskarī, i. 255 = Maidānī, i. 133), Lebīd (ʿAskarī, i. 37) and by later poets like al-Farazdaq (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 250, N^o. 496; al-ʿAskarī, ii. 46) and Muṭʿ b. Iyās, whose two palms of Hulwān (ʿAskarī, i. 297, 452; Maidānī, i. 297) are famous. From a misunderstanding of a verse of Farazdaq's in which the way to ʿUnṣulain is mentioned (Maidānī, i. 38; quoted by Yāqūt, iii. 736), this verse became typical of taking the wrong way. Al-Mutanabbī's verses that have passed into the language have been collected by Ismāʿīl al-Ṭalākānī, d. 385 = 995 (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vi. 501—518; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʾāt*, p. 35), in *al-Amthāl al-sʿira min Shʿir al-Mutanabbī* (*Fihrist*, Cairo², iii. 23).

Proverbs excited the interest of the learned from the very beginning of Arabic literature; historians and philologists emulated one another in collecting and explaining them. Thus we find among the sources of the works that have survived to us the old historians and genealogists like al-Sharkī b. al-Kuṭāmi (Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, N^o. 23) and ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam (*ibid.*, N^o. 27) and Abū ʿI-Yaḳ-zān (*ibid.*, p. 36; *al-Fākhīr*, p. 253), the two former very often as authorities for Hishām b. al-Kalbī, to whom with the great monographist Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (Wüstenfeld, N^o. 59), Zubair b. Bekkār (*ibid.*, p. 61) and al-Madāʾinī (*ibid.*, p. 47), we owe

most of the legendary and historical material. Almost all the philologists of note have devoted special works to the subject. To their interest in language is to be ascribed the fact that the limits of the scope of the subject are extended to include phrases and idioms which have really nothing to do with the proverb and, as for example *laʿanahu ʿllāhu* (*al-Fākhīr*, p. 7), do not seem to require explanation; but we owe, for example, to al-Mufaḍḍal the interesting note that it had become a habit with some Syrian Arabs to use the Greek φησιν, “says he”. The oldest work of the kind that has survived is the *Kitāb al-Amthāl* of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbī († 170 = 786), pr. Stambul 1300. The next oldest, that of Abū ʿUbad al-Kāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī (d. about 223 = 837), is preserved in a number of Stambul MSS. (s. Rescher, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxiv. 517, N^o. 43; *M.S.O.S.As.*, xiv. 6; *M.O.*, vii. 123), and in the Escorial (Derenbourg, Lévi-Provençal, N^o. 1757), also the commentary by ʿAbd Allāh al-Bakrī (d. 487 = 1094), *ibid.*, N^o. 526 and Lāleli, N^o. 1795; printed as N^o. 1 of the *al-Tuhfa al-bahīya*, Stambul 1302, p. 2—16; on the other hand, the work dealt with by E. Bertheau in his Diss., Göttingen 1836 (s. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, iii., vii.—xi.) is much more recent. The *Kitāb al-Fākhīr* of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, a pupil of Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231), has been edited by C. A. Storey for the “De Goeje Foundation”, Leyden 1915. The specially numerous proverbs of the form *afaʿu min* were collected by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. between 450—460 = 960—970) in a work which only survives in a unique MS. in Munich (see Mittwoch, in *M.S.O.S.As.*, 1909, p. 33 sqq.), which was much used by later writers, and copied word for word by al-Maidānī for the corresponding section of his book. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 395 = 1005) compiled the *Djāmarat al-Amthāl*, extant in several MSS. in Stambul (see Rescher, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxiv. 513; *M.F.O.B.*, v. 501; *M.S.O.S.As.*, xiv. 36) and printed at Bombay in 1306—1307 as well as on the margin of Maidānī (Cairo 1310), in which an attempt was made for the first time to annotate each proverb from the philological and historical point of view, excluding all post-classical material, to which Ḥamza had allotted considerable space. Al-Maidānī [q.v.] collected the material compiled by his predecessors in his *Madjmaʿ al-Amthāl* and expanded each section by an appendix on modern proverbs. This has since then been regarded as the standard work on the subject and not even Zamakhsharī's *Kitāb al-Mustakṣā fi ʿl-Amthāl*, although also much read (to the MSS. mentioned in *G.A.L.*, i. 292, xiv. may now be added the following in Stambul, *M.S.O.S.As.*, xiv. 15; *R.S.O.*, iv. 708; *M.O.*, vii. 97, 102, 123; also Agha, N^o. 991; Dāmādzāde, N^o. 1557; Scutari, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxviii. 58; Brussa, *ibid.*, p. 50; Mōṣul, Dāwūd, *al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Mawṣūʿiyya*, p. 329, 37, Cairo; *Fihrist*², iii. 355), could according to Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, N^o. 11421, permanently affect its popularity. Al-Māwardī's [q.v.] book, like the different collections of sentiments made by al-Zamakhsharī, was from the first intended to deal rather with the literature than with the language of the people.

It was not till the ninth century that interest in the east was again aroused in proverbs under the influence of European scholarship. Almost all works on modern Arabic dialects contain collections of proverbs (cf. the lists which could of

course now be very much extended in A. Fischer, *M.S.O.S. As.*, i. 198—199 and E. Littmann, *Arabic Proverbs collected by Mrs. A. P. Singer*, Cairo 1913, p. ix.; in addition to the works by modern Orientals there quoted we may mention: Ibrāhīm Sarkīs Lubnānī, *al-Durra al-yatima fi 'l-Amthāl al-kadīma*, Bairūt 1871; Mahmūd Ef. 'Omar al-Bādjūrī, *Kitāb Amthāl al-mutakallimīn min 'Awāmm al-Miṣrīyīn (alladhī kaddamahu fi 'l-Mu'tamar al-'ilmī al-thāmin bi-Bilād al-Su'ūd wa 'l-Norwēdjī min Mamālik 'Urūbā Sanat 1889 mil.)*, Cairo 1311; Ṭāhir b. Šāliḥ al-Djaza'iri (cf. M. Kurd 'Alī, in *R.A.A.D.*, viii. 576—596, 666—679), *Ashḥar al-Amthāl*, Cairo 1338; cf. O. Rescher, *Ethnologisches im arabischen Sprichwort*, *Isl.*, ii. 98—101; iii. 178.

Bibliography: in the article and T. A. Stephens and W. Bonser, *Proverb Literature*, London 1930, p. 355—370 and 395—399.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-MATHĀNĪ, a term of uncertain meaning which occurs twice in the Qur'an, namely in Sūra xv. 87: "and we have brought thee seven of the *mathānī* and the noble Qur'an", and Sūra xxxix. 24: "Allah sent down the most beautiful recital, a book which is in harmony with itself, *mathānī*, at which the skin of those who fear their Lord creeps".

The interpretation of the word is made more difficult by the fact that in the latter passage it seems to mean the Qur'an itself, in the former, on the other hand, something similar to the Qur'an.

In Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, xiv. 32 sqq.; cf. xxiii. 124 sq.) we find the following opinions:

a. Mūsā was given six out of the seven *mathānī*; two were lost when he broke the tablets. The seven *mathānī* are like seven long sūras, i. e. ii.—vii. and a seventh, on the identity of which there is a difference of opinion; it is either Sūra x. or viii. and ix. combined.

b. The seven *mathānī* mean the *Fātiḥa* which contains six verses. These with the *basmala* in the beginning make seven. It is called the *mathānī*, i. e. repetitions, because it is repeated in the ṣalāt's at each *ra'ka*. This explanation is supported by quoting the term *mutashābih* ("in harmony with itself") which immediately precedes the word *mathānī* in Sūra xxxix. 24.

c. The *mathānī* means the Qur'an in general. Ḥadīth hesitates among these interpretations a. (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra ix., trad. 1; cf. Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 106) and b. (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra i., bāb 1; Sūra xv., bāb 3; *Faḍā'il al-Kur'an*, bāb 9; Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xv., trad. 3, 4; Nasā'ī *Iftitāḥ*, bāb 26).

Nor is there any unanimity in explaining the form *mathānī*. Baidāwī on Sūra xxxix. 24 gives as the singular *muṭhannan*, *muṭhnan* or *muṭhnan*. Zamakhsharī gives *mathnā*. The latter form is found in the Qur'an (Sūra iv. 3; xxxiv. 45; xxxv. 1) and in Ḥadīth (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 84; *Witr*, bāb i.; *Tahajjud*, bāb 10; Muslim, *Musāfirin*, trad. 145—148; Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 206 etc.) as a distributive, meaning "occurring in pairs". This meaning however would not be at all suitable for *mathānī*.

Geiger (*Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, p. 57 sq.) has already compared the Hebrew *mishnā* (Aram: *mathnithā*). According to him then *mathānī* would mean the Qur'an itself as a whole. His suggestion is approved by Nöldeke-Schwally (*Geschichte des Qorāns*, p. 114

sq.). Attention might further be called to the fact that *mishnā* means a single law as well as the whole codex and from this could be derived the double meaning of *mathānī* (separate verses and the whole Qur'an), a derivation which could be supported by the parallel double meaning of the word Qur'an (single revelation and all revelation as a whole).

Sprenger (*Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, Berlin 1861, i. 463 sq.) explains the word from the Hebrew *shānā* "to repeat" and the conception from Sūra xxxix. 24, from which it would appear that the *mathānī* are part of the stories of punishment. This view has been adopted by D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, i. 43, 46, note 2; H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii. 77; N. Rhodokanakis, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xxv. 66 sq.; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 26 sq. This would imply that, at least when Sūra xv. 87 was revealed, there were seven of these legends of punishment.

Early evidence of the use of the word outside of the Qur'an is found in a poem of Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī (text and transl. by Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xviii. 236 sq.; cf. thereon Bevan, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, p. 584 sq.; Horovitz, *op. cit.*). Here the *mathānī* are mentioned along with the *Mūna*, "the seven versed" along with the "hundred versed" sūras of the Qur'an. The exact content of these groups is unknown.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that Goldziher (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxi. 866 sqq.) has called attention to a term *mathnāt*, which occurs in non-canonical tradition and is obviously a new formation modelled on the Hebrew *mishnā*.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article: Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 26; Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī, *Mafāṭīḥ al-Ghaib*, iv. 110—112; al-Suyūfī, *Itkān*, p. 124; Lisān al-'Arab, xviii. 127 sqq.; Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. *mathnan*.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MATHNAWĪ, a form of poetry in which each *bait* (verse) is normally a self-contained whole, grammatically complete and with the two *miṣrā's* (hemistichs) rhyming with one another and not — except accidentally — with the verses that follow. In Persian, Turkish, Turkī and Urdu, poetic compositions of any length dealing with epic, romantic, ethical or didactic themes are of the *mathnawī* form, which probably originated in Persia. Dawlatshāh (ed. E. G. Browne, p. 29) relates a tradition that in the time of the Dailamite 'Aḍud al-Dawla (d. 372 = 982) there was still to be found inscribed on the palace at Kaṣr-i Shīrīn a *bait* in "Old Persian" having the two hemistichs rhyming. There would appear to be no pre-Islāmic Pahlawī verse of the kind extant, and the *mathnawī* form may be merely a development or expansion of the *maṭla'* of the *qaṣida* or *ghazal*. However that may be, in the oldest fragments of Muslim Persian literature that have come down to us, there are examples of the *mathnawī* as of the other forms of verse. Of these fragments the oldest belong to the work of Abū Shukūr of Balkh, who is said, probably on that account, to have invented the *genre*. They appear to be parts of a series of narrative *mathnawīs* (cf. Asadi's *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. P. Horn, p. 29 of the Persian, and also p. 22 sq.). Alongside of them are to be found sufficient portions of the work of Rūdāgī (a later contemporary of his), to indicate that he also used the same form

for a translation of the *Kalila u-Dimna* (Asadi, *op. cit.*, p. 19 *sqq.* and Dawlatshāh, p. 31). There is also a couplet in the *hasadī* metre indicating an erotic mathnawī (Asadi, p. 48; cf. Ethé, *Rudagi*, in *N. G. W. Gött.*, 1873, p. 735 *sqq.*).

The first complete poem that has survived of the *genre* is the *Shāh-nāma*, begun by Daḳīqī and completed by Firdawsī. Actually, apart from the arrangement of the rhyme, it is not of the regular mathnawī type. More characteristic is Firdawsī's *Yūsuf u-Zalikhā*, composed in the same metre (the *mutakārib*). It begins with a number of introductory sections of which the first is in praise of Allāh and the rest are headed respectively, "In praise of the Prophet", "In description of the king of Islām", "On the cause of the revelation of the Sūra of Joseph", "On the reason for setting down this narrative", etc. Then comes the story proper, commencing with the description of Jacob's working for Rachel and pursuing its way through the various episodes of Joseph's career until he becomes treasurer to the house of the vizier Potiphar, whose wife Zalikhā falls in love with the youth. When he refuses her advances she denounces him for wizardry to her husband. Here is introduced the often illustrated incident of the Egyptian ladies who, at a feast to which they had been invited by Zalikhā, catch sight of Joseph and are so astounded by his beauty that, without being conscious of what they are doing, they peel the skin from their hands instead of keeping their knives for their oranges. Then comes the account of the imprisonment of Joseph, the events that lead to his release and exaltation, the confusion of the wicked brethren, the repentance of Zalikhā, her rejuvenescence and marriage to Joseph, and the death of Jacob.

A contemporary of Firdawsī's, 'Unṣurī, is credited with a mathnawī romance which has not survived: *Wāmīk u-Adhrā*. What purports to be a version of the story is given in a Turkish mathnawī by Lāmi'ī (d. 940 = 1533), according to which, Wāmīk, a priest in a fire-temple, is described as having fallen in love with Adhrā, a maiden devoted to the cult. They are forced to part; Adhrā going to the frozen regions of the North and Wāmīk to the torrid lands of Ethiopia. They pine away in separation, and dying are turned into stars. The maiden becomes *Virgo* holding *Spica* in her hand, while Wāmīk becomes *Arcturus*. The story bears marks of being of Pahlawī origin, the Arabic names being only translations.

Of mathnawīs which have survived there follow chronologically two works of Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, namely the *Rawṣhanā'ī-nāma* and the *Sa'ādāt-nāma*, two ethico-didactic poems written in the *hasadī* metre. After them in time is usually put the romance of *Wis u-Rāmīn*, ascribed by 'Awfī to Fakhr al-Din Gurgānī (d. 440 = 1048), who is said to have derived it from the Pahlawī. In the version which has come down to us (ed. W. N. Lees, Calcutta 1865), we have a tale of passion unrestrained, which Pizzi (*Poesia Persiana*, ii. 88) characterizes as a vulgar product of India in Akbar's time. In the tale, Wis or Wisa, the wife of Mōbad, king of Merw, has for her paramour her husband's brother Rām or Rāmīn, who proves unfaithful to her but in the end marries her after Mōbad has been killed. If the work is genuine, it marks a step in the differentiation of the romantic from the epic mathnawī, being composed in the *hasadī* and

not the *mutakārib* metre which had hitherto been common to both.

The true creator of the romantic mathnawī is Nizāmī of Gandja, who, after beginning with the composition in that form entitled the *Makḥzan al-Asrār* — a collection of ethical and religious maxims interspersed with anecdotes, — wrote in succession the four other works which form his *Khamsa* or *Pandj Gandj*. This quintet provided the model for all subsequent mathnawī writers. Strictly speaking, only the second, third and fourth of them are romances; namely (a), the *Khusrāw u-Shirin*, the story of the love of the Sāsānian prince Khusrāw Parwiz for the Christian princess Shirin, who is also loved by the mighty builder and engineer Farhād, and of the latter's betrayal and tragic end; (b), the *Lailā u-Madjnūn*, the scene of which is laid in the desert and which shows the two lovers prevented from union by the hatred of their families for one another; and (c), the *Haft Paikar*, which has Bahram Gūr as its hero and consists of seven tales, each told to the king by one of his seven favourite wives. The *Sikandar-nāma*, which forms the fifth of the group, treats of the life of Alexander in epic style, but with a mystical touch in the later passages which makes him a prophet as well as a conqueror. Each of the five mathnawīs is prefaced by introductory sections similar to those in Firdawsī's *Yūsuf u-Zalikhā*, with the necessary changes for the names of patrons etc. and with a further section headed "On the *mī'rādī* of the Prophet" added in the works which follow the *Khusrāw u-Shirin*. Every imitator of Nizāmī's mathnawīs copies him in this respect as in others, so that even the xviii century Judaeo-Persian *Daniāl-nāma* (by Khwādja Bukhārī, British Museum, MS. Or. 4743) has this introductory matter, though Moses is substituted for Muḥammad in the section devoted to the Prophet.

The chief imitators of Nizāmī are, in Persian, Djāmī; in Turkish, Shaikhī with his *Khusrāw u-Shirin* and Fuḍūlī with his *Lailī u-Madjnūn*; in Turkī, Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī with his *Khamsa*; and in Urdu, Amīn with a *Yūsuf u-Zalikhā*, Tadjallī with a *Lailā u-Madjnūn*, etc. (cf. G. de Tassy, *Auteurs Hindoustanis*, Paris 1885, p. 30 *sqq.*).

The Mathnawī *par excellence*, i.e. the *Mathnawī-i Ma'nawī* of Djalāl al-Din Rūmī, is in a class by itself, being a long medley of the doctrines of Sūfism combined with parables, allegories, and pseudo-historical narratives. It is without the preliminary sections characteristic of the romantic mathnawī.

Arabic contains no poems of the mathnawī *genre*, but poems having the two *mī'rā's* of each *bait* rhyming together independently of the rest are known. The arrangement of the rhyme is known as *mudawwiḍja*. Short specimens translated from Persian are quoted in Tha'libī's *Yatimat al-Dahr* (iv. 23), and there are longer compositions, metrical grammars, by Hariri (*Mulḥat al-I'rāb*) and by Muḥammad b. Mālik (*Kitāb al-Alfiya*) (for both of which see de Sacy, *Anthologie Arabe*, p. 134 *sqq.* and 145 *sqq.* of the Arabic text and p. 325, 356 of the notes).

The metres normally associated with the *mathnawī* form are those used by the masters in their compositions; *viz.*, in addition to those mentioned above, the *sarī* and *khafīf* used by Nizāmī for *Makḥzan al-Asrār* and the *Haft Paikar* respectively;

and the *ramal*, used by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in his *Mathnawī* and by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār in the *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr*.

Bibliography: in addition to the works quoted above, cf. Ethé, in the *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*; F. Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetic und Rhetorik der Perser*, ed. W. Pertsch, Gotha 1874; E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*; and Agha Aḥmad 'Alī, *Haft Āsmān* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), Calcutta 1873.

(R. LEVY)

MATHURĀ, name of a city, situated in $27^{\circ} 31'$ N. latitude and $77^{\circ} 41'$ E. longitude, and of a district of the same name in Northern India. The site of the city was of importance in the Buddhist period, as is proved by the numerous inscriptions and pieces of sculpture that have been found there. In later Hindu times it attained sanctity as the reputed birthplace of the god Kṛṣṇa and the temples erected there acquired great wealth and reputation. In 1017 Maḥmūd of Ghazna [q.v.] captured the city and levelled all the temples to the ground; there is no further record of the city until the reign of Sikandar Lodi, Sulṭān of Dihli (1488–1516), who destroyed all the temples that existed in Mathurā in his time. The city was practically refounded in the reign of Akbar, who visited the sacred site and gave permission for the erection of four temples, the ruins of which still exist. In 1669 Awrangzēb destroyed a vast temple that had been built in the reign of Dījahāngir and changed the name of Mathurā to Islāmābād, but like many other Muḥammadan designations of towns in India it failed to displace the original name of the city. With the break-up of the Mughal empire after the death of Awrangzēb, Mathurā suffered from the political confusion in which all the country between Dihli and Āgra was involved, and at one time or another passed into the hands of the Dījāts, the Marathas and finally the British.

In the centre of the modern city stands the mosque erected in 1661 by 'Abd al-Nabī Khān, who was appointed governor of Mathurā by Awrangzēb in 1659. The Muslims number 13,475 out of a total population of 56,666 (in 1921).

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(T. W. HAIG)

AL-MATĪN. [See ALLĀH.]

MATLA', MATĀLĪ', ascension. Two kinds of ascension are distinguished:

1. Ascension in the sphaera recta *R*. — Modern astronomers use the expression right ascension for all points of the heavens; the older astronomers only for those of the ecliptic. The right ascension *R* is found by drawing a circle of declination

which is perpendicular to the equator through the corresponding points of the ecliptic. With us and as a rule with the Arabs the right ascension of the arc of the equator is between the beginning of Aries, the vernal equinox and the intersection of the circle of declination with the equator. Many Arab astronomers calculate the ascension *R'* from the beginning of Capricorn; then $R' + 90^{\circ}$ gives the degree of the equator which rises at the time at which the corresponding degree of the ecliptic culminates. The ascertainment of this is, according to Suter, of importance for certain astrological purposes. If in fig. 1, the point *A* or the star *S* of the ecliptic rises above the horizon, the point *B* of the equator, the poles of which are *P* and *P'*, rises at the same time; γB is therefore the ascension of the arc γA of the ecliptic in the sphaera recta.

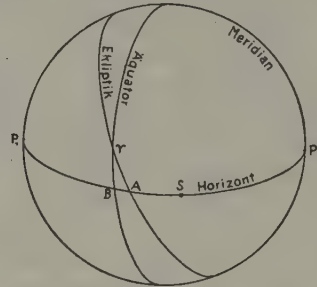


Fig. 1

One also talks of the ascension of a sign of the zodiac; it is the arc of the equator which rises contemporaneously with the 30° of this sign. The longitude of the ascension generally varies with the different signs, but from time to time is the same for those which are similarly situated at the beginning of Aries or of Libra, and for those which are at the beginning of Capricorn or of Cancer.

The *maṭālī'* in the sphaera recta are therefore so important (for astronomical purposes also) because in stereographic projection they give the curves corresponding to the degrees of the ecliptic, according to which the ecliptic, which is projected as a circle, is to be divided on the astrolabe.

Tables for the right ascensions have been prepared by numerous Muslim scholars, e. g. by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, al-Battānī, al-Birūnī etc.

If the point being observed does not lie on the ecliptic, the *maṭālī'* are those of the degrees of the equator, which run at the same time as the star through the centre of the heavens i. e. the upper meridian (*tatarwassaf*), quite in keeping with the modern definition.

The ascension in the sphaera recta is called *maṭālī'* (often with the addition of *al-burūdī* = the sign of the zodiac): *fi 'l-Falak al-mustaḥim* (M. in the sphaera recta); *M. li 'l-Burūdī fi 'l-Khaṭṭ al-Istiṭwā'*; *M. al-Burūdī bi-Khaṭṭ al-Istiṭwā'*; *M. fi Mawḍi' Khatt al-Istiṭwā'*; *M. al-Kura al-mustaḥima*; *M. al-Kura al-muntaḥiba* or *fi 'l-Kura* etc.; *M. al-istiṭwā'iya* and *al-falakiya*.

If one calculates from the degree of Capricorn, the right ascension is also called *maṭālī'* *al-ḥubba* (i. e. *Ḳubbat al-Ard*, "M. of the dome", namely of the dome of the earth).

2. The ascensio obliqua (fig. 2) of a point *A* in the ecliptic at any point is the curve γB of the equator the poles of which are *P* and *P'*, between the beginning of Aries and the horizon

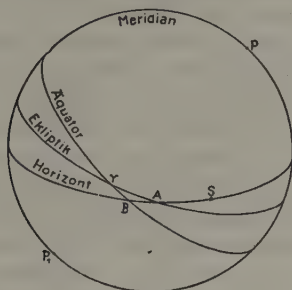


Fig. 2

at the moment in which this point rises (for any particular star *S* substitute "star" for "point of the ecliptic"; it is often also made to begin at Capricorn).

Tables for the ascensio obliqua can only be given for particular places as they differ from place to place. The ascensio obliqua however can easily be calculated from the ascensio recta.

The ascensio obliqua is called: *Maṭālī' al-Balad*, *M. al-Buldān*, *M. al-Iḳlīm* (of the clime), *M. fi 'l-Balad*, *M. fi 'l-Iḳlīm*, *M. al-baladiya*, *M. al-uḳbiya*, *M. fi 'l-Aḫḫāk al-mā'ila*, *M. al-Burūdī fi 'l-Kura al-mā'ila*, *M. al-Shurūḫ*. We may also note the terms *M. al-Naḡīr* and *M. al-Waḳṭ*.

Ascensio recta might perhaps be translated direct or spherical ascension and ascensio obliqua by local ascension.

Arab astronomers, following Ptolemy, have proposed the following formulae for the ascensio obliqua. If ϵ is the plane of the ecliptic, δ the declination of the point *A* on the ecliptic, a_1 its right ascension and r the number of parts (usually 60) into which the radius is divided (with the later Arabs and modern astronomers $r = 1$) then according to al-Kh̲wārizmī and al-Battānī, we have:

$$\sin a_1 - \frac{\sin \delta \cdot \cos \epsilon}{\cos \delta \cdot \sin \epsilon} \cdot r = \text{tg ctg}.$$

The ascensio obliqua a_2 is for the latitude ϕ
 $a_2 = \text{ascensio recta } (a_1) + \text{arc } \left(\frac{\sin \phi \cdot \sin \delta}{\cos \phi \cdot \cos \delta} \right) =$
 $a_1 \pm \arcsin (\text{tg } \phi \text{ tg } \delta)$. At the same time it is to be observed that al-Kh̲wārizmī (d. about 850) and al-Battānī, who published his book before 900, give the formula with sine and cosine, while Ḥabash al-Ḥasib, who made his observations between 825 and 835, uses tangents and cotangents.

To ascertain the ascension, the above formulae are used if tables are not available. But one can also use one of the many apparatus which are made for the mechanical solution of such problems. The simplest of these is the armillary sphere (see Nolte quoted in KURA) and the globe with the arm (see Schnell quoted in KURA) as in both cases the heavens can be used as the largest circles. There are also the monographic methods, in which projections of the sphere of heavens are used, as in the astrolabe (s. J. Frank, *Die Verwendung des Astrolabs nach al-Kh̲wārizmī*, *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft*, etc., Heft iii., 1922), the universal plane, the Zarkālī plane (see an article to be published later by Mittelberger), Werner's

meteoroscope (Joannis Vernerī de Meteoroscopis, publ. by J. Wüschmidt, *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. d. Mathematik*, Heft xxiv/ii., 1913) and the *muḳanṭara* quadrants. On the sine quadrants, the system of lines which enable the sine and cosine to be read off, the above formulae can be obtained with the help of the latter (on the quadrants see P. Schmalzl, *Zur Geschichte des Quadranten bei den Arabern*, Munich 1929).

Along with the *maṭālī'*, the *maghārib* also were ascertained. If one is observing, not the rising but the setting points, the corresponding curves are called *maghārib* (a table for the latter is given by al-Birūnī in the *Mas'ūdī Canon*).

Addendum. Among the Greeks and Arabs and European astronomers of the xiiith-xvth century σφαῖρα means: 1. the globe or geometrical sphere; 2. the space between two surfaces of two concentric spheres, a shell of a sphere; 3. the circle which corresponds to the assumed path of a heavenly body, i. e. the ecliptic, the epicyclus, the eccentric circles. — The Arabic *kura* has only the first meaning, the word *falak* the second and third, the second in the theory of Ibn al-Haitham (see al-Kharakī). The *sphaera recta*, *al-falak al-mustaḫīm* is the sphere of the heavens, i. e. for the inhabitants of the equator; in the Latin translation of the tables of al-Kh̲wārizmī (table 59) it is said of the ascension in the *sphaera recta* "horoscopus secundum terram Arin" (Arin is a corruption of Azin-Uḏjain = Ujjayini in Sanskrit, which was erroneously taken to be the *ḫubbat al-arḍ*, dome of the earth, the centre of the equator and of the inhabited world). At all places which do not lie on the equator, there is a *sphaera obliqua* so that these are innumerable.

Bibliography: Ptolemy, *Almagest*, ed. Heiberg, *passim*; al-Battānī *Opus astronomicum* etc., ed. C. A. Nallino; H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muhammed Ibn Mūsā al-Kh̲wārizmī* etc. [cf. also AL-KH̲WĀRIZMĪ] and numerous works on astronomy. — (I am much indebted to Prof. Nallino for a number of suggestions). (E. WIEDEMANN)

MAṬMĀṬA, the name of a Berber tribe, belonging to the large family of the Butr, and brethren of the Maṭghara, Kūmya, Lamāya, Ṣad-dīna, Madyūna, Maḡhila, etc. They formed with them the ethnic group of the Banū Fātin who, like all the other Butr, seem to have had their original home in Tripolitania.

Our chief source of information about the Maṭmāṭa are al-Bakrī and Ibn Khaldūn. As with the majority of the Butr Berbers, three principal divisions can be distinguished:

1. Elements settled in the eastern Maḡrib not far from their original home: these are the modern Maṭmāṭa in Southern Tunisia, some 30 miles S.W. of Gābes.

2. Elements which have settled in the Central Maḡrib: first in the plateaus of the Sersū, in the N. E. of Mindās; then having been driven out of this territory by the Zanāta Banū Tūdjīn, they sought refuge in the mountainous massif of Wānsharis (the modern Ouarsénis).

3. Elements which have migrated as far as Morocco. In the fourth (tenth) century we find them in the country of the modern Kabdāna (to the S. E. of Melilla) and in the upper valley of the Moluya at Amaskūr. Ibn Khaldūn also mentions a little isolated group settled on the mountain

which bears their name between Fās and Ṣufrūy; there must also have been some of them in the couloir of Taza for a place between Fās and Taza still bears their name. Finally we owe to al-Idrisī the record of the most western body: the Maṭmāṭa of Tāmasnā.

The Maṭmāṭa played a fairly important part in the early centuries of Islām. Those of the central Maghrib had adopted Abādī doctrines; being conquered by the Ṣanhādja and Zanāta, many of them migrated to Spain. The most famous member of this people was Ṣābiḳ b. Sulaimān, the famous Berber genealogist, so frequently quoted by Ibn Khaldūn.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī and al-Idrisī, *Indices*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 246—248. (G. S. COLIN)

MATN (A.), a term with different meanings (cf. the lexica, s.v.), of which that of text, especially that of the text of a tradition, deserves to be mentioned here.

Matn occurs in the sense of text already in pre-Islāmic poetry and is used in this sense in Arabic literature up to the present day. It denotes especially the text of a book as distinguished from its oral explanation or its written or printed commentary.

In connection with traditions matn denotes the contents as distinguished from the chain of traditionists who handed it down (*isnād*).

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 6 sqq. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MAṬRAḤ, a town on the Gulf of 'Omān, two miles west of Maṣkaṭ on the east coast of Arabia. The town, which has about 14,000 inhabitants, is the starting-point for caravan traffic into the interior of Arabia and, next to Maṣkaṭ, the most important commercial centre in 'Omān. The town is beautifully situated in fertile surroundings, has a good harbour, easily entered but little sheltered, from which Maṣkaṭ can be reached in an hour by boat. The sultāns of 'Omān used to have wharves for shipbuilding here and the textile industry was not unimportant (spinning and weaving). A fort built by the Portuguese still stands as a memorial of their rule in 'Omān. According to Wellsted, the town used to have 20,000 inhabitants.

Bibliography: C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 297; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, viii/1, Berlin 1846, p. 518—520; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 106; Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 68 sq.; *Muscat. Report for the year 1912—1913 on the Trade of Muscat*, Ed. at the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, London 1913, p. 3 sq. (No. 5198 Annual Series, Diplomatic and Consular Reports).

(A. GROHMANN)

MĀTURIDĪ, ABŪ MANṢŪR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-MUTAKALLIM AL-MĀTURIDĪ AL-SAMARKANDĪ is the titular head of the Māturidite School of theology which, with the Aṣḥ'arite School, form orthodox Sunni Islām. The two Schools are equally orthodox, but there has always been a tendency to suppress al-Māturidī's name and to put al-Aṣḥ'arī forward as the champion of Islām against all heretics except in Transoxiana (*Mā warā' al-Nahr*) where his School has been, and is, the dominant, representing the views of *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djama'a*.

Next to nothing is known of al-Māturidī's life, but he died at Samarkand in 333 (944), a contemporary of al-Aṣḥ'arī who died a little earlier about 330 (941), while al-Taḥāwī [q.v.], another contemporary, died in Egypt in 331. All three represented the movement, which must have been very widely spread, to defend orthodox Islām by the same weapons of logical argument with which the Mu'tazilites had attacked it. Māturid or Māturit is a locality (*maḥall, ḥarya*) in Samarkand. Its geographical reality and the identity of Abū Manṣūr al-Māturidī are assured by the article Māturitī in the *Anṣab* of al-Sam'ānī (fol. 498b, l. 4; cf. also Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, G.M.S., p. 90, notes 9 and 10; p. 267, note 5, and the Russian references there). The books of Ḥanafite *Ṭabaḳāt* give the names of his teachers, but to us they are names only (see Ibn Kuṭlūbughā [ed. Flügel, No. 173] and Flügel's *Ḥanefiten*, p. 274, 293, 295, 298, 313). The Saiyid Murtaḍā in his little treatise on Māturidī, inserted in his commentary on the *Iḥyā'* (ii. 5—14), complains that he has found only two biographies and that both are short (*'ala 'l-ikhtisār*). Even Yāqūt in his *Mu'djam* has no mention either of him or of Māturid. Ibn Khaldūn in his sketch of the origin and history of *Kalām* (*Muḥaddima*, transl. de Slane, iii. 55 sqq.; ed. Quatremère, iii. 38 sqq.) has no place for him and speaks only of Aṣḥ'arī and the Aṣḥ'arites. For Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 = 1064; *Fiṣal*, ed. Cairo 1320, ii. 111) the orthodox opponent of al-Aṣḥ'arī is Abū Ḥanifa and he has no mention of al-Māturidī. Similarly Shahrastānī (d. 548 = 1153; *Milal*, transl. Haarbrücker, i., p. 159; text on margin of Ibn Ḥazm, i. 188) gives the views of Abū Ḥanifa but does not mention Māturidī. Abū Ḥanifa, he says, inclined to the Murdji'ites and his followers were even called the Murdji'ites of the Sunna, meaning, apparently, a form of Murdji'ism consistent with orthodoxy. Similarly the Saiyid Murtaḍā (*loc. cit.*, p. 13 foot) says that the Mu'tazilites claimed Abū Ḥanifa for themselves and rejected his authorship of one book because it was too flatly against their positions. The truth evidently was that Abū Ḥanifa (d. 150 = 767) was the first to adopt the methods of the Mu'tazilites and apply argument to the foundation of the Faith. Also, from the beginning, his standing was so high that it was simply impossible to call him a heretic. This status continued in the Māturidite School.

All this goes back to the time before *kalām* had become a technical term and when *fiḥḥ* meant both theology and canon law, with the difference that theology was called "the greater *fiḥḥ*" (*al-fiḥḥ al-akbar*; see article KALĀM above, vol. ii., p. 672b). That was the title of one of Abū Ḥanifa's books and we have a commentary on it ascribed to Māturidī (Ḥaidarābād 1321), the only writing assertedly by him apparently in print. This does not occur in the two exactly similar lists which we have of his books (Saiyid Murtaḍā, p. 5; Ibn Kuṭlūbughā, p. 43): 1. *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*; 2. *Kitāb al-Maḳālāt*; 3. *Kitāb Radd Awā'il al-Adilla li 'l-Ka'bi*; 4. *Kitāb Bayān Wahm al-Mu'tazila*; 5. *Kitāb Ta'wīlāt al-Ḳur'ān*. Of these only the last is given by Brockelmann, i., p. 195, 4; the biographers praise it highly. The others suggest only anti-Mu'tazilite polemic (for al-Ka'bi see Horten, *Philosophische Systeme*, by index). As a matter of fact it is only in one MS. of the com-

mentary on the Fīḫ Akbar that this work is ascribed to al-Māturidī.

How the theological school of Abū Ḥanīfa came to be known as that of al-Māturidī we do not know. The epithet *al-mutakallim*, applied to al-Māturidī, may mean that he was the theologian of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa as opposed to those who were canon lawyers (*fuḳahā*). But the two tendencies to accept him and to suppress him still continue. The *ʿAḳā'id* of one of his followers, al-Nasafī, fortified with the commentary of al-Taftāzānī, an Ashʿarite, is the theological text-book of the last two years of the Azhar course and is a final authority in Egypt. Yet when Muḥammad ʿAbdū, the late Chief Mufti of Egypt, a regenerator and reformer of Islām, put his views of the development of Muslim theology and of its final position into a course of lectures at Bairūt (*Risālat al-tawḥīd: Exposé de la religion musulmane, traduite de l'Arabe...* by B. Michel and Moustapha ʿAbdel Razik, Paris 1925) he showed himself a Māturidite with no mention of al-Māturidī.

The differences between the two Schools are commonly reckoned as thirteen in number; six, a difference in idea (*maʿnawī*) and seven in expression (*lafẓī*) (for them in detail see the Saiyid Murtaḍā, p. 8 sqq. and Abū ʿUdhba, *al-Rawḍa al-bahīya*, Haidarābād 1904). They have been studied by Goldziher in his *Vorlesungen*, p. 110 sqq., and by Horten in his *Philosophische Systeme*, p. 531 sqq. It is frequently said that these points of difference are slight, but that is not so. The moral position of Abū Ḥanīfa is as plain in them as in his canon law. Al-Ashʿarī was concerned only to maintain the absoluteness of Allāh's will; that he could do anything; and that a thing was "good" because he willed it. Future rewards and punishments, therefore, had no "moral" basis. But Abū Ḥanīfa, and after him al-Māturidī and his School, recognizes that man possesses free-will (*ikhtiyārī*) actions for which he is rewarded and punished. No explanation is attempted of this fundamental antinomy of predestination and free-will; they are stated side by side as equal, if contradictory, facts. Similarly, while Abū Ḥanīfa admits that evil deeds are by the will (*irāda*) of Allāh — otherwise they could not happen — he cannot bring himself to say that they are by the "good pleasure" (*riḍwān*) of Allāh. Further, the Māturidite School admits the doctrine of "assurance of salvation" and the Ashʿarite does not. A Māturidite may say, "I am a believer, assuredly" (*ḥaḳḳan*), but an Ashʿarite must say, "I am a believer if Allāh wills". Because, then, of this essential difference in human and moral feeling the School of al-Māturidī has steadily penetrated the School of al-Ashʿarī and even the professed Ashʿarite at the present time is, to a greater or less extent, a Māturidite.

Bibliography: has been given in the article. But cf. article KALĀM throughout.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

AL-MĀʿŪN, title of Sūra cvii. taken from Vs. 7 where *māʿūn* denotes the *zakāt*.

MAWĀLIYĀ, MAWWĀL, means a kind of popular song. Tradition says that this genre of poetry was invented by the people of Wāsiṭ; but that it was the people of Baghdād who after improving it made it fashionable. It is said that when Hārūn al-Rashīd had the most prominent Barmecides massacred, he forbade for lamentations them. One of the slaves of Djaʿfar, so well-known

from the *Arabian Nights*, composed in everyday language an elegy on her old master and at the end of each strophe she said *yā mawālīyā* "O my masters!" Whence the name of this kind of poetry.

From the point of view of metre, the mawwāl, a popular form from *mawālīyā* or *marwālīyā*, is a song in the *basīṭ* metre (first 'arūd) of which the last verse of each hemistich is *fāʿilun, fiʿlun* or *fiʿlān*.

In its primitive form, the mawwāl consisted of strophes, each of four hemistichs rhyming with one another. Later it was somewhat altered: the strophe contained five hemistichs in which the first, second, third and fifth, but not the fourth rhymed together or it contained seven hemistichs of which the first, second, third and seventh had the same rhyme and the fourth, fifth and sixth rhymed together.

The red mawwāl is used for war-songs while the green mawwāl is used for love-songs. In all cases the mawwāl must be in the popular dialect and make use of alliteration.

Bibliography: Besides the treatises on prosody quoted in the article 'ARŪḌ and by Fleischer, *Z.D.M.G.*, vii. 365 sq. and *Description de l'Égypte*² (Paris 1822, xiv. 306; xviii., part 1, 75 sqq.) quoted by Dozy, *Suppl. aux dict.*, ii. 844, we may mention: al-Khafādī, *Shifāʾ al-Ghalīl*, Cairo 1320, p. 9; Bistānī, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, Bairūt 1870, p. 2011 (sub *m-w-l*) and 2289 (sub *w-l-y*); Ibn Khaldūn, *Proleg.*, iii. 451 sqq.; Muḥammad Talʿat, *Ghāyat al-Arab fī Šināʿat Shiʿr al-Arab*², Cairo 1316, p. 101; Muḥammad al-Damanhūrī, *Hāshīya ʿala ʿl-Kāfi*, Cairo 1316, p. 36; al-Muḥibbī, *Khuṭūʿat al-Āthār*, Cairo 1284, i. 109; Saiyid Amin, *Bulbul al-Afrāḥ wa-Musil al-Afrāḥ fī ʿl-Mawāwīl al-khudr wa ʿl-humr al-Milāḥ*, Cairo 1316, p. 4 sqq.; Djabrān Mikḥāʾil Futūya, *al-Baṣṭ al-shāfi*, Bairūt 1890, p. 105; al-Abshihī, *al-Mustatraf*, Bulāḳ 1292, ii. 258, 271; L. Cheikho, *ʿIlm al-Adab*, Bairūt 1908, i. 429; ʿAbd al-Hādī Nadjā al-Abyārī, *Suʿūd al-Maṭālīʿ li-Suʿūd al-Muṭālīʿ*, Bulāḳ 1283, i. 283; Jules David, *Les Maouals*, Caen 1864; Hammer-Purgstall, *Notice sur les Mowaschschahat*, etc., *J.A.*, Aug. 1859, p. 155 sqq.; Ahmad al-Hāshimī, *Mizān al-Dhahab fī Šināʿat Shiʿr al-Arab*, Cairo n. d., p. 140; Muḥammad Bey Diyāb, *Taʾrīkh Adāb al-Lughat al-ʿarabiya*, Cairo n. d., p. 149; al-Djabartī, *Adjāʾib al-Āthār fī ʿl-Tarāḍim wa ʿl-Akhbār*, Bulāḳ n. d., i. 293.

(MOH. BENCHENEB)

MĀ WARĀ' AL-NAHR (Arab.) "that which (lies) beyond the river"; the name for the lands conquered by the Arabs and subjected to Islām north of the Amū-Daryā [q. v.]. The frontiers of Mā warā' al-Nahr on north and east were where the power of Islām ceased and depended on political conditions; cf. the statements of the Arab geographers on Mā warā' al-Nahr in G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 433 sq.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan (G. M. S., N. S., v., London 1928)*, p. 64 sqq. The phrase Mā warā' al-Nahr passed from Arabic literature into Persian. As late as the ninth (xvth) century, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [q. v.] devotes a special chapter (the last) to Mā warā' al-Nahr in his geographical work. Under the influence of literary tradition, the phrase Mā warā' al-Nahr was used down to quite recent times in Central Asia itself (Bābur, *G. M. S.*, i, Index; the Özbek Muḥ. Šālih, *Sprav. Knizka Samark. Oblasti*, v. 240 et pass.)

although to the people of Central Asia the lands in question were on their side of and not across the river. (W. BARTHOLD)

AL-MĀWARDĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤABĪB, a Shāfi'ī fākih, who on the conclusion of his studies taught in Baṣra and Baghdād and after holding the office of chief qāḍī at Ustuwā near Nisābūr, settled permanently in Baghdād. Here he often acted for the caliph al-Qādir (381-422 = 991-1031) in his negotiations with the Buyids, who then ruled al-'Irāq; when the Buyid Djalāl al-Dawla in 429 (1037-1038) asked the caliph al-Muqtaḍī to grant him the title of *shahān-shāh* (*malik al-mulūk*), he expressed his objections in a *fatwā* and thus earned the enmity of the Buyid. He died an 30th Rabi' I 450 (May 27, 1058) at the age of 86.

His works are said to have been collected and edited only after his death by one of his pupils. The following have survived: 1. *Tafsir al-Kur'ān* or *Kitāb al-Nukat wa 'l-'Uyūn*; MSS. in Rampur (s. *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, N.S., ii., xli.), Fez (*Fihrist Masdjid al-Qarawiyn*, N^o. 215) and Stambul (Kilič 'Alī, N^o. 90); 2. *K. al-Hawā' al-kabir fi 'l-Furū'*; MSS. in the Brit. Museum Or. 5828; s. Ellis and Edwards, *Descr.-List*, p. 22; Cairo (*Fihrist*, iii. 215) and Stambul (Sulaimāniya, N^o. 436); 3. his most celebrated work, dealing with constitutional law in purely theoretical fashion, disregarding the political conditions of the time (s. A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i. 396; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, p. 242), entitled *K. al-Ahkām al-Sultāniya, Constitutions politicae*, ed. R. Enger, Bonn 1853; pr. Cairo 1298, 1324, 1327. Translations: *Publiek en administratief regt van den Islam met een inleiding over de toepasselijkheid van dat regt in Nederlandsch-Indië* door S. Keizer, 's-Gravenhage 1862; *Les constitutions politiques, trad. et commentées d'après les sources orientales* par le compte L. Ostorog, Paris 1900-1906; *Les statuts gouvernementaux ou règles de droit public et administratif trad. et comm.* par F. Fagnan, Algiers 1915; cf. H. F. Amedroz, *The Masālim jurisdiction*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1911, p. 635-674; 4. *K. Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*, MS. in Paris, de Slane, N^o. 2447, 3; 5. *K. Tashīl al-Naḡar wa-Ta'djīl al-Ẓafar*, on politics and the art of government; MS. in Gotha, s. Pertsch, *Verz.*, N^o. 1872; 6. *K. Kawānīn al-Wizāra*; Ms. in Vienna, Consularakademie, Krafft, p. 475, entitled *Qānūn al-Wazīr wa-Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*; MS. formerly in Landberg's possession, s. Goldziher, *Abh. zur ar. Philologie*, ii., note p. 14 (the *K. al-Wizāra* in Stambul, Top Kapu 2405, 3 is however, according to Rescher, *R.O.S.*, iv. 710 perhaps only a part of N^o. 4); 7. *K. a'lām al-Nubūwa*; Ms. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, N^o. 2527; Cairo, *Fihrist*, i. 270; pr. Cairo 1319, 1330 (cf. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, ii. 382; Schreiner, in *Kohuts Semitic Studies*, p. 502-513); 8. *K. Adab al-Qāḍī*; MS. in Stambul, Sulaimāniya, N^o. 381; 9. *K. al-Amthāl wa 'l-Hikam*, a collection of 300 traditions, 300 wise sayings and 300 verses in 10 *faṣl* to 30 proverbs in Leyden, s. *Catalogus*, i., N^o. 382; 10. *K. (al-Bughya al-'ulyā fi) Adāb (Adab) al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn*, a work still much read; pr. Stambul 1299, Cairo 1309, 1310, 1315, 1327, 1328, 1339; on the margin of al-Āmulī's *Kashkūl*, Cairo 1316, in India 1315. Uwais Wafā' b. Dāwūd al-Arzandjāni Khānzāde wrote a commentary entitled *Minhādī al-Yaqīn*, pr. Stambul 1328. A synopsis was prepared by

Ibn Liyūn a teacher of the vizier Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb (d. 776 = 1376), Madrid, N^o. 427. An anonymous synopsis entitled *K. Ma'rifat al-Faḍā'il* is in the Escorial, s. Derenbourg, ii. 748.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Cairo 1299, i. 410; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, v. 407; al-Subki, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iya*, iii. 303-314; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, p. 718 (ii. 224); Wüstenfeld, *Schafiten*, N^o. 395; R. Enger, *De vita et scriptis Mawerdī*, Bonn 1851; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 386.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MAWDÜD, ABU 'L-FATH, SHIHĀB AL-DAWLA WA-ḤUṬB AL-MILLA, ruler of Ghazna, was born about 412 (1021-1022). In Muḥarram 432 (September 1040) he was appointed to the government of Balkh with Khwādja Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as wazīr. A few months later, his father Sultān Mas'ūd was deposed and Muḥammad, son of Sultān Maḥmūd, was raised to the throne. On learning news of this, Mawdūd left Balkh, took possession of Ghazna, and spent the winter in making preparations for a struggle for the throne with Muḥammad. At the end of the winter, Muḥammad marched from India to take Ghazna and Mawdūd advanced to meet him. A fierce battle took place on 3rd Sha'bān, 432 (April 6, 1041) near Dūnpūr or Dinawar (modern Faṭḥābād on the Peshāwar-Kābul route) in which Mawdūd was victorious. Muḥammad, all his sons except 'Abd al-Rahīm, Sulaimān b. Yūsuf, and Nūshṭigin of Balkh were taken prisoners and executed. Mawdūd returned to Ghazna in triumph, but he was not yet the undisputed master of the kingdom. His brother Maḥdūd, governor of Multān, was advancing on Ghazna by way of Lahore, but three days after his arrival at Lahore, he died mysteriously on the morning of 10th Dhu 'l-Hijja, 432 (August 11, 1041).

In 435 (1043-1044) Sukhpāl, alias Nawāsa Shāh, son of Djaipāl of the Hindūshāhiya dynasty of Waihand, formed a confederacy with some Hindū Rājās and laid siege to Lahore. Sukhpāl was killed in action, and after his death the Rājās quarrelled among themselves, raised the siege and retired to their respective kingdoms. The Muslims followed them in pursuit and laid siege to the fort of Sonpat where one of the confederates named Dipāl Haryāna had taken refuge. The fort was captured and given up to plunder but Dipāl managed to escape. About 5,000 Muslims who had been imprisoned in the fort were released. The victors next attacked another Rājā, called Tābat Bālri by Ibn al-Aṭhīr, took his fort and returned to Lahore with immense booty. These victories restored for some time the waning prestige of the Ghaznawids in Upper India.

It was the ambition of Mawdūd to restore the greatness of his empire by conquering the provinces which his father had lost to the Saldjuks. In Muḥarram 435 (August 1043) he attacked Khurāsān but was defeated by Alp Arslān b. Dāwūd. In the following month the Ghaznawid troops retrieved their reputation by inflicting a defeat on the Saldjuks near Bust, but in spite of this reverse they became so powerful that Mawdūd found it difficult to overcome them single-handed. After protracted negotiations, he secured the assistance of the ruler of Isfahān and the Khān of Turkistān, and marched towards Balkh to join forces with the Khān of Turkistān, but he had not gone far

when he was taken ill with colic and was forced to return to Ghazna where he died on 20th Radjab, 441 (December 18, 1049), at the age of 29 years.

Mawdūd was a good ruler and was famous for his generosity. *Paikān-i Mawdūdī* (the Arrow of Mawdūd) is called after him. It is stated that in his wars he used golden arrows so that if the victim was killed, the gold in the arrow would pay for his funeral, and if he was only wounded, it would defray the expenses of his treatment. He was a skilful general, and his premature death put an end to all hopes of crushing the power of the Saljuks.

Bibliography: Gardīzī, *Zain al-Akhbār*, ed. M. Nāzim, in *Browne Memorial Series*, i.; Fakhr-i Mudīr, *Adab al-Mulūk* (India Office, MS. No. 647), fol. 76b—80a; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 331—399; Minhādī-i Sirādj, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, Major Raverty's translation into English, p. 95—97; Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzida*, G.M.S., p. 402; Mir-Khwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Newalkishore Press, 1914, iv. 47; and Firīšta, *Newalkishore Press*, 1884, p. 44—46. (M. NAZIM)

MAWDÜD B. 'IMĀD AL-DIN ZANGI, KUṬB AL-DIN AL-A'RAḌJ, lord of al-Mawṣil. After the death at the end of Djumādā II 544 (Nov. 1149) of his elder brother Saif al-Din Ghāzī I [q.v.], Mawdūd was recognised as lord of al-Mawṣil through the influence of the powerful vizier al-Djawād [q.v.] and of the commander-in-chief of the army Zain al-Din 'Alī. A number of emirs negotiated with the third brother, Nūr al-Din Maḥmūd, who lived in Ḥalab, and seized the town of Sindjār, and Mawdūd began preparations for war. The vizier however, who feared not only Saladin but also the Franks, succeeded in dissuading him, whereupon Nūr al-Din handed over Sindjār to his brother and was given Himṣ and al-Raḥba instead. On other questions also Mawdūd followed his vizier's advice; al-Djawād however fell into disgrace and in 558 (1163) he was thrown into prison and replaced by Zain al-Din Kūčik. In the next year Mawdūd joined forces with his brother Nūr al-Din in a war against the Franks, and in Ramaḍān (Sept. 1164) the latter defeated the Christian forces and stormed Kaḥat Hārim. According to the most usual statement, Mawdūd died on 22nd Dhu 'l-Hijja 565 (Sept. 6, 1170) aged about forty. He is described by the Oriental historians as a just and benevolent ruler. He was succeeded in al-Mawṣil by his son Saif al-Din Ghāzī II.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 754 (de Slane's transl., iii. 458); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi., *passim*; Usāma b. Munqidh, ed. Derenbourg, i. 298, 301—303, 350 sq., 353; *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Hist. or.*, see index; de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, p. 226 sq.; Lane-Poole, *The Moh. Dynasties*, p. 163.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEIN)

MAWḲIF (A.), *nomen loci* from *w-ḥ-f* "to stand". Of the technical meanings of the term two may be mentioned here:

a. the place where the *wuḳūf* [q.v.] is held during the pilgrimage, viz. 'Arafāt [q.v.] and Muzdalifa [q.v.] or Djam'. In well known traditions Muḥammad declares that all 'Arafāt and that all Muzdalifa is mawḳif (Muslim, *Ḥaḍīq*, trad. 149;

Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, bāb 56b, 64 etc.; cf. *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v. 'Arafā). Snouck Hurgronje (*Het mekkaansche feest*, p. 150 = *Verspreide Geschriften*, i. 99) has conjectured that these traditions were intended to deprive the hills of 'Arafāt and Muzdalifa of their sacred character, which they doubtless possessed in pre-Islāmic times.

b. the place where on the day of resurrection several scenes of the last judgment will take place; cf. al-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-Fākhirā*, ed. Gautier, p. 577, 683, 12, 813; cf. *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-Ḳiyāma*, ed. M. Wolff, p. 65 sqq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MAWLĀ (A.), a term with different meanings (cf. *Lisān al-Arab*, xx. 289 sqq.) of which the following may be mentioned:

a. Tutor, trustee, helper. In this sense the word is used in the *Qur'ān*, Sūra xlvii. 12: "God is the mawlā of the faithful, the unbelievers have no mawlā" (cf. sūra iii. 143; vi. 62; viii. 41; ix. 51; xxii. 78; lxvi. 2). In the same sense mawlā is used in the Shī'ite tradition, in which Muḥammad calls 'Alī the mawlā of those whose mawlā he is himself. According to the author of the *Lisān*, mawlā has the sense of *walī* in this tradition, which is connected with Ghadīr al-Khumm [q.v.]; cf. C van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische imamaat*, p. 18, 19. It may be observed that it occurs also in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (i. 84, 118, 119, 152, 330 sq.; iv. 281 etc.).

b. Lord. In the *Qur'ān* it is in this sense (which is synonymous with that of *saiyid*) applied to Allāh (sūra ii. 286; cf. vi. 62; x. 31), who is often called *Mawlanā* "our Lord" in Arabic literature. Precisely for this reason in Tradition the slave is prohibited from calling his lord mawlā (Bukhārī, *Djihad*, bāb 165; Muslim, *Alfāz*, trad. 15, 16).

It is not in contradiction to this prohibition that Tradition frequently uses mawlā in the sense of "lord of a slave", e.g. in the well known *ḥadīth*: "Three categories of people will receive twofold reward... and the slave who fulfils his duty in regard to Allāh as well as to his lords" (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 31; Muslim, *Aimān*, trad. 45).

Compositions of mawlā and suffixes are frequently used as titles in several parts of the Muslim world, e.g. *mawlāy(a)* (*moulāy*), "my Lord" (especially in North Africa and in connection with saints); *mawlawī* (*mollā*), "Lordship" (especially in India and in connection with scholars or saints).

The term mawlā is also applied to the former lord (patron) in his relation to his freeman, e.g. in the tradition: "Who clings to a (new) patron without the permission of his (legal) mawlā, on him rests the curse of Allāh" (Bukhārī, *Djizya*, bāb 17; Muslim, *ʿIṣk*, trad. 18, 19).

c. Freed slave, e.g. in the tradition "the mawlā counts as the people to whom he belongs" (Bukhārī, *Farāʿid*, bāb 24, etc.). In this sense mawlā, or rather the plural *mawālī*, is frequently used in Arabic literature. The evolution of the idea as well as the position and the aspirations of the *mawālī* have been expounded by von Kremer (*Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. 154) and by Goldziher (*Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 104 sqq.), by the latter especially in connection with the *shu'ūbiya* [q.v.]. On the position of the

mawālī in the law of inheritance law cf. the art. MĪRĀTH.

Bibliography: in the article; also Doutté in *R.H.R.*, xli. 30 sqq.; Littmann, in *N.G.W.*, 1916, p. 102. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MAWLAWĪ. [See MAWLĀ.]

MAWLAWIYA (Turkish pronunciation Mewlewiya), Order of Derwishes called by Europeans Dancing or Whirling Derwishes.

1. Origin of the Order. Its name is derived from *mawlānā* ("our master"), a title given *par excellence* to Djalāl al-Din al-Rūmī (e.g. by the Turkish writers Sa'd al-Din and Pečewī, cited below), of which the Persian equivalent was according to the *Manāḳib al-ʿArifin* (translated by Huart as *Les Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, Paris 1918—1922) bestowed on Djalāl al-Din [q. v.] by his father, with whom this hagiography commences. According to the same authority (i. 162), his adherents adopted the name *Mewlewi*, and indeed copyists of the *Mathnawī* of the years 687 and 706 A. H. thus designate themselves (Nicholson's ed., i. 7 and iii. 11); yet Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Konia after the latter date, asserts that they were styled Djalālīya, and the word Mawlawī seems to be used occasionally in the *Manāḳib* in the sense of "scholar", which it ordinarily has in India. This work asserts that one Badr al-Din Guhartāsh (a historical personage, since he is mentioned in Ibn Bibi's chronicle of the Seldjūks of Asia Minor) built a college at Konia for the children of Djalāl al-Din's father, which was inherited by Djalāl al-Din. The *Manāḳib* (by Shams al-Din Aḥmad al-Aṣḫākī, 718—754 A. H.), however, so teems with anachronisms and extravagances that its statements must be used with great caution.

The European name is taken from the ritual of the *dhiḳr*, in which the derwishes revolve, using the right foot as a pivot, to the tune of various instruments. Djalāl al-Din is said to have claimed that he had elevated the practice, but denied that it was an innovation (*Manāḳib*, ii. 79). Certainly "dancing" (*raḳṣ*) is mentioned as a Ṣūfī practice in works earlier by some centuries than Djalāl al-Din's time, often with severe condemnation. The historian Sakhāwī (*al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, p. 220) in recording an edict issued in 852 against the practice in Egypt cites verses by one of "the earliest Saiyids" in which the Ṣūfis who perform it are compared to apes and are bitterly reproached.

Dancing is indeed a natural accompaniment of music (*Aghānī*, x. 121) or poetry (*Irshād al-Arīb*, v. 131, 11), but the whirling of the derwishes would seem to have for its purpose the production of vertigo rather than the presentation of an idea in rhythm. Of the various reasons which have been assigned for it the most interesting is that recorded in the *Manāḳib* (i. 190) as the excuse of Djalāl al-Din, viz. that it was a concession to the pleasure-loving inhabitants of Asia Minor, who might thereby be drawn to the true faith. The theory that the whirling was a reproduction of the motions of the celestial bodies is found in his *Mathnawī* (ed. Nicholson, iv. 734), and the same view is offered in the much earlier *Risāla* of Ibn Ṭufāil (Cairo 1922, p. 75), where its hypnotic effect is emphasized. The saints in the *Manāḳib* are represented as able to maintain the exercise for many days and nights continuously, but the

actual *dhiḳr* lasts only about an hour, with some intermission.

2. Relations with other Orders. Although the earlier mystics, such as Djunaid, Bisṭāmī and Hallāj are mentioned in the *Manāḳib* with profound reverence, the treatment of founders of orders who came near Djalāl al-Din's time is very different. 'Abd al-Ḳādir of Dīlān is ignored, Ibn 'Arabī mentioned with contempt, and Rifā'ī with severe condemnation. Ḥādjdī Bektāsh is represented as having sent a messenger to inquire into the proceedings of Djalāl al-Din, and to have acknowledged the supremacy of the latter. At a later period the rivalry of the Mawlawī with the Bektāshī Order became acute.

It has been shown by F. W. Hasluck (*Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii. 370 sqq.) that the environment wherein the Mawlawī Order originated was favourable to Christians, and that throughout its history it has shown itself tolerant and inclined to regard all religions as reconcilable on a philosophic basis. He suggests that the veneration of the Muslims of Konia for the supposed burial-place of Plato (in a mosque which was once the church of St. Amphilochius) may have been intentionally favoured by the Mawlawī derwishes, or possibly their founder, as providing a cult which Muslim and Christian might share on equal terms. In three other sanctuaries of Konia, one of them the mausoleum of Djalāl al-Din himself, he found evidence of a desire to provide an object of veneration to the adherents of both systems. It is not, however, easy to accept his inference that some sort of religious compromise on a philosophic basis was devised between the Seldjūḳ Sultān 'Alā' al-Din, Djalāl al-Din, and the local Christian clergy. It appears from the *Manāḳib* that the Order was frequently exposed to persecution from the *fuḳahā* in consequence of the music and dancing; and they found an analogy in Christian services to the employment of the former. They are credited in recent times with having impeded the massacres of Armenians.

3. Spread of the Order. The *Manāḳib* attributes its propagation outside Konia to Djalāl al-Din's son and second successor, Sultān Bahā' al-Din Walad who "filled Asia Minor with his lieutenants" (ii. 262). It would however appear from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative (ii. 282) that its following was not in his time extensive outside Konia, and was confined to Asia Minor. The story told after Sa'd al-Din by v. Hammer (*G. O. R.*, i. 147) and others, that as early as 759 (1357) Sulaimān son of Orḳhān received a cap from a Mawlawī derwish at Bulair, has been shown by Hasluck (ii. 613) to be a fiction. The historians make no allusion to any importance attaching to the Mawlawī chief when Murād I took Konia in 1386; but when the city was taken by Murād II in 1435, peace was negotiated according to Sa'd al-Din (i. 358) by Mawlānā Ḥamza, but according to Neshri (quoted *ibid.*) by a descendant of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Din al-Rūmī, 'Arif Čelebi, "who united all the glories of worth and pedigree, and possessed mystic attainments"; the rebellious vassal supposed that a holy man of the family of the Mawlā would inspire more confidence. The same person performed a similar service in 1442 (Sa'd al-Din, i. 371). According to V. Cuiet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 829) Selīm I when passing through Konia in 922 (1516) in pursuit of the Persians (?) ordered the destruction

of the Mawlawīkhāna, at the instance of the *Shaiḫ* al-Islām; and though this command was repealed, the moral and religious authority of the head of the Order was gravely compromised. That the saints of Konia were highly revered in the Ottoman Empire later in the sixteenth century appears from the list of graves visited by Saiyid 'Alī Kapūdān in 1554, which commences with those of *Djalāl al-Dīn*, his father and his son (Pečewi's History, 1283, i. 371). In 1634 Murād IV assigned the *khārāj* of Konia to the *Čelebi*. Yet the first reference to "dancing derwishes" in Constantinople which Haslück produces, is from the time of the *Sulṭān Ibrāhīm* (1640—1648). Cuinet mentions three Mawlawīkhāna of the first rank and one *Tekye* of the second in Constantinople and the neighbourhood; he gives the names of the saints whose tombs they contain, without dates. He mentions seven other Mawlawīkhāna of the first rank, at Konia, Manissa, *Qaraḥiṣār*, *Baḥariya*, Egypt (Cairo?), Gallipoli and Brusa; and as the more celebrated of the second rank that of *Shamsī Tabrizī* at Konia, and those in *Medīna*, Damascus and Jerusalem. To these Haslück adds *Tekye* at Canea (Crete), founded about 1880, Karaman, Ramla, Tatar (in Thessaly), and possibly Tempe (for one in Smyrna see *M. W.*, 1922, p. 161; for one in Salonica see the work of Garnett, and for one in Cyprus that of Lukach cited below). It would seem then that the Order was confined to the limits of the Ottoman Empire, and indeed to its European and Asiatic territories.

By a decree of Sept. 4, 1925 all the *Tekye* in Turkey were closed, and the library of the Mawlawīkhāna of Konia was transferred to the Museum of the city (*Oriente Moderno*, 1925, p. 455; 1926, p. 584).

4. Political importance of the Order. Reference may be made to Haslück's work (ii. 604 sq.) for refutation of the stories uncritically reproduced by Cuinet and some less authoritative writers. In these "the *Shaiḫ* of the Mawlawī becomes first the legitimate successor by blood of the *Seldjūq* dynasty, and finally the real Caliph!" Haslück supposes these tales to be based on the supposed "traditional right" of the Mawlawī *Shaiḫ* to gird the new *Sulṭān* with a sword. This right cannot be traced earlier than 1648, and appears to have obtained recognition in the nineteenth century. It would seem that reforming *Sulṭāns* used the Mawlawī Order as a make-weight against the *Bektāshīs*, who supported the Janissaries, and then against the *Ulamā*, who supported the treatment of the Muslim community as a privileged community against the *dhimmīs*. In recent times the *Sulṭāns* 'Abd al-'Aziz and Mehmed Reshād were members of the Order.

5. The ritual of the Order has been described by numerous travellers, e.g. J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, 1868, p. 198-206; 1927, p. 250-258; V. Cuinet, *loc. cit.*, p. 832; Garnett and Lukach in the works cited; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, 1910, iii. 12; S. Anderson, *M. W.*, 1923. The attire consisted of a cap called *sikke*, a long sleeveless skirt called *tennüre*, a jacket with sleeves called *deste-gul*, a waistband called *elif-lām-end*, and a cloak with sleeves called *khirke*, thrown over the shoulders (in Lukach's description [Cyprus] "a violet gown worn over a dark green cassock"). The instruments employed according to the last writer (dealing with Konia)

are six: reed-flute, zither, rebeck, drum, tambourine, and one other. Cuinet enumerates four, of which three agree with the above, the last being *halile*, vulgarly *zil*, a sort of small cymbal. Brown enumerates three, flute, violin, and kettle-drum. Those mentioned in the *Manāḫib* are rendered by Huart, *flûte*, *violin* and *tambour de basque*. The service in Konia according to Lukach was held twice a month after the Friday prayer; in Constantinople, where there were several *tekye*, they were held more frequently. To enable the members of different *tekye* to join in,

6. Administration of the Order. The head of the Order, resident at Konia, had the titles *Mullā Khunkār*, *Ḥadret-i Pīr*, *Čelebi Mullā*, and *'Aziz Efendi*. A list of persons who have held the office is given by Hartmann (*loc. cit.*, p. 193) after the *Ḥaḳāḳ-i Adhḳār-i Mawlāna*, making 26 in all down to 1910; this list appears to be imperfect, and the *Čelebi* whom Lukach found in Konia was uncertain whether he was the 39th or the 40th. The head of the establishment at Manissa counted as second in authority. Cuinet enumerates seven officials subordinate to the *Čelebi* at Konia, but the names of several seem seriously mutilated. Others mention a secretary (*wakil*). An account of the discipline which those who would enter the Order had to endure is given by Huart (*Konia, la Ville des Derviches Tourneurs* Paris 1897). They had to perform menial service for 1001 days, divided into periods of 40; when this was over, they were clothed in the uniform of the *tekye*, assigned cells, and instructed in the exercises of the Order; and they had to remain thus occupied till they believed themselves able to enter into relation with the Deity by means of whirling, meditation, and music.

Bibliography: see especially the works of Brown, Cuinet, Hartmann, and Haslück, cited above; Lucy M. Garnett, *Mysticism and Magic in Modern Turkey*, London 1912; H. C. Lukach, *The City of Dancing Derwishes*, London 1914; S. Anderson, in *M. W.*, 1923, p. 188—191. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

MAWLID (A.) or MAWLUD (pl. *mawālid*), time, place and celebration of the birth of any one, particularly of the Prophet Muḥammad (*Mawlid al-Nabī*). From the moment when Islām in its attitude to Muḥammad abandoned the lines laid down in the *Qur'ānic* view of him and began to bring his personality within the sphere of the supernatural, the scenes among which his earthly life had been passed naturally began to assume a higher sanctity in the eyes of his followers. Among these, the house in which he was born, the *Mawlid al-Nabī*, in the modern *Sūḳ al-Lail* in Mekka, the history of which is preserved principally in the chronicles of the town (ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 422), does not seem at first to have played a part of any note. It was al-Khaizurān (d. 173), the mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who first transformed it from a humble dwelling-house to a place of prayer. As they did to the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, the pious now made pilgrimages also to his mawlid to show their reverence for it and to receive a share of its blessings (*li 'l-tabarruk*). In time also the reverence in which the house was held found expression in its development in a fitting architectural fashion (Ibn Djabair, ed. Wright, p. 114, 163; on the present state of the house: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 106; ii. 27).

Records of the observation of the birthday of

the Prophet as a holy day only begin at a late date; according to the generally accepted view, the day was Monday the 12th Rabi' I. The story which Wüstenfeld originated, according to which the pious Shāfi'ī Karadī (d. 343) observed this day by breaking his fast upon it, which he only did on one other occasion, the 'Id al-Fiṭr (*Abh. G. W. G.*, xxxvii., N^o. 126), does not seem to find any confirmation in the sources and is in contradiction to the general custom of fasting on Monday, as this day plays a special part in the life of Muḥammad as the day of his birth, of his Hidjra and of his death (*Ghazālī, Iḥyā' [Bulāk]*, i. 363 and *pass.* On the Jewish origin of fasting on Monday, see Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, p. 126). But that on this day a special celebration was arranged, as distinct from private observation, one first learns for Mecca, where one would expect it earliest from the local traditions, from Ibn Dīubair (d. 614; *Travels*, p. 113), who however is obviously referring to a custom which has already been a considerable time in existence. The essential feature of the celebration is however only a somewhat considerable increase in the number of visitors to the Mawlid house which was exceptionally open the whole day for this purpose. This visit and the ceremonies associated with it (*maṣh* etc.) are carried through entirely in forms which are characteristic of the older Muslim cult of saints.

But just as the later cult of the Prophet cannot be put on a level with the reverence shown to other holy men, so new and special forms developed for his birthday celebrations, which in spite of minor differences in time and place show the same general features everywhere and are comprised under the name *Laila al-Mawlid* or briefly *Mawlid al-Nabi*. An anticipation of the Mawlid celebration is found in Egypt as early as the middle and later Fāṭimid period. During the period of office of the vizier al-Afdal (487—515), we hear that the "four Mawālid" were abolished but a little later revived in all their old glory (*Maḥrizī, al-Khiṭaṭ*, i. 466; for the description of the festival: i. 433 *sqq.*). The celebration still took place in broad daylight and participation was practically limited to the official and religious circles of the city. There were not yet any preliminary celebrations; but we already have a solemn procession of all the dignitaries to the palace of the caliph, in whose presence — he sits, covered with a veil on one of the balconies of the palace — the three *khutabā'* of Cairo (cf. above, ii., p. 928) in succession deliver a religious address, during which a special ceremonial is observed. As to the matter of the discourses, we only know that they were like those delivered on the nights of the illumination so that they presumably dealt mainly with the occasion of the celebration. It is interesting to note that the mawlid ceremonies here are not confined to that of the Prophet but the mawlid of 'Alī, Fāṭima and even that of the reigning Caliph, the *Imām al-ḥādīr*, are similarly observed. As in the fundamental idea of these celebrations (*Mawlid al-Imām al-ḥādīr*!), Shī'a influence can also be traced in separate elements of it. It had not yet come to be a festival of the common people in the time of the Fāṭimids. This no doubt explains why — except in Maḥrizī and Ḳāḷkashandī, the great historians of Fāṭimid Cairo — there is hardly any reference to these celebrations in the literature emanating from Sunnī circles, not even when

writers like 'Alī Paṣḥa Mubārak are dealing with features peculiar to Cairo and deal very fully with the history of the Mawlid festival.

The memory of these Fāṭimid mawālid seems to have almost completely disappeared before the festivals in which Muslim authors unanimously find the origin of the Mawlid, the Mawlid which we find first celebrated in Arbela in 604 by al-Malik Muzaḥfir al-Din Kōkbūri, a brother-in-law of Saladin. The fullest account is given by a somewhat later contemporary, the great historian Ibn Khallikān (d. 681) on whom later writers continually base their statements (e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Maḥsid* [Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 157] and others). The personality of this ruler, his period so disturbed by the turmoil of the Crusades, and his milieu to which Ibn Khallikān calls special attention, lead us to suggest marked Christian influence in the development of this celebration; his close relations with the Shī'i movement on the other hand suggest the possibility of influence of quite a different nature. This is clear from the description of the celebrations. Preparations are begun long before and people come in from remote districts. The prince takes special care that the visitors are housed in splendid wooden ḳubbas specially built and they are entertained with music, singing and all kinds of amusements (shadow-plays, jugglers etc.). The streets of the town were for weeks as busy as on the occasion of an annual fair. On the eve of the Mawlid night a torchlight procession took place from the citadel of the town to the khānḳah, led by the prince after the maghrib ṣalāt. Next morning the whole populace assembled in front of the khānḳah, where a wooden tower had been erected for the ruler and a pulpit for the *wā'iz*. From this tower the prince surveyed not only the crowd assembled to hear the address but also the troops summoned to be reviewed on the adjoining maidān. We are told nothing of the substance of the address. On its conclusion the prince summoned the distinguished guests up to the tower to give them robes of honour. The people were then feasted at the prince's expense in the maidān, while the notables were entertained in the khānḳah. The following night was spent by the prince like so many of the Ṣūfis in *samā'* (Ibn Khallikān, *Bulāk* 1299, ii. 550 *sqq.*).

In contrast to the Fāṭimid celebrations, what is specially striking here is the large share taken in the festival by the Ṣūfis and the common people, a circumstance which is all the more notable, as it is probably in this association with Ṣūfism that we have the reasons for the later great popularity of the mawlid. At the same time the torchlight procession, really foreign to Muslim sentiment, and borrowed from contemporary Christian customs at festivals deserves our attention; it is not found at the celebration in Cairo which was purely a day ceremony, while the lavish entertainment of all present, especially with sweets, and the addresses are found in both cases. In this remarkable ceremonial, we seem really to have the foundation of all Mawlid celebrations. With the great political and religious movement, which we may call Saldjūḳ reaction, the Mawlid reached Egypt in Saladin's time, where it is significant that Ṣūfism very quickly took deep roots, thus preparing the way for an observance like the Mawlid, which is essentially kept up by popular religious sentiment.

The observance of the festival spread sooner

or later from here to Mecca where its old form was transformed. Its further progress was along the coast of North Africa to Ceuta, Tlemcen and Fās to Spain but it also went eastwards to India, so that ultimately the whole Muslim world is united on this day in a ceremonial, frequently of unprecedented splendour, but alike everywhere in its main features. We have innumerable descriptions of the festival from all parts of the Muslim world, most fully for Mekka (*Chroniken*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 438 sq.; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-Haitamī, *Mawlid* [Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 389]; for modern times: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 57 sqq.), where the celebrations have always been famous, for Egypt (Muḥ. Tawfiḳ al-Bakrī, *Bait al-Šiddīk*, Cairo 1323, p. 404 sqq.; Lane, *Manners and Customs* [1871], ii. 166 sqq.) and the Indies (Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, i. 207; do., *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 8 sqq.; Herklots, *Qanoone Islam* [1832], p. 233 sq.; Goldziher, *Culte des saints* [1880], p. 13; here it is frequently not the birth but the death of the Prophet that is commemorated). The Turkish element in Islām also has not resisted the advance of the celebration of the Mawlid (Turk.: *Mewlūd*). Since Sultān Murād III introduced it in 996 into the Ottoman empire, it has enjoyed increasing popularity. Since 1910 it has been celebrated as a national festival. Accurate descriptions of the festival as celebrated in the older period of the court of Constantinople (Mouradgēa d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, Paris 1787, i. 255 sqq.; *G.O.R.*, viii. 441) clearly reveal its relationship with the festivals of a more popular nature in other lands of Islām.

One element in particular is very prominent, and that is the most characteristic one of the later celebrations, namely the recital of *mawlid*'s i.e. panegyric poems of a very legendary character, which start with the birth of Muḥammad and praise his life and virtues in the most extravagant fashion. The origin of these addresses is already to be found in the religious addresses in Fāṭimid Cairo and in Arbela and perhaps in part at least goes back to the sermon usual at Christian festivals. The *K. al-Tanwīr fī Mawlid al-Sirādī*, which Ibn Dihya composed during his stay in Arbela at the suggestion of Kōkbūri was already famous as a *mawlid* at this period (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 310). It was not till later times however that mawlds became a predominant element in the celebration, along with torchlight processions, feasting and the fairs in the street, ever increasing in size. In Mecca, for example, at the present day they form the main feature of the celebration in the mosque; among the pious they are the most popular evening entertainment for days before the celebration and teachers interrupt their lectures in order to deliver mawlds to the students and the people on the streets and in the coffee houses find edification and entertainment in listening to them. The number of such mawlds is quite considerable. Beside the famous but not very popular *Bānat Su'ād* of Ka'b b. Zuhair of the older period, the *Burda* and the *Hamziya* of al-Buṣīrī and their numerous imitations, there are a whole series of regular mawlds, some of which are intended to instruct like that of Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-Haitamī, others purely edifying like a shorter version of it, and notably that of Ibn al-Djawzī (*G.A.L.*, i. 503) and al-Barzandī (*G.A.L.*, ii. 384). In addition to those in Arabic, there are a great many mawlds in Turkish (Irmg. Engelke, *Süleyman Tschelēbi's Lob-*

gedicht, 1926). It is significant of the part played by these poems, that they have passed from the mawlid celebrations to other festivals, so that the word has actually become a name for "festival" and particularly "feast" (*aqīma*; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 147, 154 and *pass.*; Becker, in *Isl.*, ii., 1911, p. 26 sqq.). Quite apart from any festivals, the recitation of mawlds is popular, in Palestine for example in fulfilment of a religious vow (T. Canaan, in *Journ. of the Pal. Or. Soc.*, vi., 1926, p. 55 sqq.; cf. also the introductory anecdote in the mawlid alleged to be by Ibn al-'Arabī [*G.A.L.*, i. 441]). Like the substance of these mawlds, the form is also very regular. Prose and poetry alternate, interrupted frequently by appeals to utter blessings on the Prophet. *Dhikrs* are usually added at the end.

The Mawlid as the finest expression of reverence for Muḥammad has found almost general recognition in Islām, as fulfilling a religious need of the people and as a result of the strength of the Sūfī movement. This must not however blind us to the fact that at all times there has also been vigorous opposition to it. This is found as early as the festival of Arbela (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Maḥṣid*). The celebration is a *bid'a*, a religious innovation, which is in sharp contradiction to tradition. Even ardent advocates of the festival confess this and the strictly orthodox, who adhere to the sunna, reject it most emphatically. But, as in so many other things, practice has here proved stronger than dogmatic theory. Once the festival had been thoroughly established in the religious life of the people, it was bound in time to find approval as an element of the *idjma'*. Its supporters found it easy to get this *bid'a* legitimated, in theory at least, as a *bid'a ḥasana*. When the festival had been accepted by the consensus of the community, the essential thing had been done and legitimate ground for opposition had been removed. While the opposition thus finds itself reduced to combatting the outer forms of the festival and its developments, its supporters are never tired of calling attention to the merit that lies in feeding the poor, in the more frequent reading of the Qur'ān and mawlds, and in expressions of joy over the birth of the Prophet and all that the day brings with it. It is significant of the character of the opposition that the opponents object to those very forms which show the influence of Sūfism (dancing, *samā'*, ecstatic phenomena etc.) or Christianity (processions with lights etc.). The most interesting document of this feud is a *fatwā* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 157: *Ḥusn al-Maḥṣid fī 'Amal al-Mawlid*) which gives a brief survey of the history of the festival, then discusses the pros and cons very fully and concludes that the festival deserves approval as a *bid'a ḥasana*, provided that all abuses are avoided. Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-Haitamī in his *Mawlid* and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (*Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iii. 439 sq.) take the same view, while Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧī (d. 737) as a more strict Mālikī condemns it most vehemently (*K. al-Madkhal* [1320], i. 153 sqq.).

Although the height of this struggle was apparently reached in the eighth-ninth century, it did not completely die down in later years; indeed it received new life with the coming of the Wahhābīs. The cult of the Prophet is in such contradiction in their fundamental principle, the restoration of the ideal purified primitive Islām, that we can understand that they should completely

disapprove of this, the most popular and most splendid expression of it. In doing this, they are only putting into action the protests of the extreme Ḥanbalī Ibn Taimiyya (d. 728), the famous precursor of their movement, against innovations which are contrary to the sunna (Ibn Taimiyya against the holding of *khatmas* in the Mawlid night: *Fatāwā* [Cairo 1326], i. 312). Similar ideas are still found to-day even where Wahhābism is rejected, notably in the school which Goldziher calls "Kulturwahhābismus", founded by the celebrated Muḥammad 'Abduh (d. 1905), who in connection with the worship of saints condemns the Mawlid also, in the periodical *al-Manār* (Goldziher, *Richtungen der islam. Koranauslegung*, p. 369 sqq.).

In the reverence shown to other Muslim saints, the Mawlids also play a great part. Although the success of an appeal to a saint does not depend on particular days, yet certain days and birthdays in particular are regarded as particularly favourable. These celebrations are often connected with places, to which a certain sanctity had been attached from pre-Islamic times (the Mawlid of *Shaiḫ* Ḥasan al-Badawī in Tanṭa: Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 338 sq.). There are also Mawlids of nameless saints. In the derwish orders, next to that of the Prophet, the Mawlid of the founder is held in particular popularity. 'Alī Paṣha Mubārak (*Khiṭaṭ Djadida*, i. 90; iii. 129 sqq.) mentions a large number of such festivities in modern Cairo, the characteristic features of which, he says, are the brilliant illumination of the town, the ceremonial procession (*Mahfil*; at the Mawlid *al-Nabi*: *mawkab*; cf. P. Kahle, in *Isl.*, vi., 1916, p. 155 sq.) and the great feasts. One cannot now imagine the popular religion of Egypt without these feasts.

Bibliography: Besides the works already mentioned: Muḥ. Tawfiḳ al-Bakrī, *Bait al-Ṣiddīq*, Cairo 1323, p. 404 sqq.; al-Sakhawī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, Būlāḳ 1896, p. 13 sq.; numerous Mawlid texts are given in the *Verzeichn. der arab. Hs. der Kgl. Bibl. zu Berlin*. Of special value is the Mawlid of Abu 'l-'Abbās b. 'Abd Allāh al-Lakhmī of Ceuta (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 366); J.-J. L. Bargès, *Complément de l'histoire des Beni-Zeynān*, 1887, p. 47 sqq.; *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris 1826, xiv. 196 sqq.; A. Mez, *Renaissance d. Islāms*, 1922, p. 403; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*², 1925, p. 257.

(H. FUCHS)

AL-MAWSIL. [See MOSUL.]

MAWSIM (A., from the root *w-s-m* "to stigmatise"), market, festival. In this sense the term is used in *ḥadīth*, especially in connection with the markets of early Arabia, such as those which were held in 'Ukāz, Maḍjanna, Dhū 'l-Maḍjāz, 'Arafa, etc. (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīdj*, b. 150; *Tafsīr*, sūra 2, b. 34). At these markets the worst elements of Arabia gathered (*al-mawṣim yadīma' ra'ā' al-nās*, Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, b. 31). Advantage was also taken of these assemblies to make public proclamations and inquiries, e.g. in order to regulate the affairs of deceased persons (Bukhārī, *Khums*, b. 13; *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, b. 27). As the pilgrimage was at the same time one of the chief markets of early Arabia, the term *mawṣim* is often combined with it (*mawṣim al-ḥadīdj*, Bukhārī, *Ḥadīdj*, b. 150; *Buyū'*, b. 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāṣik*, b. 6). Upon this basis the term *mawṣim* has developed chiefly in two directions; it has acquired the

general meaning of (religious) festival (Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.) and that of season. In the Lebanon *mawṣim* denotes the season of the preparation of silk (Bistānī, *Muḥit*, s. v.).

In India and in European terminology referring to these parts of the world, it has acquired the meaning of season in connection with the weather-conditions special to those regions, such as the regularly returning winds and rainperiods. *Monsoon*, *mousson*, *moesson* and other corruptions of the term are found in this literature.

Bibliography: apart from the works mentioned in the art. cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, xvi. 123 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1897, p. 84 sqq., 246; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*. ed. Crooke, London 1903, s. v. *monsoon*. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MAWWĀL. [See MAWĀLIYA.]

MAWZŪNA, a small silver coin struck by the Sharifs of Morocco in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It was the smallest silver piece and equivalent to 24 copper fulūs or a quarter dirham. Another name for the *mawzūna* was *ūdja*. In 1911 (1330) copper coins of the value of 10, 5, 2 *mawzūnāt* were issued, the *mawzūna* being now the equivalent of a centime. On recent issues the name *mawzūna* has disappeared and its place is taken by *sentim*.

Bibliography: J. J. Marcel, *Tableau général des Monnaies ayant cours en Algérie*, Paris 1844, p. 9, 36—40. (J. ALLAN)

AL-MAYURKĪ, nisba of three Arabic authors, belonging to Majorca (Mallorca), the largest of the Balearic Islands.

I. the poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Tūnaiz, d. in 475 (1082), according to others in 477 at Kāzima near Baghdād; poems by him are preserved in the MS. of the Escorial in Derenbourg, N^o 467, 2; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'at*, S. 327; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 722.

II. the traditionist Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Naṣr Futūḥ b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥumaid al-Azdī al-Ḥumaidī, cf. above, ii. 3, where to the sources should be added Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, vii. 58—60 and 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dihlawī, *Bustān al-Muḥaddithīn*, p. 81. In addition to the works there given, the following still exist: 1. *al-Djam' bain al-Ṣaḥīḥain Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī wa-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muslim*; Mss. in Cairo, *Fihrist*, i. 325 and Moṣul, s. Dāwūd, *Makḥṣūṭ al-Mawṣil*, p. 194, 16 (fragment); Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Hubaira al-Wazīr (d. 560=1165) wrote a commentary on it; MSS. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, N^o 1192; Leipzig, Vollers, N^o 313 and in the Brit. Museum, N^o 1603. 2. *Tafsīr gharīb mā fi 'l-Ṣaḥīḥain murattab 'ala 'l-Masānīd*; MS. in the possession of A. Ṭaimūr Pāshā in Cairo, s. R.A.A.D., iii. 340. 3. *Tashīl al-Sabīl ilā Tū'allum al-Tarsīl bi-Tamthīl al-Mumathalāt wa-Taṣnīf al-Mukḥṭabāt*; MS. in Stambul, Top Kapu, N^o 2351; photograph in Cairo, s. *Fihrist*², iii. 62.

III. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tardjūmān, born in Majorca of Christian parents, studied in Lerida and Bologna, then went to Tunis on the advice of Bishop Nicolas Martell, who was himself a Muslim in secret, there adopted Islām and in 823 (1420) wrote a pamphlet against Christianity entitled *Tuḥfat al-Arib* (*Adīb*) fi 'l-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Ṣalīb; Mss. in the Brit. Museum Or. 5942; Ellis and Edwards, *Descriptive List*, p. 13; in Stambul, *Khālīs*, N^o 5275 (with Turkish translation), Fātiḥ, N^o 2909, As'ad, N^o 1147—1148; pr. Cairo

1895; transl. by J. Spiro, Paris 1886; cf. J. Miret y Sina, *La tomba del escriptor Català Fra Anselmo*, Barcelona 1910. Abu 'l-Ghaith Muḥammad al-Kašh-shāsh wrote an introduction to the book and dedicated it under the new title *Taḥiyat al-Asrār Ta'liḥ al-Akhyār al-Anṣār fi 'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Naṣāra 'l-Kuffār* to the Ottoman Sultān Aḥmad I. (1012-1026 = 1603-1617); MSS. s. G.A.L., ii. 250 (thereon Paris, N^o. 6051-6052). The author's son 'Abd al-Ḥalīm wrote a synopsis of the work; MS. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, N^o. 2211.

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, p. 34, N^o. 15; *R. Afr.*, v. 266; *R.H.R.*, xii. 68-89, 179-201, 278-301; *R.T.*, xiii. (1906), p. 89-101, 292-294. (C. BROCKELMANN)

MAZAGAN (old Arabic name: *al-Buraidja*, "the little fortress"; modern Arabic name: *al-Djadida* "the new"), a town on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, 7 miles S.E. of the mouth of the Wādī Umm Rabi'. Its population in 1926 was 19,159, of whom 14,141 were Muslims and 3,385 Jews.

Some writers think that Mazagan was built on the site of the *Ποσειδίας λιμὴν* of Ptolemy, or *Portus Rutubis* of Pliny. The texts however do not say that there was ever a town there, but only a roadstead frequented by ships. The situation seems to have remained unchanged throughout the middle ages. As to the name Mazagan, it seems to appear for the first time in al-Bakrī (eleventh century A.D.). This geographer, enumerating the ports of Morocco on the Atlantic coast, mentions a Marifen (de Slane's reading), which should undoubtedly be emended to Mazighan, a form attested by Idrisi (xiith century). The same place-name is found in a manuscript collection of edifying anecdotes relating to the great saint of Azammūr: Sidi Abū Shu'aib, who also lived in the twelfth century. Mazighan appears here as a fishing village between Azammūr and the ribāṭ of Tīt [q.v.]. The proximity of these two fairly important towns prevented it from developing. The roadstead is marked on a whole series of European planispheres and portulans of the xivth and xvth centuries (publ. by Ch. de La Roncière, *Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen-Age*, 1925) which give the forms Messegan (1339 and 1373), Maseghan (1367), Mazagem, intermediate between Mazighan and the Mazagão of the Portuguese. The latter, from the end of the xvth century, used to come to the harbour of Mazagan for cargoes of the grain of Dukkāla to supply the capital. In 1502, a squadron commanded by a Portuguese gentleman, Jorge de Mello, caught by a storm in the Straits of Gibraltar was driven to Mazagan and landed there. The Portuguese installed themselves in a deserted tower there to defend themselves against a possible attack by the inhabitants. Jorge de Mello soon returned to Portugal and obtained the king's permission to build a fortress at Mazagan. Although the story of these events is only recorded by writers of the xviii century, it must be in keeping with the facts, for letters patent of king Dom Manuel dated May 21, 1505, give Jorge de Mello the captaincy of the castle which he is authorised to build at his own expense at Mazagan. He did not however make use of his privilege for, when on Aug. 27, 1513 the Portuguese army sent to take Azammūr under the command of the Duke of Braganza landed at Mazagan, there was neither town nor

fortress there except the old ruined tower (*al-Buraidja*). The difficulty of entering the port of Azammūr led the Portuguese to establish a more accessible base at Mazagan. During the summer of 1514 under the direction of the architects Diego and Francisco da Arruda, a square castle flanked by towers at each of the four corners was built. One of these bastions was formed by the old tower, al-Buraidja, the name of which survived among the natives as that of the Portuguese town. This early castle still exists almost in its entirety. Particularly striking is a magnificent subterranean hall, the vaulting of which is supported by 25 pillars. It was probably, rather than a *salle d'armes*, a huge granary built to hold the contributions in grain paid by the tribes subjected to the Portuguese protectorate. It was at a later date used as a cistern to hold supplies of drinking-water for the garrison, when the place blockaded by rebellious tribes had no longer any taxes in grain to collect, which happened in 1541. For ten years before, the situation of the Portuguese stations on the coast, in view of the religious and anti-foreign movement stirred up by the coming and successes of the Sa'dian Sharifs, had been so bad that the king of Portugal thought of abandoning several of his fortresses. The taking of the fort Santa-Cruz on the Cape of Guer (Agadir) by the sharif (March 12, 1541) was a warning. John III decided to evacuate Safi and Azammūr and to concentrate on Mazagan, a more favourable and more easily defended position, all the Portuguese forces he wanted to leave in the south of Morocco. The operation was carried through in the autumn (before Nov. 6). From the month of April onwards the work of putting the town in a state of defence had been going on. The work was actually pushed on during the last months of the year (1541) under the direction of the great architect João da Castilho, who used plans prepared by an Italian engineer, Benito of Ravenna. This was when the walls of Magazan were built as they still stand to-day.

In retaining Mazagan the Portuguese wanted to keep a base on the coast to secure protection for the route to India. They also hoped that the fortress would serve them as a base for the conquest of Morocco, when a favourable conjuncture should arise, which however never happened. In fact for the more than two hundred years in which the Portuguese retained it, the possession of Mazagan only served them as a pretext to obtain from the Pope bulls of Crusades, which supplied the Papal Treasury with appreciable revenues. The tribes kept the town so closely blockaded that the inhabitants could not go outside its walls without military protection. The collection of wood and the cultivation of a few gardens, continually devastated by the natives, gave rise to continual skirmishes. The Muslims of the country around had built two little towns, a few miles from Mazagan, Faḥṣ al-Zammūriyīn and Faḥṣ Awlād Duwaiyib, where they entrenched themselves to keep up the blockade and where the devout, desirous of acquiring merit from participation in the holy war, used to come to discharge a few shots at Mazagan.

Badly supplied by sea, often a prey to famine and epidemics, the garrison and population however lived in sufficient security under their powerful walls, against which the tribes could do nothing. On several occasions however, they had to resist vigorous attacks. In April 1562 Muḥammad, son

of the Sa'dian Sultān, 'Abd Allāh al-Ghalib bi'llāh, at the head of a vast horde of tribal warriors laid siege to Mazagan. Two assaults were repulsed and the besiegers lost heart. On Aug. 4, 1623, the place, attacked by 3,000 Muslims during the absence of the governor, who was led into an ambush, owed its safety to his wife who ordered the gates to be shut, organised the defence, distributed arms to the whole population, women as well as men, and sent them on to the walls. During the disorder which accompanied the decline of the Sa'dian dynasty, the governors of Mazagan seem to have succeeded in raising the blockade and resuming relations to some extent with the tribes. The *mudjāhid* Sidi Muḥammad al-'Aiyāshī, to put an end to this, attacked the Portuguese in 1639 and inflicted some losses on them. Mawlay Ismā'il, occupied with the siege of Ceuta, never seriously tried to take Mazagan. The honour of retaking it belonged to his grandson Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. The Sultān came to besiege it in person at the end of Jan. 1769. The place held out successfully for five weeks but, the order to abandon it having arrived from Lisbon, the governor surrendered on honourable terms. The garrison and civilian population returned to Portugal with their arms and possessions. On abandoning Mazagan on March 10, 1769 the Portuguese exploded mines there which did great damage; the sultān entered a ruined town which he repopulated in part but it remained in so miserable a state that it was called *al-Mahdūma* "the ruined", until, in the reign of Sidi Muḥammad b. Hishām, in 1240 (1824—25) it was restored by Sidi Muḥammad b. al-Taiyib, k̄a'id of Dukkāla and Tāmasna, who gave it the name of *al-Djādida* by which it is generally known to Muslims.

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MĀZANDARĀN, a province to the south of the Caspian Sea bounded on the west by Gilān, on the east by the province of Āstarābād (q. v., formerly Gurgān).

The name. If Gurgān to the Īrānians was the "Land of the Wolves" (*vahrkāna*), the region to its west was peopled by "Māzainian dēws" (Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, col. 1169 under *māzainya daēva*). Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii. 373, note 32, thought that Māzandarān was a "comparative of direction" (**Mazana-tara*; cf. *SHUSH* and *SHUSHtar*) but Nöldeke's hypothesis is the more probable (*Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 178) who thinks that Māzan-dar = "the gate of Māzan" was a particular place, distinct from the part of

the country known as Tapuristān. [A village of Mesderan (?) is marked on Stahl's map 12 km. south of Firūzkūh !]. In any case the name Māzandarān seems to have no connection with *ρωσ Μαζωδάρων ὄρος* which according to Ptolemy, vi., ch. v., was situated between Parthia and Areia (Hāri-rūd) and was connected by Olshausen (*Mazdoran und Mazandaran, Monatsberichte Ak. Berlin*, 1877, p. 777—783) with Mazdūrān, a station 12 farsakhs west of Sarakhs; cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 24; Muḥaddasī, p. 351 [cf. however the late source of 881 (1476) quoted by Dorn, *Mélanges asiat.*, vii. 42].

The Avestan and Pahlavi quotations given by Darmesteter, *loc. cit.*, show to what degree the people of Māzandarān were regarded by the Persians as a foreign group and little assimilated. According to the *Bunlahish*, xv. 28, transl. West, p. 58, the "Māzandarān" were descended from a different pair of ancestors to those of the Īrānians and Arabs. The *Shāh-nāma* reflects similar ideas (cf. the episode of Kai-kā'ūs' war in Māzandarān and esp. Vullers ed., i., p. 332, v. 290: the war is waged against Ahriman; p. 364, v. 792—793: Māzandarān is contrasted with Īrān; p. 574, v. 925: the bestial appearance of the king of Māzandarān).

Among historical peoples in Māzandarān are the Tapyres (*Τάπυροι*), who must have occupied the mountains (north of Simnān), and the Amardes (*Ἀμαρδοί*), who according to Andreas and Marquart have given their name to the town of Āmol (although the change of *rd* to *l* is rather strange in the north of Persia). These two peoples were defeated by Alexander the Great. The Parthian king Phraates I (in 176 B. C.) transplanted the Mardes (Amardes) to the region of *Χάραξ* (*Khwar*) to the east of Warāmin) and their place was taken by the Tapyres, whose name came to be applied to the whole province.

The Arabs only know the region as Ṭabaristān (< Tapuristān, on the Pahlavi coins). The name Māzandarān only reappears in the Saldjūk period. Ibn al-Athīr, x. 34, in speaking of the distribution of fiefs by Alp Arslān in 458 (1065) says that Māzandarān was given to the emir Inandj Baighu. Ibn Isfandiār, p. 14, and Yāqūt, iii., p. 502, 9, think that Māzandarān as a name for Ṭabaristān is only of fairly modern origin (in Arabic?) but according to Zakariyā Kazwini, p. 270, "the Persians call Ṭabaristān Māzandarān". Ḥamdallāh Mustawfi distinguishes between Māzandarān and Ṭabaristān. In his time (1340) the 7 *tuman* of the "wilāyat of Māzandarān" were: Djurdjān, Mūrūstāk (?), Āstarābād, Āmol and Rustamdār, Dihistān, Rūghad and Siyāh-rustāk (?); on the other hand the *diyār-i Kūmis wa-Ṭabaristān* included Simnān, Dāmghān, Firūzkūh, a town of Damāwand, Firrīm etc. We find a similar distinction in *Khwāndamir*, ed. Dorn, p. 83.

Geography: The actual extent of Māzandarān (Rabino) is 300 miles from east to west and 46 to 70 miles from north to south. Except for the strip along the coast — broader in the east than the west — Māzandarān is a very mountainous country. The main range of the Elburz forms barriers parallel to the south of the Caspian, while the ridges running down to the sea cut the country up into a multitude of valleys open on the north only. The principal of the latter ridges is the Mazār-čūb, which separates Ṭabaristān from Tūnikābun. The latter is bordered on the south by the chain of the Elburz in the strict sense, which

separates it from the valley of the *Shāhrūd* (formed by the waters of the *Alamūt* and *Talākān* and flowing westward into the *Safid-rūd*).

To the east of *Mazār-ūb*, a number of ranges run out of the central massif of the *Elburz*: 1. to the east the chain of *Nūr* which cuts through the *Harāz-ṭey* and 2. to the S. E. the southern barrier which forms the watershed between the *Caspian* and the central plateau. Between the two, rises in isolation the great volcanic cone of *Damāwand* (9,900 feet).

To the east of *Damāwand* the southern barrier rejoins the continuation of the *Nūr* and the new line of the watershed of eastern *Māzandarān* is marked by the ranges of *Bānd-i-ṭey*, *Sawād-kūh*, *Shah-mirzād* (to the south of *Simnān*), of *Hazār-djārib* (to the south of *Dāmghān*), of *Shāh-kūh* (to the south of *Shāhrūd*) etc.

The rivers of *Māzandarān* are of two kinds. A hundred short streams run straight down into the sea from the outer mountains of *Māzandarān*. Much more important are the rivers which rise in the interior and after draining many valleys form a single great river when they break through the last barrier. Such are (from west to east): the *Sard-ābrūd*; the *Čālūs*; the *Harāz-ṭey*, which drains the region of mount *Damāwand* and then runs past *Āmol*; the *Bābol* (the river of *Bārfrūsh*); the *Tālār* (river of *Āliābād*); the *Tidjīn* (river of *Sārī*) and the *Nikā* (or *Āspnezyā*) which flows from east to west, its valley forms a corner between the southern chain (cf. above) and the mountains which surround the Gulf of *Astarābād* on the north.

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The historical geography of Māzandarān is still full of difficulties although Vasmer’s very full study has considerably reduced their number. The matter is complicated by the fact that certain well-known names are used in different periods for more or less identical districts.

The eastern frontier of Māzandarān (Tabaristān) in the strict sense, with Astarābād (Djurdjān) seems to have always run near Kulbād (on the river Kirrind; cf. Ptolemy *Χέρνδοι*) where there used to be a wall (*djār-i Kulbād*) which barred the narrow

strip of lowland between the Gulf of Astarābād and the mountains; cf. Ibn Rusta (p. 149) who speaks of the brick wall (*ādjurr*) and of the Gate of Tāmis through which travellers had to pass (cf. Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 303). To the west the town of Shālūs (Čālūs) was situated on the frontier of Dailam (Ibn Rusta, p. 150: *fī naḥwi ‘l-‘aduww*) but later the valley of the Sard-āb-rūd (Kalārdasht) seems to have been annexed to Tabaristān. Farther west the coast of Tunikābun was governed sometimes with Māzandarān and sometimes with Gilān.

The Arab geographers distinguished between the plain (*al-sahlīya*) and the mountains (*al-djabaliya*) of Tabaristān (Ištakhri, p. 211, 271). The important towns of Tabaristān were in the lowlands: Āmol, Nātil, Shālūs (Čālūs), Kalā (Kalār), Mila, Tardji (Tudji, Bardji), ‘Ain al-Humm, Māmīr (= Bārfrūsh), Sārī, Tāmisha (cf. Ištakhri, p. 207; cf. Muḥaddasī, p. 353). The principal town (*madīna*) of Tabaristān in the time of Ya’qūbī, p. 276, still was Sārīya [q.v.], but in the time of Mas’ūdi, *Tanbih*, p. 179, Ištakhri, p. 211, and Ibn Hawqāl, p. 271, the principal town (*qasaba*) and the most flourishing one in Tabaristān was Āmol (larger than Qazwīn).

The mountain area was quite distinct and its connection with the plain is not very clear in the Arabic texts; cf. the confused summary in Ištakhri, p. 204. Tabarī, iii., 1295 under the year 224 (838) distinguishes three mountains in Tabaristān: 1. the mountain of Wandā-Hurmuz in the centre (*wasaf*); 2. that of his brother Wandāsandjān (*sic*) b. Alandād b. Kārīn and 3. that of Sharwīn b. Surkhāb b. Bāb. Now according to Ibn Rusta, p. 151, (the Kārīnid) Wandā-Hurmuz lived near Dunbāwand. On the other hand, the same writer, p. 149, says that during the rule of Tabaristān by Djārīr b. Yazīd, Wandā-Hurmuz had bought 1,000 djarīb of domain lands (*ṣawāfi*) outside the town of Sārī. These *alf djarīb* seem to correspond to the region round the sources of the rivers Tīdjīn and Nikā which in Persian is called Hazār-djarīb. Later, the lands of Wandā-Hurmuz included the greater part of eastern Māzandarān. *Wandāspdjān seems to have ruled over the greater part of Māzandarān for his capital Muzn was the rallying point from which expeditions set out against Dailam. Finally the mountain of Sharwīn comprised the S.E. part of Māzandarān, for according to Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 305, it was close to Kūmis.

In the time of Ištakhri, the three divisions of the mountains specified are: the mountains of Rūbandj, of Fādūsban and of Kārīn. “They are high mountains (*djabāl*) and each of them (*djabāl*) has a chief”.

Rūbandj, according to Ibn Hawqāl, lay between Raiy and Tabaristān. Barthold, *Oïerok*, p. 155 emends the name to *Rūyandj and identifies it with Rūyān. Ibn Rusta, p. 149 says that Rūyān, near the lands of Raiy, did not form part of Tabaristān but formed a special *kūra* with the capital Kadjdja which was the headquarters of the Wālī (cf. Kačarustāk in the *bulūk* of Kudjūr). According to this, *Rūyand = Rūyān is to be located in the S.W. part of Māzandarān (north of Teherān). In the Mongol period, Ḥamdallāh Qazwīnī, p. 160, is the first to mention Rustamdār (on the Shāh-rūd). As Vasmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 122—125, has shown, Rustamdār later included all western Māzandarān between Sakhtasar (Gilān) and Āmol.

Rustamdār therefore included Rūyān, without the two terms being completely synonymous.

Djibāl Kārīn had only one town Shahrām, a day's journey from Sāriya. The local chiefs of the dynasty of Kārīn lived in the stronghold of Firrim which must have stood on the western branch of the river Tīdjin, which later flows past Sāri. The modern *bulūk* of Firrim is in the Hazār-Djarīb (more accurately in its western half which is called Dudānga). According to Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 95, the possessions of the Kārīnids included the mountains of Wandā-ummid (*ibid.*, p. 25; the water supply of the mosque of Āmol came from this mountain), Āmol, Lafūr (on the eastern source of the river Bābul which runs to Bārfurūsh) and Firrim, "which is called Kuh-i Kārīn". According to Yāqūt, iii. 283, the lands of the Kārīnids included Djibāl Sharwīn (cf. above) which I'timād al-Saltāna, *Kiṭāb al-Tadwīn*, p. 42, identifies with Sawād-kūh i. e. the sources of the Tālār (river of 'Alīābād between Āmol and Bārfurūsh); the pass leading to Sawād-kūh is still called Shalfīn < Sharwīn.

The Djibāl Pādūspān (قادر و سپان) long wrongly read قادر و سپان lay a day's journey from Sāri. The district had no cathedral mosque; the chief lived in the village of Uram (Ibn Hawkal, p. 268, 17: Uram-khāst, Ārum). As Vasmer has shown, p. 127-130, this must be sought on the middle course of the rivers of Bārfurūsh and 'Alīābād (to the north of Lafūr and near Shīrgāh).

Bibliography. B.G.A., s.v. Dailam, Tabaristān, Āmol, Sāriya etc. Ibn al-Faḥrī, p. 301-314, in particular gives very detailed information about Tabaristān. Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, index; Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, ii. 169, 179-180, 333, 337-338 (of little originality); Zakariyā Ḳazwīnī, *Athār al-Buldān* (clime iv.): Āmol, p. 190; Bilād al-Dailam, p. 221; Rūyān, p. 250; Tabaristān; Yāqūt, cf. Dorn, *Auszüge*, 1858, p. 2-45, where are collected all the articles relating to Tabaristān [but the text of Wüstenfeld's edition is preferable]; Ḥamdallāh Ḳazwīnī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, G.M.S., p. 159 and 161; Dorn, *Auszüge aus 14 morgenl. Schriftstellern betreffend d. Kaspische Meer*, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vi., p. 658, vii., p. 19-44 and 52-92; cf. also the historical bibliography. European works: Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumskunde*, 1871, i. 64-74; Dorn, *Caspia*, 1875 (a mass of rather undigested information); Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 1882, index; Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, Leipzig 1890, p. 73-93; Albers and Mazanderan (the author seeks to explain Iranian geography from Sanskrit texts); Barthold, *Istor.-geogr. obsor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 158-161, Pers. transl., Teherān 1930, p. 289-295; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 368-376; Vasmer, *Die Eroberung etc.*

History. The local dynasties of Māzandarān fall into three classes: 1. local families of pre-Islāmic origin, 2. the 'Alid sayyids and 3. local families of secondary importance.

I. At the coming of the Sāsānian dynasty, the king of Tabaristān and of Padashwārgar (Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 130: "the district opposite the region of Khwār"; Farshuwādgār is a misreading of the name, which is also found in the *Bundahish*, xii. 17) was Gushnasp, whose ancestors had reigned since the time of Alexander. In 529-536 Tabaristān was ruled by the Sāsānian prince Kayūs, son of Kawāt. Anūshīrwān put in his place Zarmihr, who

traced his descent from the famous smith Kāwa. His dynasty ruled till 645 when Gil Gaubāra (a descendant of the Sāsānian Djamāsp, son of Pērōz) annexed Tabaristān to Gilān. These families, on whom their coins might throw some light (cf. below), had descendants ruling in the Muslim period.

The Bāwandids (who claimed descent from Kayūs) provided three lines: the first 45-397 (665-1007) was overthrown on the conquest of Tabaristān by the Ziyārid Kābus b. Washmgrīr; the second reigned from 466 (1073) to 606 (1210) when Māzandarān was conquered by Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh; the third ruled from 635 (1237) to 750 (1349) as vassals of the Mongols. The last representative of the Bāwandids was slain by Afrāsiyāh Culāwī.

The Kārīnids (in the Kūh-i Kārīn) claimed descent from Kārīn, brother of Zarmihr (cf. above). Their last representative Māzyār [q.v.] was put to death in 224 (839).

The Pādūspānids (Rūyān and Rustamdār) claimed descent from the Dābūyids of Gilān (their eponym was the son of Gil Gaubāra; cf. above). They came to the front about 40 (660) and during the rule of the 'Alids were their vassals. Later they were vassals of the Būyids and Bāwandids, who deposed them in 586 (1190). The dynasty, restored in 606, survived till the time of Timūr; one of its branches (that of Kāwūs b. Kayūmarth) reigned till 975 (1567) and the other (that of Iskandar b. Kayūmarth) till 984 (1574).

II. Alongside of these native dynasties the 'Alids were able to establish themselves, principally in Tabaristān. In 250 the people of Rūyān, rebelling against the governor, sent to Raiy for the Zaidī Saiyid Ḥasan b. Zaid, a descendant of the Caliph 'Alī in the sixth generation. This (Ḥasanid) branch ruled in Tabaristān till 316 (928). The Ḥusainid branch ruled from 304 to 337 (?). Another dynasty of Mar'ashī sayyids ruled in Māzandarān between 760 (1358) and 880 (1475). The founder of this dynasty was Ḳiwām al-Dīn, a descendant of 'Alī in the twelfth generation. A third family of Murtaḍāī sayyids is known in Hazār-Djarīb between 760 and 1005 A.H.

III. The noble families who enjoyed considerable influence, mainly in their fiefs, are very numerous. Rābīno mentions the Kiyā of Čulāw (at Āmol, Talaḳān and Rustamdār) between 795 A.H. and 909 A.H.; the Kiyā Djalālī of Sāri in 750-763; the house of Rūzafzūn of Sawādkūh between 897 and 923; the Dīw in the period of Shāh Tahmāsp in certain parts of Māzandarān; the Banū-Kā'ūs between 857 and 957; the Banū-Iskandar between 857 and 1006 and the different princes of Tamīsha, of Miyāndurūd, of Lāridjān, of Māmtīr, of Lafūr etc.

Besides this confusion of feudal dynasties, a series of conquerors from outside has ruled in Māzandarān: the Arabs (their expeditions began in 22 = 644; the final conquest took place under al-Manṣūr in 141-144 [cf. the article TABARISTĀN]; the dates and facts given are very contradictory as Vasmer has shown), the Tāhirids, the Šaffārids, the Sāmānids, the Ziyārids, the Ghaznawids, the Saldjūqs, the Khwārizmshāhs, the Mongols, the Sarbadārs, Timūr and his descendants, the Šafawids. Shāh Ismā'īl sent an expedition to Māzandarān in 923 (1517) but it was under Shāh 'Abbās that the land was definitely incorporated in Persia in 1005 (1596). This monarch claimed hereditary

rights there from the connection of his family with the Saiyid Kīwām al-Dīn Mar'ashī ('Ālamārā, Tēherān, p. 354). Farāhābād was founded in 1020 (1612) and in the next year Ashraf was built with its famous palaces.

Bibliography. On the campaigns of Alexander the Great and Antiochus III (in 209 B.C.; cf. Polybius, x. 28–31), cf. Dorn, *Caspia, sub Alexander*; Dorn, *Reise*, p. 156–161; Marquart, *Alexander's Marsch von Persepolis nach Herāt*, in *Untersuch. z. Gesch. von Iran*, ii., 1905, p. 45–63; Stahl, *Notes on the march of Alexander the Great from Ecbatana to Hyrcania*, *J. R. G. S.*, Oct. 1924, p. 312–319. On the Arsacid and Sāsānid period: Darmesteter, *Lettre de Tansar à Jasnaf, roi de Tabaristan*, *J. A.*, 1894, i, p. 185–250 et 502–555 (Tansar [Tūsar?], the priest of the Sāsānid Ardashīr I exhorts Djušnāsf to submit; the document translated from Pahlavi into Arabic is given by Ibn al-Muḳaffa' in Persian in Ibn Isfandiyyār); Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895, p. 430–435 (tables); Justi, in *Grund. d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 547; Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 129–136.

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written by Abu 'l-Kāsim Hamza al-Sahmī in 689 = 1290, cf. the Catalogue of the Bodleiana, Oxford 1787 (Uri), p. 165, Arabic MSS., No. 746]; 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Djurdjānī al-Idrīsī, *Ta'riḫ-i Djurdjān* (date unknown). A large number of Muḥammadan sources relating to Māzandarān have been collected by Dorn, *Die Geschichte Tabaristans und der Serbedare nach Chondemir*, *Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, 1850, vol. viii.; and *Auszüge aus Muham. Schriftstellern betreffend d. Gesch. und Geographic*, St. Pétersbourg 1858 (extracts from 22 works). For Timūr's campaigns: *Zafar-nāma*, i. 348, 358, 379, 570; ii. 577; Münedjdim-bashī (1630–1702), *Shāḥ'if al-Akhbār*, Stambul 1285 (1868) (dynasties of Māzandarān; cf. Sachau's translation, *Ein Verzeichniss d. muhamm. Dynastien*, Berlin 1923: *Die Kaspischen Fürstentümer*, No. 3–13).

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Archaeology. Bode, *On a recently opened tumulus in the neighbourhood of Astarabad*, *Archeologia*, London 1844, xxx. 248–255 (on the circumstances of the find made at Tūrāng-tāpā cf. Bode,

Otčestvennyia Zapiski, 1856, No. 7, p. 152—160), Rostovtsev, *The Sumerian treasure of Astarabad*—*Journ. of Egyptian archaeol.*, 1920, vi. 4—27; Minorsky, *Transcaucasica* (publ. in *J. A.*, 1930); De Morgan, *Mission scientifique, Recherches archéologiques*, part i., Paris 1899, p. 1—3 (prehistoric sites of Mazandarān); Crawshaw-Williams, *Rock-dwellings in Rainei*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 551—552; 1906, p. 217; Hommaire de Hell, cf. above (atlas); Hantzsch, *Paläste Schah Abbas I in Mazanderan*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xv., 1862, xx., 1866, p. 186; Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1901—1910, Textband, p. 95—116: Die Bauwerke d. Landschaft Tabaristan (Grabtürme von Mazanderan; Amol; Sari; die Palastanlage von Aschref; Safi-abad; Farah-abad); Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, p. 88, inscription of Rādkān of the Ispahbad Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. Wādarīn Bāwand of 407 (1016; studied by van Berchem). (V. MINORSKY)

The coins of Māzandarān. The question whether the Sāsānians struck coins in Māzandarān is still an open one and can only be settled when the groups of letters that mark the mints on Sāsānian coins have been properly explained. According to the so far insufficient attempts to explain them, the letters *AM* found from the time of Firūz onwards are an abbreviation for Āmul, but this explanation is quite without proof.

The Dābwaihid and the earlier Arab governors of Ṭabaristān struck in the second (eighth) century coins of the type of the Sāsānian drachms of Khusrāw II; on the obverse, with the bust of the ruler, his name is given in Pahlavi characters and on the reverse is the fire-altar with its two guardians and on the right the mint *Tpurstan* and on the left the year in the Ṭabaristān era (began on June 11, 652). These silver coins average in weight 1.90 grammes = 29.3 grains and are hemidrachms. Of the Dābwaihid rulers, Ferkhwān, Dāt-būrdjmatūn and Khūrshīd are mentioned upon them. The coins of the first bear the years 60—77 (711—728), of the second 86—87 (737—738) and of the third 89—115 (740—766); these dates enable us to correct the chronology given by the historians. On some coins with the name Khūrshīd, earlier students read the dates 60—63 but this is to be explained by the similarity of *shast* and *dehsat* in the Pahlavi script and these coins are really of the years 110 sqq. The assumption of a Khūrshīd I, who reigned in the sixties of the Ṭabaristān era (Mordtmann), is thus quite unfounded. As Khūrshīd died in 144 A. H. = 110 Ṭabaristān era, and there are coins with the names of Arab governors earlier than the year 116 Ṭab., it must be assumed that the Arabs continued to strike coins in the name of the earlier ruler of the land for a period after the conquest of Māzandarān, just as they did after the conquest of Persia under the Caliph 'Omar.

The earlier coins struck by Arab governors of Ṭabaristān bear the name Khālīt (Khālīd b. Barmak, 116—119) and Ūmar ('Omar b. al-'Alā, 120—125) in Pahlavi. From 122 the name of the governor is given in Kūfic also and afterwards in this exclusively ('Omar, Sa'īd, Yahyā, Djarīr, Sulaimān). In the years 130 and 140, there frequently appear on the coins names which seem to have belonged to some other officials, as the names of governors given for this period by historians are different.

Anonymous coins were also struck. The issue of these coins with Sāsānian types ended in the year 143 Ṭabaristān era (794, anonymous) but we have a coin of 161 (812) on the obverse of which in place of the king's head — as earlier on the coins of the governor Sulaimān (136—137) — there is a rhombus with the puzzling Arabic letters *bh* and on the margin al-Faql b. Sahl Dhul-Riyāsatain (in Arabic) is named; on the reverse, instead of the altar with its guardians are three parallel designs like fir branches, between them an inscription in four lines giving the Muḥammadan creed in Kūfic and the date and mint in Pahlavi (Tiesenhausen, *Zap. vost. otd. arch. obshē.*, ix. 224).

We know dirhams of Ṭabaristān mint of the Caliphs of the years 102 (Lavoix), 147 (Brit. Mus. with the name of the governor Rawḥ), 190—192, copper coins of the years 145 and 157 (Zambaur, *Numism. Ztschr.*, xxvi., the latter with the name of 'Omar b. al-'Alā). At a later date, coins were struck there by the dā'īs of the 'Alids ('Āmul, 253 AR, 306 AV and AR), the Būyids and Ziyārīds ('Āmul, Sāriya and Firrim), the Bāwandīds (Firrim, 353—367, 401 AR), sometimes by the Sāmānīds, ('Āmul AV 341, AR 302, 353—357), still later by the Hūlāgūīds, Serberdārs, Timūrīds ('Āmul, Sāri) and Shāhs of Persia ('Āmul, Sāri, Ṭabaristān, Māzandarān). In Āmul anonymous copper coins were struck from the xviith century onwards. On several pieces of this period the mint Ṭabaristān occurs. As these are all very rare, the issue must have been an occasional one. The dates are not preserved on any specimens. More common are copper pieces of the value of 4 kāzbekī (18—22 grammes = 280—340 grains) with the lion and sun and mint Māzandarān, which belong to the xviiith century. During the Russian occupation of Gilān in 1723—1732, to meet the shortage of currency provoked by the financial crisis in Russia at this time, Persian copper coins were overstruck with a Russian die (double-eagle) and circulated in the occupied provinces in place of Russian money. These coins are often called Māzandarān pieces but this is not correct, as only Gilān and not Māzandarān was occupied.

Bibliography: Olshausen, *Die Pehlevi-Legenden auf den Münzen der letzten Sasaniden*, Copenhagen 1843; Kraft, *Wiener Jahrbücher*, cvii., *Anzeigebblatt*, 1844; Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, viii., xii., xix., xxxiii.; S.B. Bayr. Ak., 1871; Dorn, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i.—iii., vi., viii.; Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, 1849, 1852, 1871. A new work on the Ṭabaristān Pahlavi coins is in preparation by R. Vasmer. For the later period: The coin catalogues by S. Lane-Poole and R. Stuart Poole; Markov, *Inventarnyi Katalog*; Zambaur, *Numism. Ztschr.*, xlvii. 136; R. Vasmer, *Sbornik Ermitaža*, iii. 119—132 (Russ.).

(R. VASMER)

MAZĀR-I SHARĪF, a town in Afghānistān, south of the Āmū-Daryā [q. v.]. In the middle ages it was the site of the village of Khair, later called Khodja Khairān, 14 miles east of Balkh. On two different occasions, in the vith (xiith) century after 530 (1135—1136) in the time of Sulṭān Sandjar [q. v.], and in 885 (1480—1481) in the reign of the Timūrid Sulṭān Husain, the tomb of the caliph 'Alī was "discovered" here and its genuineness declared to have been proved. A place of pilgrimage (*mazār*) at once arose around the tomb with a considerable market; the second

tomb which is still standing (the first is said to have been destroyed by Čingiz-Khān), was built in 886 (1481—1482). The *mazār* does not seem to have been of any particular importance during the time of the Özbegs and is hardly mentioned although several Özbeg Sultāns were buried there. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the place is usually simply called *mazār* by travellers, the name *Mazār-i Sharīf* seems only to have arisen within the last hundred years. 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī (ed. Schefer, p. 4) does not mention Mazār at all among the towns of Afghānistān; in 1832 when A. Burnes passed through it, it was a little town with about eight hundred houses. In 1866, the Afghān governor Na'ib 'Ālim Khān, a Shī'ī, chose Mazār-i Sharīf as his residence; since then Mazār-i Sharīf has been the capital of Afghān Turkistān. In 1878 it was described by the Russian general Matveyew as one of the best towns in Northern Afghānistān with about 30,000 inhabitants (Kostenko, *Turkestan'skiy Krai*, ii. 157).

Bibliography: On the first discovery of the tomb cf. the text of Abū Ḥamid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī (*G. A. L.*, i. 477, where the name is different), in *J. A.*, ccviii, 1925, p. 145 sqq.; on the second: Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, lithography of Tihiran, iii. 260 sq.; C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, Edinburgh and London 1888, p. 279 sqq. (W. BARTHOLD)

AL-MAZĀTĪ, a name borne by over twenty Abādī writers or men celebrated for their piety, among whom may be mentioned Abū 'l-Rabī' Sulaimān b. Yakhḷaf al-Mazātī, a pupil of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr. Celebrated for his learning and his virtues, he spent all his life in study and teaching and died in 474 (June 11, 1081—May 31, 1082) in a little town of the Banū Wislū (ويسلو), a clan of the tribe of Mazāta, which in those days occupied the lands between Gabes and the south of Tripoli. He wrote a book on the principles of law (*uṣūl*) entitled *al-Muṭḥaf*.

Bibliography: Abū 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, p. 412, 592. (MOH. BENCHENEB)

MAZDAK, the apostle of a religion, which was founded two centuries before him by Zarādusht, son of Khurrahkhān, but spread in Persia only after his propaganda; it had great political influence in the country in the time of Kawādh (488—531 A. D. with an interregnum). The latter adopted it and even made arrangements for putting its teaching into practice but after his restoration he put Mazdak and a large number of his followers to death. The best known feature of his teaching was the endeavour to remove every cause of covetousness and discord among men, and thus to purify religion, by making women and possessions common property.

It is not possible to reconstruct from the sources the Mazdaki doctrine in detail nor to settle its relations with the other religions or sects of Persia. The main features will be indicated here.

The sources. Detailed narratives of the reign of Kawādh and some important references to Mazdak and his teaching will be found in the contemporary Syrian and Byzantine writers (Joshua Stylites, Agathias, Procopius, Malala, Theophanes). In Pahlavi literature there are few references to Mazdak. The bulk of our information about Mazdak and his relations with Kawādh come to us

from Arab and Persian writers and go back mainly to the *Khwadāināmagh* or Royal Sāsānian Chronicle, of which the best known Arabic version was that of Ibn al-Muḥaffā'. Baron Rosen has shown that the other Arabic versions were not all dependent on this one, some of them having been prepared directly from the original. Some compilers also inserted historical or legendary episodes taken from other Pahlavi works and others attempted to harmonise different narratives and did a certain amount of retouching in their reconstruction of the original. The Persian and Arab writers who had these different versions or compilations at their disposal only very rarely mention their sources and endeavour in turn to reconcile the statements made. Nöldeke has already distinguished two "Hauptquellen" for the various Arabic and Persian narratives (the first followed by Ibn Ḳutaiba and Eutychius and a part of Ṭabarī, the second by al-Ya'qūbī and another part of Ṭabarī). Christensen in his fundamental study thinks he can distinguish four lines of the tradition of the *Khwadāināmagh* found by the Arab and Persian authors in the different versions or editions of it. Nöldeke's two "Hauptquellen" correspond to the first two; a third is represented by al-Dīnawarī (Nöldeke thinks his story is a harmonising of the two "Hauptquellen") and the *Nihāyat al-ʿIrāq fī Akhbār al-Furs wa 'l-ʿArab* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 195 sq.); the fourth presents features of its own, some of which are legendary in character and are found again in the *Siyāsāt-Nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk, which is independent of the *Khwadāināmagh*. The common source of all these legendary features would be, according to Christensen, the Book of Mazdak, a Pahlavi work of fiction (like the *Katila wa-Dimna*), which enjoyed great popularity and was translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḥaffā' and into Arabic verse by Ābān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Lāhikī. The elements of this fourth line of tradition are, according to Christensen, found in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, al-Tha'ālibī, Firdawsī, al-Bīrūnī, Ibn al-Aṭhīr and Abū 'l-Fidā'. Some references in al-Mas'ūdī and al-Khwarizmī can also be traced to the book of Mazdak.

Independent traditions would also be preserved elsewhere, for example by the Arabs of al-Ḥīra. Al-Shahrastānī's notes (to which some critics deny any historical value) might go back to books of the sect now lost. These are not found elsewhere and their immediate source was Muḥammad b. Hārūn Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq, a Zoroastrian converted to Islām. The source of the notices in the *Fihrist* is not known (it calls the Mazdakis Zoroastrians); the Persian work of the xviii century called *Dabistān-i Madhāhib*, is probably a mere compilation of no value, from sources already mentioned and the pretended Mazdaki book *Disnād*, which it quotes, is not genuine.

Doctrine. The fact that the majority of these sources emphasise the social aspect of the Mazdaki reforms and do not mention special doctrines or beliefs of the sect (some like the *Fihrist* and Ibn al-Aṭhīr connect it with Mazdaeism) has convinced the majority of Orientalists who have studied this subject (e.g. Nöldeke, Nicholson, v. Wesendonk) that the reforms must be considered as a social movement which aimed at purifying the Mazdaean religion: a communist system of which the precepts regarding women and property and those of an ascetic nature (like the prohibition of slaughtering

animals and eating their flesh) had however a religious aim, and were clearly distinguished by this character from modern social communism.

Christensen, in his work already quoted, comes to the contrary conclusion that Mazdakism was above all a religious movement and that its social precepts were originally a very secondary feature; it was, he says, a reform of Manichaeism, already preached by Zārādusht, two centuries before Mazdak. Christensen supports his argument by two well known passages in Malala, of which the first deals with the doctrines propounded at Rome under Diocletian by the Manichaean Bundos in opposition to official Manichaeism.

This Bundos is supposed to have afterwards gone to Persia and spread his doctrine there, which was called τῶν Δαριθεῶν (from the Pahlavi form *derist-dēnān* = followers of the orthodox faith). The other passage calls king Kawādḥ δ Δαριθεὺς (an inaccurate form for δ Δαριθεύς), an epithet which contains an allusion to the Mazdaki faith. A popular form دريژ دین is said to be the origin of the very corrupt forms of this surname, which are found in the Arabic texts and are due to the similarity of certain Arabic letters (al-Thaʿālibi translates it "may his beard fall" which presupposes a form دريژان آبی ریش). Christensen thinks these links sufficient to identify Zārādusht with Bundos (Bundos would be an honorific title of the reformer, "the venerable", from the Pahlavi *bundigh*, *bundagh*) and defines Mazdakism as a Manichaean *δριδοζία*.

This theory is supported by al-Shahrastānī's résumé, which gives us, along with the general character of the religious history of Iran, the best argument for this thesis, and those who hold the other view are forced to deny any force to the evidence of this historian of sects. Christensen also concludes that it is with good reason that the Byzantine historians call the Mazdakis Manichaeans: but it must be added that their classification of a doctrine so little known in the west (where on the other hand Manichaeism was well known and was, so to speak, the typical heresy of Persia) is not of much value.

According to al-Shahrastānī's exposé, Mazdak's system resembled that of Mani; except that he said that the dark spirits did not act of their own will and without restraint (*bi 'l-kṣd wa 'l-ikhtiyār*), but blindly and by chance (*bi 'l-kḥabṭ wa 'l-itiffāk*); that mixture is produced also *bi 'l-kḥabṭ wa 'l-itiffāk* and liberation will be produced *bi 'l-kḥabṭ wa 'l-itiffāk*. In this connection we must remember that the same author in his survey of the Manichaeans tells us that the views of the Manichaeans on the cause of mixture were divided and that some of them said that it was produced *bi 'l-kḥabṭ wa 'l-itiffāk* the opposite of what was laid down in the original cosmogony. Other Muslim writers allude to this point in dispute among the dualist sects: al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisī says, for example, that mixture *bi 'l-kḥabṭ wa 'l-itiffāk* is taught by the Sabians, a name which is sometimes applied to the Manichaeans. All this gives the impression that the mention of the Mazdaki teaching in this connection is quite in keeping with the conditions of polemic among dualists. Perhaps the practical teachings of Mazdakism should be connected with the doctrine of mixture *bi 'l-kḥabṭ wa 'l-itiffāk*.

Al-Shahrastānī also gives from another source other details on Mazdaki cosmogony (the four forces, which surround the object of worship as court dignitaries surround the king of Persia; the seven viziers, the twelve spiritual beings, the three elements, the director of good and of evil), details which have their parallels in other gnostic and dualist cosmogonies, which should be studied with their names from the point of view of the latest studies on Iranian syncretism.

Al-Shahrastānī finally alludes to certain cabalistic speculations on the letters of the supreme name and mentions Mazdaki sects (like the Abū Muslimiyya) still in existence in his time in Persia and as far away as Soghdiana.

We may conclude that it is at least premature to deny all connection between Manichaeism and Mazdakism; it seems that rather than put the question in the form of a rigid alternative between Mazdaean or Manichaean influence, it would be better to regard Mazdakism as a form of gnosis upon which two powerful religious forces have exerted an equal influence, the official religion and the Manichaean heresy, and some other elements also (just as Manichaean gnosticism owes much to the national religion).

In any case, the feature which appears most clearly from the sources and which struck contemporaries was the general body of Mazdaki precepts with communist and humanitarian tendency and especially those which relate to community of women and property and were actually put into practice for a short time. The ascetic prescriptions are quite in keeping with a gnostic character of the sect (the prohibition of slaughtering animals and eating their flesh) which with communist teachings would be the elements forming the path to gnosis and liberation.

The presence of an ascetic strain in Mazdakism, as in Manichaeism, is probable. The people naturally seized on these principles and eagerly attempted to put them into practice on a large scale. Thus excesses resulted which, at least in origin, were very far from the intentions of the reformer and the élite of his adherents. This explains also why the religious character of the sect was forgotten and memory of its social teachings retained. Whether the founder and his leaders also abandoned themselves to the excesses of which the sources accuse them, one cannot say; we know that very frequently the initial good faith of reformers is disturbed by contact with reality.

It was natural to give a more practical value to this body of teaching, if we regard Mazdakism as a Puritan reform remaining within the Mazdaean religion and not becoming an independent religion.

Contemporary sources also tell us of a bishop elected by the Mazdakis, named, according to Malala, Indarazar (which Nöldeke connects with the Pahlavi word *āndarazar* = to advise; cf. the *ispasagh* or *episkopos* of the Manichaeans) who was slain with the other Mazdakis on the day of the massacre; according to Christensen, it is possible to identify him with Mazdak.

During the persecution which followed the massacre, all the Mazdaki books were destroyed. The Persian work of the seventh century, *Dabistān-i Madhūhib* quotes a book called *Disnād* which is usually regarded as a forgery: all the notices of the sect professing to come from this book are

taken from the text of al-Shahrestānī and other sources, like the rest of the book. The Book of Mazdak which enjoyed a great popularity and was translated in Arabic by Ibn al-Mukaffa^c and into Arabic verse by Ābān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥikī was a work of entertainment and not of religious teaching (cf. above).

History of the Mazdakī movement in the reign of Kawādh. — The Massacre. We know very little about the life of Mazdak (also written Mazdak). His father was called Bāmdādh (a Persian name like Mazdak) and according to Ṭabarī, they came from a town المدرة which

Christensen is inclined to identify with Mādhārāyā. Iṣṭakhr and Tabriz are mentioned as the birth-place of the reformer. According to some sources, he had been a Zoroastrian priest (*mōbadh*); al-Bīrūnī who sometimes follows a romantic tradition (cf. above), calls him *mōbadhān mōbadh*! The details of his doctrine are not known but it is certain that he developed and spread the teaching of his precursor Zardusht of Pasā, who lived two centuries before him. It is evident that the disturbed condition of Persia after the victories of the Hephthalites facilitated the spread of revolutionary doctrines; but it is difficult to see why the king (whose reign began in 488) became a convert to the new faith (and this is a question which also puzzled the ancients), and how he became connected with Mazdak.

The necessity of crushing the power of the nobility and higher clergy which he found annoying may have caused the king to use for his own ends a sect which aimed at destroying the privileges of these classes. Nöldeke (who thinks Kawādh was a man of strong will) credits him with this plan. Christensen (who had accepted this thesis) now sees in the allusions of some of the sources proof of the sincerity of Kawādh (whom, as he says, the contemporary sources do not credit with a "Machiavellian character"). Kawādh, he thinks, was moved primarily by religious motives and was attracted by the religious element in the new teaching, while ready to take advantage of any political advantages that the sect might be likely to gain for him. In any case it is evident that in his wars he was not restrained by any humanitarian prejudices, although one Arabic source with a hostile bias says that the king as a *zandīk* feared to spill blood. Christensen likes to compare his attitude with regard to Mazdakī morality with that of Constantine with regard to Christian teaching. In any case it is difficult to give a verdict on Kawādh, in view of the varying prejudices of the sources and the tradition of the time of Khusrāw which in general tends to elevate the figure of Anūsharwān at the expense of the others. There were numerous conversions among the upper classes; proselytising among the common people was facilitated by the wretched conditions in which they lived and of course also by the nature of the teaching which in every age has seduced the masses. Mazdakism thus became a remarkable force and permeated all the machinery of government. The practical effect of the king's favour was seen in the measures alluded to in contemporary sources; but we do not know to what degree they realised the Mazdakī ideal, either as regards community of women (perhaps this was only an extension of regulations already existing in the Sāsānian code?)

or community of property (only taxes on the rich?). But what is certain is that Khusrāw at the beginning of his reign had to take important steps to remedy the disastrous results to property and the organisation of the family; such abuses were however not the direct result of the legal measure adopted by Kawādh but rather of the violent application of communism which was a later development.

The philo-Mazdak policy of the king and the growing power of the sect provoked a revolution in the palace and Kawādh was dethroned and imprisoned. Djāmāsp, his brother, was put on the throne in his stead. Kawādh succeeded in escaping and took refuge with the Hephthalites and regained his kingdom with their assistance (498 or 499). In the meanwhile, in spite of the dethronement of the king, the sect had grown more and more and its power became disquieting. The people, urged on by their leaders and more alive to the practical advantages than to the religious elements of the reform, naturally abandoned themselves to all sorts of excesses and disorder broke out everywhere. The estates of the nobles were plundered, the women carried off, which, with a horror of communist principles, explains the violent language used by contemporary and Arabic and Persian sources against the sect. All this must have frightened the king on his return. Having revenged himself on his principal enemies immediately on his restoration, he now found it necessary to come to an agreement with the majority of the nobility and clergy in order to face the war with Byzantium. Prince Khusrāw seeing his rights to the succession threatened by the activities of the sect, which, taking advantage of its power, was endeavouring to secure the election of Kawādh's eldest son Padhashkhwār Shāh (Phthasuarsan). It is also said (in the sources of the fourth line; cf. above) that Khusrāw was eager to avenge himself on Mazdak, who had refused to take as his wife the mother of Khusrāw (offered to him by Kawādh in recognition of the principles of the sect) until the prince humbled himself before him. Khusrāw, who had already begun to display his remarkable political abilities, must have had considerable influence with his father, who was persuaded to have Mazdak and his followers massacred, after inviting them en masse to the court on the pretext that a theological disputation was to be held (or according to another story, for the public proclamation of Padhashkhwār Shāh as heir to the throne). The massacre took place in 528 or at the beginning of 529. Arab writers wrongly put it at the beginning of the reign of Khusrāw; this exploit earned him the title of Anūsharwān. The number of slain is unknown. Kawādh died in 531 and after him Khusrāw took special steps to restore order in the ownership of property and in the social organisation which had been upset by the application of communism. The surviving Mazdakis were persecuted in a blood-thirsty fashion and their books burned.

Mazdakism after the massacre. It is not probable that Mazdakism disappeared with the persecution; perhaps the survivors sought refuge in the mountains, in different parts of Persia where we later find sects (e.g. the *Khurramiyya*) whom Muslim writers do not hesitate to connect with the Mazdakis. Nizām al-Mulk, who in his manual on the art of government attributes great political importance to a knowledge of the various sects, is very clear on this point. According to some

orientalists Mazdakī elements can be discovered in Bātinism and Ismāʿīlism. But the whole question of the relations between these sects (of which very often insufficient is known) and the old Persian religious forms must be examined thoroughly with a knowledge of the progress made in the study of Irānian gnosés and syncretisms. It cannot be dealt with here; cf. the articles ISMĀʿĪLIYA, KHUR-RAMIYA, MUBAIYIDA, MUHAMMIRA, MUKANNAʿ, RĀ-WANDIYA, SINBĀD etc.

Bibliography: Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und der Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 455—467 (fundamental); cf. the popular sketch of the subject by the same author in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1879, p. 284 sqq.; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Cambridge 1900 and 1928, vol. i.; O. G. v. Wesendonk, *Die Mazdakiten*, in *Der Neue Orient*, vi. 35—41; do., *Die Religion der Drusen*, *ibid.*, vii. 85—88, 127—130; A. Christensen, *Le règne du roi Kawādī I et le communisme mazdakite*, in *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskaberne Selskab*, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser, ix. 6, Copenhagen 1925 (very important) (MICHELANGELO GUIDI) **MAẖHAR**, MIRZĀ DĪĀNDJĀNĀN, an Urdu poet and eminent Ṣafī, of Turkish descent, was born in 1111 (1699) or 1113 (1701) in Kālā-bāgh, Mālwah. His father Mirzā Dĵān was an officer of Awrangzēb [q.v.], who, when the news of his birth was conveyed to him, said his father was Mirzā Dĵān and hence his son should be called Dĵāndjānān; though his father afterwards named him Shams al-Dīn, yet he is known by the name which the emperor had selected for him. He was received into the Naqshabandī order by Saiyid Mir Muḥammad Badāʿunī and into the Kādirī order by Muḥammad ʿĀbid Sumāmī. He died in Dīlī on the 10th of Muḥarram 1195 (January 6, 1780) from a pistol shot fired at him by some Shīʿa fanatic. His memoirs with some letters, called *Maḥamāt Maẖharī* or *Lataʾif Khamsa* are edited by Muḥammad Beg b. Raḥīm Beg, Dīlī A. H. 1309, A. D. 1892. His biography, together with notices of his disciples, has been written by Muḥammad Naʿīm Allāh Bahraʾīdĵī in *Bishkārāt Maẖhariya*.

Bibliography: Shīfta, *Gulshan Bikhār*, fol. 142b—143a; Āzād, *Āb-i Ḥayāt*, Lahore 1913, p. 137—148; Karīm al-Dīn, *Taʾriḫ-i Shuʿarā-i Urdū*, Dīlī 1848, p. 105—107; *Ḥadāʾiq al-Hanafīya*, Lucknow 1891, p. 453; Sprenger, *Oude Catalogue*, p. 488; Garcin de Tassy, *Litt. Hind.*, ii. 297; and Rieu, *Cat. Persian Mss. Br. Mus.*, i. 363a. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MĀZIN, the name of several Arab tribes who are represented in all the great ethnic groupings of the Peninsula; this finds typical expression in the anecdote recorded in *Aghānī*, viii. 141 (= Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ii. 382—383), according to which the Caliph al-Wāḥīk asked the grammarian Abū ʿOḥmān al-Māzinī, who had come to his court, to which Māzin he belonged: — if to the Māzin of the Tamīm, to those of the Kais, to those of the Rabīʿa or to those of the Yemen.

The first are the Māzin b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, L. 12); the second, the Māzin b. Manṣūr (D. 10) or the Māzin b. Fazāra (H. 13); the third, the Māzin b. Shaibān b. Dhuhl (C. 19); the last, the Māzin b. al-Nadĵdĵār, a clan of the Khazradĵ Anṣār (19, 24). But alongside of these, many other

tribes and clans bore this name. The *Dĵamharat al-Anṣāb* of Ibn al-Kalbī gives no less than seventy, of whom the best known are the: Māzin b. Saʿd b. Dabba (Ibn Kūtaiba, *K. al-Māʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 36; more accurately according to the *Dĵamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23, 297, fol. 114r: Māzin b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Bakr b. Saʿd b. Dabba; not given in the *Tabellen*); Māzin b. Šaʿsaʿa b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr b. Ha-wāzin (Ibn Kūtaiba, p. 42; *Tabellen*, H. 14); Māzin b. Raith b. Ghatafān (H. 10); Māzin b. Rabīʿa b. Zubaid or Māzin Madhhiĵ (7, 18); Māzin b. al-Azd (11, 11). The large number of tribes named Māzin and their distribution over the whole of Arabia makes the hypothesis that we have here a single tribe that had been broken up into small sections impossible and we are led to suppose that the name Māzin, is a descriptive rather than a proper name; since the verb *masana* means to “go away”, one might suppose that Māzin originally meant “the emigrants” and was used in a general way of any ethnic group which became separated from its own tribe and was incorporated in a strange tribe. This etymology, like almost all those of the names of Arab tribes, is of course only a hypothesis.

The sources give a certain number of geographical and historical references to different tribes called Māzin; but they are generally very scanty, none of these tribes having attained sufficient importance to make it independent of the larger body to which it was attached. We have a few details about the Māzin b. al-Nadĵdĵār, a fairly important group of Madinese Khazradĵ (on the part played by them at the beginning of Islām see Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Index to Vols. i.—ii.), as well as about the Māzin b. Fazāra who took part as members of the tribe of the Dhubyān, in the war of Dāhis and al-Ghabraʾ (cf. DHUBYĀN, and *Aghānī*, xvi. 27). Ibn Maīyāda, himself a Dhubyānī, directed a violent satire against them at the end of the first century A. H. (*Aghānī*, ii. 90, 102). As to the Māzin b. Shaibān b. Dhuhl, to whom the grammarian Abū ʿOḥmān belonged, we know from the anecdote above quoted that in their dialect, *m* (initial?) was pronounced like *b* (*baʾsmuka* for *maʾsmuka*, what is thy name?), a peculiarity which does not seem to be recorded of the dialect of other Rabīʿa. Lastly the Māzin b. al-Azd, whom tradition makes migrate to the north, changed their name to Ghassān [q.v.] under which they became celebrated.

It is only of the Māzin b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm that we have fairly full information. Legend, which has developed with unusual detail around the sons of Tamīm [q.v.] gives Māzin a part in the story of his uncle ʿAbd Shams b. Saʿd b. Zaid Manāt b. Tamīm's fight against al-ʿAnbar b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm (cf. al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *al-Fākhīr*, ed. Storey, p. 233 and the references given in the note). This tribe of Māzin never left the great group of the ʿAmr b. Tamīm to which it belonged and dwelled with them in the lands in the extreme N.W. of Naĵd; their headquarters were around the well of Safāri near Dhū Kār (*Naḳāʾid*, ed. Bevan, p. 48, note to line 17; Yāqūt, iii. 95; Bakrī, p. 724, l. 1; 787—788); their principal subdivisions were the Banū Ḥurkūs, Khuzāʿī, Rizām, Anmār, Zabīna, Uḥāṭha and Raʿlān. In the Dĵahīliya, the Māzin followed their parent tribe and we find them sharing in the

wars of the latter; in rotation with the other Tamīmī tribes they held the office of *ḥakīm* at the fair of 'Ukāz (*Naḥā'id*, p. 438). At the coming of Islām, their chief was Mukhārīk b. Shihāb, also known as a poet (cf. especially al-Djāhīz, *Bayān*, ii. 171; al-Kālī, *Amālī*, iii. 50; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, vi. 156). Without being particularly zealous partisans of the new religion, they did not take part in the *rida* with the other Tamīmī tribes (11 A.H.) and they even drove away the messengers sent them by the prophetess Sadjāh [q. v.] and made one of them prisoner, the Taghlibī al-Hudhail b. 'Imrān; the latter waited for his revenge till the troubled period that followed the murder of the Caliph 'Othmān (35 = 656), of which he took advantage to ravage the district of Safārī; but the Māzin met him and slew him and threw him into the well (Ṭabarī, i. 1911, 1915; cf. *Aghānī*, xix. 145—146, transl. in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, x. 552—553; in the last passage the expedition against the Safārī appears to be independent of the events of the *rida*).

At a later date, the Māzin settled in large numbers, like the rest of the Tamīm, in Khurāsān and took part in the conquest of Central Asia; among the Māzīnīs who distinguished themselves there were Shihāb b. Mukhārīk, son of the chief already mentioned (Ṭabarī, i. 2569, 2707); Hilāl b. al-Aḥwaz, who in 102 (720) slew the members of the family of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab after the defeat of the latter (Ṭabarī, ii. 1912—1913); 'Umayr b. Sinān, who killed the Persian chief Rutbil (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab al-Khail*, p. 30, note to lines 3—4). We also find many of the Banū Māzin among the *kurowād* of the 'Abbāsīd army in the time of the rising against the Umayyads. But a no less number went to swell the ranks of the Khārīdjīs; the celebrated chief of the Azrakīs, Kaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a [q. v.], belonged to the Māzīnī clan of Kābiya b. Hurkūs.

Very few of the remarkable number of poets produced by the Tamīm belonged to the Māzin. We may note however Hilāl b. As'ar of the Omayyad period (*Aghānī*, ii. 186); Mālik b. al-Raib, poet and brigand, contemporary of al-Ḥadīdjādī (*Aghānī*, xix., 162—169; Ibn Kṭaiba, *al-Shi'r wa 'l-Shu'arā'*, ed. de Goeje, p. 205—207 etc.); Zuhair b. 'Urwa al-Sakb (*Aghānī*, xix. 156; the few verses that we have by him, often quoted, are also attributed to his father, 'Urwa b. Djalham, and even to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit: cf. *Mufaḍḍalīyat*, ed. Lyall, p. 249, note y). Lastly it may be mentioned that the Māzin have given to Arab philology two of its most illustrious masters: Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (q. v., d. 154) and al-Naḍr b. Shumail whose genealogies are given in Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* (L).

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Register z. d. geneal. Tabellen*, p. 291; Ibn Kṭaiba, *K. al-Ma'arif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 36—42; Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Ishṭikāḥ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 124—126, 171, 211, 258; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, ms. Brit. Mus., Add. 23, 297, fol. 90 v—92 r, and *passim*. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

MAZYADĪS, a Muḥammadan dynasty in al-Ḥilla. The Banū Mazyad belonged to the tribe of Asad and lived west of the Tigris, from Kūfa to Hit. In the southeast, on the Khūzistān frontier, the Banū Dubais had settled. When Abu 'l-Ghanā'im Muḥammad b. Mazyad, who was related to the Banū Dubais, slew one of their chiefs with

whom he had quarrelled, a war broke out between the two tribes (401 = 1010—1011). Abu 'l-Ghanā'im fled to his brother Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī; the latter set out against the Banū Dubais with an army, but was defeated and Abu 'l-Ghanā'im fell in the battle. In 403 (1012—1013), 'Alī was recognized as emīr by the Būyid Sulṭān al-Dawla. In Muḥarram 405 (July 1014), he undertook a campaign against the Banū Dubais, to revenge himself for the defeat he had suffered and slew Ḥassān and Nabḥān, the sons of Dubais, but in Djumādā of the same year (Oct.—Nov. 1014) he was routed by their brother Muḍar. After 'Alī's death in Dhu 'l-Ḥa'da 408 (March—April 1018), his son Dubais succeeded him. The latter's brother al-Muqallad with the help of Turkish mercenaries in Baghdād, endeavoured to seize the power for himself; but order was soon restored and al-Muqallad went to al-Mawṣil to the 'Ukailids. In a few years Dubais became involved in war with Karwāsh b. al-Muqallad [q. v.] and he had also troubles within his borders. In the war between the two Būyids Abū Kālīdjār and Djalāl al-Dawla, the former was supported by Dubais and the latter by al-Muqallad. After the defeat of Abū Kālīdjār in 421 (1030), al-Muqallad with the help of the Banū Khafādjā and the troops of Djalāl al-Dawla invaded his brother's territory. Dubais had to take to flight and the land was laid waste. Peace however was soon arranged. Dubais was allowed to retain his lands but had to pay Djalāl al-Dawla a considerable sum. The third brother Thābit allied himself with al-Basāsīrī, the military governor of Baghdād, and in 424 (1032—1033) they advanced against Dubais. The latter sent an army to meet them; but his troops were routed and he himself had to take to flight. After receiving reinforcements he advanced against Thābit; they met at Djardjarāyā and after a fierce battle, Dubais had to cede a part of his possessions while al-Basāsīrī, who arrived too late to take part in the battle, returned to Baghdād. In Rajab 446 (Oct.—Nov. 1054) the Banū Khafādjā invaded the country but were soon driven out with the help of al-Basāsīrī. Two or three years later war broke out between al-Basāsīrī who was joined by Dubais, and the Salḍūḳ Sulṭān Toghrīk Beg and his follower Kuraish b. Badrān [q. v.]. Dubais died in Shawwāl 474 (March—April 1082) at the age of 80. His son Mansūr succeeded him but died in Rabi' I, 479 (June—July 1086). In the reign of his son and successor Ṣadaqa [q. v.] the power of the Mazyadīs spread over almost the whole of the 'Irāk. At first he was a stout supporter of Barkiyārūḳ [q. v.]; in 494 (1100—1101) however he turned to his brother. The towns of Hit, Wāsiṭ, Baṣra and Takrīt fell successively into his hands but, as the commander appointed by Ṣadaqa in Baṣra did not prove fit for his task, Muḥammad seized the suzerainty of the town and installed a new governor. In Ṣadaqa's reign the capital al-Djāmi'an was extended and fortified, and given the name of al-Ḥilla (495 = 1101—1102). His steadily increasing power however aroused Muḥammad's misgivings and in spite of long negotiations, a rupture finally occurred between them. At the end of Rajab 501 (Febr.—March 1108) Muḥammad himself set out from Baghdād against Ṣadaqa. A section of the Arabs allied with him fled and Ṣadaqa fell in the battle. His son Dubais was taken prisoner but the latter's two brothers escaped and were only able to return home after Muḥammad's death

(511 = 1118). In 529 (1135) he was treacherously murdered [cf. the article DUBAIS] and succeeded by his son Ṣadaḳa. In the war between Sulṭān Mas'ūd and his nephew Dāwūd, Ṣadaḳa declared for the former. After Mas'ūd's victory, the troops scattered to seek booty and several emirs including Ṣadaḳa were surprised and captured by the enemy and at once put to death (532 = 1137—1138). Ṣadaḳa's brother Muḥammad was thereupon recognised as lord of al-Ḥilla. In 540 (1145—1146) however, the third brother 'Alī went to al-Ḥilla, because he was afraid of the Sulṭān and drove out Muḥammad. After he had taken the town, he drove back the Sulṭān's troops and it was not till 542 (1147—1148) that Salārkerd, one of Mas'ūd's generals, was able to expel 'Alī but in the same year he was defeated by the latter and had to abandon the town. In 544 (1149—1150) 'Alī endeavoured to induce the caliph al-Muṭtafi to abandon Mas'ūd but, as the caliph refused and summoned the Sulṭān to his help, 'Alī had to

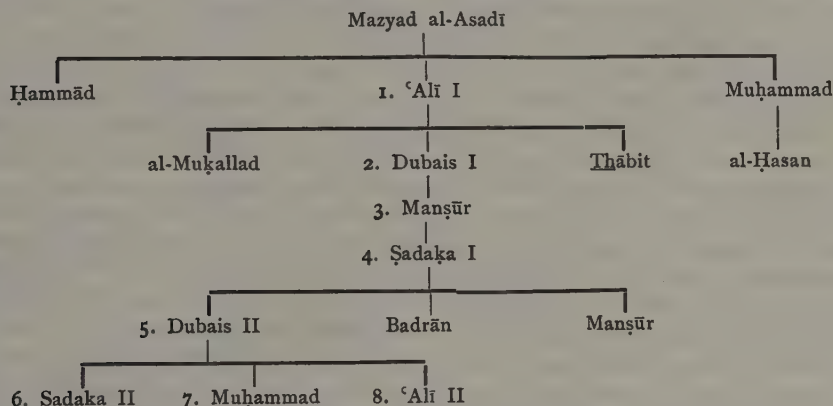
maḳān Dynasties, p. 119 sq.; de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, p. 137.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MĀZYĀR, [Balāḏhurī gives the form Māyaz-diyār < *Māh-yazd-yār], the last of the Ḳārinid rulers of Ṭabaristān, leader of the rising against the caliph al-Muṭtaṣim.

Origins. The Ḳārin-wand dynasty claimed descent from Ḳārin b. Sūḫrā, whom Khusrāw Anūshirwān had established in Ṭabaristān and who was descended from the legendary smith Kāwa, who saved Farīdūn. The hereditary fief of the dynasty was the "mountain of Ḳārin" [or of Windād Hurmuz], Ṭabari, iii. 1295. The capital of this region was probably Lapūra (cf. Lafūr on the eastern source of the river Bābul which later runs through Bārfurūsh). The Ḳārin-wand were subordinate to the Bāwandid *ispahbads* (capital Firrīm). The genealogy of the Ḳārinids given by Zahir al-Dīn, p. 167 and 321 is fantastic. The first Ḳārinid known is Windād-Hurmuz (138—190 =

Genealogical Table of the Mazyadīs:



submit and the rebels who had joined him dispersed. 'Alī died in the following year and al-Ḥilla was given as a fief to Salārkerd by Mas'ūd. On Mas'ūd's death in 547 (1152), the town fell into the hands of Mas'ūd Bilāl, the commander of Baghdād; the latter however was driven out by the caliph's troops who occupied al-Ḥilla. When in 551 (1157) Sulṭān Muḥammad took the field against al-Muṭtafi [q. v.], they had to withdraw and Muḥammad put a garrison in the town. The Mazyadis submitted to his deputy but in 558 (1162—1163) the caliph al-Mustandjīd sent an army against them which put an end to their power. 4,000 men were slain and the remainder outlawed so that they were scattered in all directions.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭhīr (ed. Tornberg), ix. 157, 170, 174 sq., 215 sq., 227, 248—250, 265 sq., 297, 358, 381, 411, 430—438, 447 sq.; x. 5, 78, 98 sq., 177, 192, 198, 209 sq., 223, 243—248, 251 sq., 254, 258, 264, 266 sq., 272 sq., 276—278, 283 sq., 289—291, 302—313, 376—380, 394—399, 422—430, 435, 439—443, 459—461, 470 sq.; xi. 18 sqq., 30, 40, 69, 80 sq., 88, 94, 100, 195; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iv. 276—293; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 67 sqq., 78, 80, 87, 97 sq., 102 sq., 144, 152, 156—160, 214—232, 242, 257, 259, 309 sq.; Karabacek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazyaditen*; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moham-*

755—805?) who raised a coalition of local chiefs against the Arabs (the Bāwandid Sharwīn, [the] Māsmughān Walāsh of Miyāndurūd, the Pādūspān Shahriyār b. Pādūspān) and defeated the generals sent by the caliph al-Mahdī (first Sālim Farghānī, then Firāsha; Ibn Isfandiyār, p. 128; Zahir al-Dīn, p. 155—159). Windād-Hurmuz had to submit to Hādī, the son of the Caliph, and accompany him to Baghdād. Soon he returned to his native mountains and resumed an independent attitude (*ibid.*, p. 160). According to Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 304, Windād Hurmuz came to the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who appointed him *ispahbad* of Khurāsān. He died in the reign of al-Ma'mūn. His son and successor was Ḳārin (a contemporary of the Bāwandid Shahriyār). According to Ibn Isfandiyār, p. 145, he accompanied al-Ma'mūn on his campaign against the Byzantines but this does not agree with the dates given for his successor.

According to Zahir al-Dīn, p. 321, Māzyār b. Ḳārin ruled for 30 years (194—224 = 809—839) but on p. 167 the same writer says that his (tyrannical!) government lasted 7 years (217—224). Ṭabari, iii. 1015, under the year 201, speaks of the conquests in Ṭabaristān of 'Abd Allāh b. Khurdādbeh (sic!) as a result of which the Bāwandid Shahriyār b. Sharwīn had to leave the mountains and Māzyār b. Ḳārin was sent to al-Ma'mūn. According to late sources,

Shahriyār b. Sharwīn had deprived Māzyār of his possessions. Māzyār sought refuge with his cousin Windād Ummid b. Windād-aspān, who handed him over to Shahriyār. Māzyār however managed to escape, sought refuge with al-Ma'mūn and became a Muslim, assuming the name Muḥammad. After the death of Shahriyār (210 = 825; Ṭabari, iii. 1093), Māzyār, returning to Ṭabaristān, slew Shāpūr b. Shahriyār and seized the mountain (Ṭabari, *ibid.*). [Ibn al-Fakīh's story, p. 305—306, about the "son of Sharwīn b. Shahriyār", whom Māzyār assassinated treacherously seems to refer to Shāpūr; to allay the suspicions of his victim, Māzyār had built a mosque in Firīm]. Māzyār assisted the Arab governor Mūsā b. Ḥaṣḥ b. 'Omar b. al-'Alā' to subjugate the mountain of Sharwīn and al-Ma'mūn appointed him governor of Ṭabaristān, Rūyān and Dunbāwand with the rank of *ispahbadh* (Balādhuri, p. 229; Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 309). At this time (Ya'qūbi, *Historiae*, ii. 582), Māzyār boasted the title of *Djil Djilān*, *ispahbadh isphabadhān Bishwār-Khurshād* (read *Patishwār-djār-shāh*), *Muḥammad b. Kārin*, *muwālī* (sic) *amīr al-mu'minīn* (i.e. "ally" instead of *mawlā* "client"). When Mūsā b. Ḥaṣḥ died, Māzyār paid no heed to his son Muḥammad b. Mūsā. Complaints against Māzyār were taken to Baghdād by the Bāwandids and by devout Muslims. But as al-Ma'mūn was setting out against the Byzantines (expedition of 216—218?) Māzyār felt himself free from any control. In his turn he charged Muḥammad b. Mūsā with intriguing with the 'Aḥids and on this imaginary pretext besieged Āmul. The town capitulated at the end of 8 months. Māzyār executed his enemies and imprisoned all the notables, including Muḥammad b. Mūsā, first at Rūd-bast and then in his principal stronghold of Hurmuzd-ābād. To judge from Ṭabari, iii. 1289—1292, the place must have been in the valley of the Tālār, above Uram (Ārum) at a distance of 8 farsakhs from Āmul and from Sārī [cf. the article MĀZANDARĀN].

In the sixth year of the reign of al-Mu'taṣim (218—227), Māzyār openly rebelled (Balādhuri, p. 229: *kafara wa-ghadara*). The Ṭāhirid 'Abd Allāh, governor of Khurāsān, had denounced to the Caliph the "misdeeds, tyranny and apostacy" of Māzyār. When al-Mu'taṣim's ambassador arrived, Māzyār would not listen to him. Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 152, even accuses him of having conferred honours "on Bābak, Mazdak and other Magians who had ordered the destruction of the mosques and the obliteration of all traces of Islām".

Māzyār's schemes. It is difficult to reconstruct Māzyār's programme from the sources, which are hostile to him, but the narratives of contemporary witnesses which Ṭabari, iii. 1268—1303, gives under the year 224 contain a number of curious and important details.

The extension of Māzyār's power (after the assassination of the Bāwandid Shāpūr and the occupation of the mountain of Sharwīn) had brought him into conflict with the Ṭāhirids to whom he refused to pay *kharaḍj*. It may be noted that Māzyār's very title "*ispahbadh of Khurāsān*" (this variant is given in Ya'qūbi, *B. G. A.*, vii. 276) must have been displeasing to the Ṭāhirids. On the other hand the celebrated Afshīn, who after his victory over Bābak was at the height of his glory, coveted Khurāsān. He therefore secretly encouraged Māzyār's resistance to his rivals and according to Ṭabari, iii. 1269, played upon his

sentiments as a man of noble Iranian blood (*yasta-miluhu bi 'l-dahḡanati*).

From the national point of view, Māzyār could recall the precedent of his grandfather Windād-Hurmuz to whom late sources attribute the organisation of the massacre of the Arab garrisons. Māzyār, who came out of "the mountain" where he had only an almost unknown town (Iṣṭākhrī, p. 206: al-Asahmār?) must have looked askance at the urban elements of the great towns of the "plain" among whom Arabs and their clients (*abnā*) predominated. The landowning class was certainly hostile to him, as in order to weaken and even exterminate them, he had relied on the support of the peasants. Māzyār's actions were certainly very violent, for ten centuries later, Ṣāḥir al-Dīn, p. 167, quotes the proverb: "so and so has done an injustice such as not even Māzyār could have done".

Coming out in open rebellion (probably before the year 224 under which Balādhuri and Ṭabari relate the dénouement) Māzyār had homage paid to himself, took hostages and levied *kharaḍj* at once. The doings of his governor Surkhastān in Sārī are characteristic. He transferred all the inhabitants of Sārī to Āmul, where he shut them up in a fort; as to the people of Āmul, he took 20,000 of them away into the mountains of Hurmuzd-ābād (cf. above). The walls of Sārī, Āmul and Ṭamisa were razed to the ground "to the sound of fifes and drums".

Māzyār had given orders to the peasants to attack and plunder their masters (Ṭabari, iii. 1269). The next passage (iii. 1270) seems to indicate that a cadastral survey was ordered (*amara an yumsaḥa 'l-balad*) and the lands were let out, the rental being 30% (of the produce). As to Surkhastān, he collected 260 nobles (*abna 'l-kuwwad*), the bravest he could find, and on a pretext "that the *abnā*" were favourable to the Arabs and to the 'Abbāsids", handed them over as dangerous individuals to the peasants, who slew them at his suggestion. He even tried to provoke a massacre of all the imprisoned landowners, saying to the peasants "I have already handed over to you the houses of the landowners and their wives", but this time the peasants refrained from following his advice.

The later sources retain the usual accusation of apostacy against Māzyār ("he once more assumed the girdle of Zoroastrianism", says Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 150 quoting the *ḡadī* of Āmul). Balādhuri, p. 229 and Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 309 also say that Māzyār "renounced the faith and committed treason", but this point is more obscure in Ṭabari, where it only occurs in the list of charges made against Afshīn, iii. 1311 (transl. in Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i. 334). The tone of the letter which Māzyār had addressed to his representatives, *ibid.*, iii. 1381, is respectful to the Caliph, in form at least. But there is no smoke without fire, if we may believe the authors who mention the existence in Ṭabaristān of a *Māzyāriya* sect connected with the *Khurramiyya* [q. v.] or *Muḥammira* [q. v.] (i. e. followers of Bābak). Cf. al-Baghdādī (d. in 429), *Farḡ bain al-firak*, p. 251—252; Ṭāhir al-Isfara'īnī (d. in 451), *Tabṣīr fi 'l-dīn* [quoted in Flügel, *Bābek*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1869, p. 533] and Sam'ānī, *G. M. S.*, fol. 501a.

Māzyār's end. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir sent against Māzyār his uncle Ḥasan b. Ḥusain to operate from the direction of Djurdjān as well as

Haiyān b. Djabala, who went with 4,000 horses via Kūmis towards Djabal al-Sharwīn (= Sawādkūh?; cf. the article MĀZANDARĀN). At the same time the caliph al-Mu'tasim sent considerable forces under the command of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm who entered Rūyān (western Ṭabaristān) by Shalamba and Rudhbār (Ṭabarī, iii. 1264). Maṣṣūr b. Ḥasan, "lord of Dunbāwand", attacked from Raiy while Abu 'l-Sāḍj advanced via Lāriz and Dunbāwand.

The Arabs very skilfully exploited the rivalries and enmities in the entourage of Māzyār. First of all his nephew Kārin b. Shahriyār (his representative in the mountain of Sharwīn = Sawādkūh) went over to Haiyān, who marched on Sārī and began to negotiate with Māzyār's brother Kūhyār. In the meanwhile Surkhāstān's army which occupied the Ṭamiṣha front dispersed and allowed Ḥasan b. Ḥusain to advance. Kūhyār, who had been promised Māzyār's place, submitted to Ḥasan. Māzyār seems to have lost his courage when he found himself surrounded by the Arabs and betrayed by his follower. He trusted Kūhyār, who had promised him the *amān*, and came with him to Ḥasan (Ṭabarī, iii. 1288—1291, dramatic story by an eye-witness) but Ḥasan did not even acknowledge his greeting. Māzyār was handed over to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm and sent to Sāmarrā. Here he was confronted with Afshīn and seems to have denounced the latter. The caliph ordered him to be given 400 lashes, under which he died and his body was exposed beside that of Bābak in 224 = 839.

Kūhyār's treachery served him little. He was slain as a traitor by his cousin Shahriyār b. Maṣmughān who commanded the Dailamis in the service of Māzyār.

Surkhāstān was betrayed by the soldiers after the defeat at Ṭamiṣha and the other of Māzyār's generals, al-Durri, who was fighting against Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm on the Rūyān front, died while attempting to reach Dailam (Ṭabarī, iii. 1300).

Bibliography: Ya'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, i. 514; ii. 582; Balādhuri, p. 229; Ṭabarī, iii. 1268—1303, — among his authorities were Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Thakafī al-Ṭabarī (perhaps related to the Arab wālī Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ?) and 'Alī b. Sahl Rabban "the Christian" [author of the *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. Ṣiddīqī, Berlin 1928], whom Māzyār employed as his scribe, cf. the *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 299; Ṭabarī is the source of the later epitomists: *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*, ed. de Jong-de Goeje, p. 399—405; Ibn Miskawaih, vi., ed. de Goeje, p. 502—516, 522—525; Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 351—359, 362—364, 366 etc. Cf. also Ibn Rusta, p. 276; Ibn al-Faḥīh, p. 304, 305—306, 309—310; Mas'ūdī, *B.G.A.*, vii. 137; Yāqūt, ii. 608; iii. 284, 490, 506; Ibn Isfandiyyār, transl. Browne, p. 14—154; Zahir al-Dīn, index (these two last local sources do not know Ṭabarī and contain a number of quite legendary stories); Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 321—325; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 201—202 (bibliography); Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 334.

(V. MINORSKY)

MECCA.

I

On the eve of the Hīdjra. It is with the birth of Muḥammad — between 570—580 A.D. — that Mecca suddenly emerges from the shadows of the past and thrusts itself upon the attention

of the historian. The geographer Ptolemy seems to know it under the name Macoraba; but it must have been in existence long before his time. Mecca was probably one of the stations on the "incense route", the road by which the produce of the East especially valuable perfumes, came to the Mediterranean world. It owes its importance to its position at the

Intersection of great commercial routes. The town that had grown up around the well of Zamzam and the sanctuary of the Ka'ba was advantageously placed at the extreme ends of the Asia of the whites and the Africa of the blacks, near a breach in the chain of the Sarāt, close to a junction of roads leading from Babylonia and Syria to the plateaus of the Yemen, to the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. By the latter it was in communication with the mysterious African continent. What advantages were offered by this situation at the boundary between civilisation and barbarism, at the point of contact of two societies, brought together by necessities more pressing than political ambitions or the quarrels of race and religion! This was the part played by the Palmyrans, situated between the Romans and the Parthians. It demanded an adaptability and diplomatic skill beyond the ordinary. The two societies were frequently at war; it required wits to deal tactfully with them. But if the position had its risks, it had the advantage of being able to fix the price for its services to the belligerents. In the delicate role of intermediary and broker between two world, the strength of will of the Ishmaelite and the tenacity that lay beneath his apparent complaisance assured his success from the first. Civilisation and barbarism might conclude peace for a time or be at war; he was able to trade on their agreement or exploit their dissensions with equal satisfaction to himself. Ambiguous and amphibious, the Meccan was able to have a foot in both camps without it being possible to discern where his sympathies really lay.

At an early date we see the Meccans opening negotiations with the states adjoining Arabia. They obtained from them safe conducts and capitulations, permitting the free passage of their caravans. This is what their chronicles call the "guarantee of Caesar and of Chosroes". They also concluded agreements with the Negus of Abyssinia, with the principal *shaikhs* of Naḍjd, the *kail's* of the Yemen, with the phylarchs of Ḡhassān and of Ḥira. In the negotiations with the Greeks and Persians the principal of the "open door" was not admitted. Commercial transactions were carried through at posts on the frontier or in towns specially designated for the purpose. In Palestine these were the ports of Aila and Ḡhazza and perhaps also Jerusalem. In Syria, Boṣrā was their principal outlet, their great market.

Sūra cvi. 2 mentions as a permanent institution "the double caravan of winter and summer". The *nassāba*, genealogists, record the names of the *Quraysh* chiefs who had succeeded in obtaining by negotiation permits to trade. The countries open to commerce in this way were called *waḍḥ*, direction, *matdjār*, region of trade. There were innumerable restrictions, limiting the extension of the privilege. Eastern governments did not permit free trade. Distrustful of merchants even when her own subjects, Byzantium showed herself still more

suspicious of foreigners, especially Bedouins, a slippery race which filled her with an unconquerable distrust. The latter had therefore to make heavy sacrifices, to pay onerous taxes, to pay continual customs-dues and tolls or to hand over hostages before negotiations could be begun. Mecca was not inspired by principles any more broad-minded; she took care to recompense herself from foreign traders and to levy various charges upon them, tithes, charges for permits to stay in the country, to travel about and to trade. Tithes had to be paid before entering Mecca. There was also, as at Palmyra, a "departure" tax or tax on exportation. In short, foreign merchants were entangled in a very intricate fiscal system, whether they settled in Mecca or only passed through it, especially those who did not obtain the *djīwār* or guarantee of a local clan or notability.

The population. About the time of the Hidjra, the people of Mecca claimed descent from a common ancestor. They called him *Quraysh* or *Fihir*, sometimes also al-Naḍr surnamed *Quraysh*. The origins of the *Quraysh* were humble and little is known of them. They formed one of the less wealthy branches of those who went back to the main stock of the *Kināna* [q. v.]. At first they led a miserable existence in the wild mountains around the sacred territory of Mecca. A condottiere from the northern *Hidjāz*, *Qusayy*, is said to have installed them by force of arms in Mecca, which he took from the control of the tribe of *Khuza'a* [q. v.]. Some ten main clans can be distinguished among them: *Hashim*, *Umayya*, *Nawfal*, *Zuhra*, *Asad*, *Taim*, *Makhzum*, 'Adi, *Djomaḥ* and *Sahm*. These occupied mainly the centre of the town, the bottom of the valley, al-Baḥā', where the water of the well of Zamzam accumulated, the hollow where the Ka'ba stood. Their living in this neighbourhood earned them the epithet of *Abṭāḥi*, *Biṭāḥi* or *Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ*. This central quarter of the town was regarded as that of the aristocracy and of the oldest *Quraysh* families. Among these ten groups, some owe to Islām a renown hitherto denied them. Such were the *Taim* and the 'Adi, rendered illustrious by the caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Other clans more vaguely connected with the eponymous ancestor were thrust towards the outskirts of Mecca, on the lower slopes or in the gorges (*sharīb*) of the hills which dominate the town. They were called the "Quraysh of the outskirts" (*Quraysh al-Zawāhir*). Held in less consideration than their fellow-tribesmen of the Baḥā', these suburbanians had the advantage of being distinguished from them by their bravery. They supplied the *Quraysh* community with its best soldiers and never failed to cast this up to the Meccans "of the centre".

Government and Administration. It is not easy to discover definite indications of this. There must however have been a rudimentary system of archives in which to preserve treaties of alliance and commerce, and later the equivalent of an office to take charge of the collection of taxes on foreign traders. Nowhere do we find any explicit allusion to the working of such administrative organisations. A tradition records the existence of purely honorary offices with no jurisdiction. But it does not agree either upon the number (ten or six) nor upon the functions of these offices. I imagine it was invented to satisfy the vanity of the great families. The only allusion to it is in

the verses of a Medinese poet, Ḥassān b. Thābit. The office of "pavilion and reins" has nothing to do — as has been supposed — with the art of war. This dignity, which was an ancient one and no longer understood, was a memory of the ritual processions held in pagan Arabia. The *ḥubba* was simply the pavilion or portable tabernacle, containing the fetish of the tribe and solemnly carried on the back of a camel. The chiefs and notables took turns at holding the reins of the animal bearing this precious burden. It is taking nothing from the glory of Khālid b. al-Walid to say that he had not a monopoly of this privilege. Behind the legend of the Meccan dignities, we perceive the intention of glorifying the cradle of the Prophet. In giving it administrative institutions, an attempt was made to conceal the modest beginnings of the Hashimis and no less those of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The onerous office of *ishnāk*, which had to pay compensation for murder and injury, was far beyond the financial resources of the modest citizen called Abū Bakr. The entrusting to 'Umar of the *safāra* or diplomatic missions cannot be reconciled with his extreme youth and plebeian origin.

I have elsewhere, for lack of a better term, called Mecca "a merchant republic". If Abū Sufyān is called "*Shaikh* and chief of the *Quraysh*", several of his contemporaries are given equally high sounding titles. There is not the slightest reason to think that he was a kind of *Quraysh* doge. The manner in which the events of the first eight years of the Hidjra are recorded produces the fallacious impression that he held the power in Mecca in his hands. In reality he was only the ablest and most intelligent of his peers, the chiefs of the *Quraysh* clans. As al-Fāsi pertinently observes, all were equal: "no one exercised authority unless delegated or kindly permitted to do so by them". Did their chiefs constitute a regular official body? Yes, says tradition. Mecca is even said to have had a kind of Senate or Grand Council, the *dār al-nadwa*. It met only in extraordinary circumstances. Usually however, we find that it is in the *maḍālis*, family groups or clubs, the *Nadī Ḳawm* opening on the square of the Ka'ba — the forum and bourse of the town — that affairs of general interest were dealt with.

The *Qur'an* cannot conceive of authority without a council of notables, without the *mala'*. This institution is so frequently mentioned in the *Qur'an* that the Prophet must have seen it working before his eyes. We think then that Mecca was ruled by the oligarchy of the *mala'*, the equivalent in the town of the *maḍālis* of the nomad tribe. This was an assembly of the chiefs of the wealthiest and most influential families. This is why *Umayyads* and *Makhzūms* are most usually mentioned as composing the *mala'*. Neither election nor birth could necessarily open the way to a seat on it, but rather the fame of services rendered, the prestige of ability and wealth. Thus it welcomed to its counsels the very wealthy Ibn *Djud'an*, a member of the humble clan of *Taim*. An assembly of elders or if you like of senators, in conformity with the principle of seniority among the Arabs: its authority, purely moral, was limited to advising, studying, looking ahead and giving to the merchant community the benefit of the experience of its conscript fathers. In the absence of any coercive

powers, persuasion was the only force it had to make its wishes obeyed. Hence the importance of eloquence in a milieu like this, where every family and every clan claimed autonomy. The cause of peace was in continual conflict with their claims. Without infringing their prerogatives, the *mala'* was able to exert moral pressure when the general good required it. The system recalls, though remotely, the organisation of Palmyra and of Venice.

Site and climate. In the form of an elongated crescent with its points turned towards the flanks of the *Ḳu'aykī'ān*, the town was hemmed in by a double range of bare and steep hills. The centre of this ill-ventilated couloir coincided with a depression in the soil. The early town occupied the bottom of this; this was the *wādī*, the valley, the *baṭn Makka*, the hollow of Mecca. The centre, the lowest part of this depression, was called *al-Baṭḥā'* (cf. above). Some buildings in this quarter were so close to the Ka'ba that in the morning and in the evening their shadows were merged in that of the sacred edifice. Between these houses and the Ka'ba [q. v.] a narrow esplanade (*finā'*) lay below the level of the surrounding soil. This open area formed the primitive *masjdīd*, a sanctuary open to the heavens. The pre-Islāmic *Baṭḥā'* knew no other. The ends of the little streets opening on this open space were called the "gates of the ḥaram or of the *masjdīd*". The so-called gates or openings took their names from the clans settled around the Ka'ba. Thus one regularly spoke of the "gate of the Banū D̲j̲umah". The walls of their houses served to mark the boundaries of the *masjdīd*. It was on the ground floor of the buildings facing the sides of the Ka'ba that the *maḍjlīs* or *nādī* of the chief families met, those that formed the *mala'* (cf. above).

In the suburbs (*zawāḥir*), and at a later date in the ravines (*shī'b*) which had been dug by erosion out of the flanks of the hills, was a confusion of poor houses, low and ramshackle hovels. The unpleasant features of a town of this kind are obvious. The geographer Maḳḍisī has summed these up strikingly: "suffocating heat, deadly winds, clouds of flies". The continual difficulty was the dearth of water. The population was dependent on the variable output of the Zamzam. There were other wells, mainly outside the town. Those inside had a doubtful reputation. The scarcity of drinking-water is evident from the amount of precaution taken, when some thousands of pilgrims had to be supplied. In such deplorable conditions one can imagine what suffering the long days brought, *ramḍā' Makka* "the burning of Mecca"; why the great families preferred to send their children to be brought up in the desert; why the *Sira* only incidentally mentions the plague of Mekka (*wabā' Makka*). Smallpox is mentioned only in connection with the enemies of the Prophet.

Rains are few and far between. Droughts sometimes last for four years. But when the winter season is wet, the rains may sometimes attain an unheard-of degree of violence. To the east of Mecca a rocky wall raises its steep barrier, a succession of strata and summits merging into the chain of the Sarāt. These jagged hills collect on their flanks the surplus rains of the monsoon which brings fertility to the Yemen. All along these slopes, where no shrub interrupts the fall — at the bottom

of each a *sail* is formed — the cataracts augmented by all these tributaries fall into the hollow of Mecca, *baṭn Makka*, of which the Ka'ba occupies the bottom. The waters rush to this depression they force a passage through the "gates of the *masjdīd*" and flow over the area around the sanctuary. They fill it and rise to attack the Ka'ba. Before the Hidjra, the *Ḳuraish* syndicate seems to have paid no heed to the flooding or said they were powerless to prevent it. Efforts made by the caliphs yielded "only mediocre results".

This is why the misdeeds of the *sail* fill the annals of Mecca. On several occasions their violence has overthrown the Ka'ba and turned the court of the great mosque into a lake. As a result of the floods, epidemics broke out. The deposit of filth brought by the waters polluted the wells: bodies left unburied formed centres of epidemic infection. The annalists avoid dwelling on this, troubled by the Tradition which says that the plague never reaches Mecca. The absolute sterility of the soil brought another scourge, that of famine. The slightest irregularity in the convoys of grain from Syria or the Sarāt was enough to cause it. It continues to figure along with the ravages of flood and plague in the monotonous annals of the town.

Economic life and finance. On examining closely the picturesque literature of the *Sira* and *Ḥadīth*, one receives the impression of business, of intense activity bursting out of the narrow and sterile valley of Mecca. The *Ḳur'ān* only strengthens this impression. All his life the Prophet retained the impress of his *Ḳuraish* education and training. This fundamentally mercantile character is revealed at every turn.

Writing and arithmetic! One is amazed at their importance in the economic life of the town. Relying on the *Ḳur'ānic* epithet *ummi*, i. e. pagan, gentile, and on biased writers like al-Balādhuri, it has been held that, except for some fifteen individuals mentioned by name, all the pre-Hidjran *Ḳuraish* were illiterate. Alongside of the "book" of accounts, the scales always figure in the Meccan shops: not so much to weigh goods as to verify and check payments of all kinds including cash. Now, coins were not plentiful on the Meccan market; they were supplemented by the precious metals, ingots of gold and silver, by *tibr*, gold dust. Only the scales could determine the value. In the more delicate cases, recourse was had to the services of a *wazzān* or professional weigher.

It would be difficult to imagine a society in which capital enjoyed a more active circulation. The *tāḍjir*, business man, was not engaged in hoarding, in gathering wealth into his strong boxes. He had a blind faith in the unlimited productivity of capital, in the virtue of credit. Brokers and agents, the bulk of the population lived on credit. The sleeping partnership was much in favour (*muḍārabā*), especially the "partnership for the half", which supposes 50% participation in the profits by the sleeping partners. Thanks to the development of these institutions the humblest sums could be invested, down to a gold *ḍinār* or even a *nashsh* or half *ḍinār*. Such a flexible organisation stimulated even the humblest to take his share in commercial enterprises.

The coins brought to Mecca were of very different kinds: the *denarius aureus* of the Byzantines

and the silver drachm of the Sāsānids and Hīmyars. These pieces often worn, rudely engraved, very unequal in weight and format, came from the most varied mints. Only the money-changer had the requisite flair, the eye sufficiently trained to deal with the confusion of currencies, to determine accurately the standards, values, and the kinds in circulation. In addition there were the complications caused by the difference of standard and the oscillations of exchange. The Byzantine provinces, Syria and Egypt, were among the *ahl al-dhahab* or countries with a gold standard. Babylonia was *ahl al-wariq*, a land with a silver, the Sāsānian, standard. On the eve of the departure of the caravans for Syria, there were regular battues in search of dinārs. The Meccan *tādjir* was not distinct from the financier. His first article of trade was money. When occasion arose, he invested his capital in business, in the organisation of large caravans. To the leaders of the caravan, to the traders and to the factors, he advanced the funds necessary for their operations.

Primarily a clearing house, a banking town, Mecca had customs and institutions peculiar to this kind of transaction and to finance. Sometimes it is *ribā*, usury, in all its ugliness: dinār for dinār, dirham for dirham, i.e. 100% interest. To the condemnation of *ribā* in the Qur'an, the Quraysh objected that they saw in it only "a kind of sale" (Qur'an ii. 276), of letting out capital for a rent. Speculation too was rampant, on the rates of exchange, the load of a caravan which one tried to buy up, the yield of the harvests and of the flocks and lastly the provisioning of the town. Fictitious associations were formed and sales were made on which loans were borrowed. "Every Arab", says Strabo, "is either a trader or a broker". In Mecca, says the ḥadīth "he who was not a merchant, counted for nothing". In setting out on a military expedition the citizens always took merchandise along with them. This is what they did when going to relieve the Badr caravan. The first thing the Meccan *muhādjirūn* did on arriving in Medina was to ask the way to the market-place. The women shared these commercial instincts: -Abū Djahl's mother ran a perfumery business. The activities of the *tādjira* Khadīja are celebrated. Hind [q. v.], the wife of Abū Sufyān, sold her merchandise among the Kalbis of Syria. Like their husbands the Meccan women had financial interests in the caravans. On the return of the convoys they gathered round Abū Sufyān to know what their money and their contributions had earned and to get their share of the profits.

The caravans. The organisation of a caravan was the subject of interminable palavers in the *nādī* around the Ka'ba. Its departure and return were events of public interest. The whole population was associated with it. En route it remained in continual communication with the metropolis through Beduins met on the journey or special couriers. Abū Sufyān sent one of these messengers to describe the critical position of the Badr caravan. It cost him 20 dinārs, an enormous sum, but one proportionate to the value of the convoy in which Mecca had 50,000 dinārs invested. The Meccan caravans were of considerable size. Neither horses nor mules appeared in them. The number of camels on occasion rose to 2,500. The men (merchants, guides [*dalīl*] and guards) varied from 100 to 300. The escort was strengthened on approaching areas

infested by bandits (*ṣa'īṭ*) or when traversing the territory of hostile tribes. The Badr caravan may be taken as typical. We do not know of another in which the capital invested attained such an amount. The greater part was supplied by the important Umayyad firm of Abū Uḥaiḥa, i.e. the family of Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀs. This firm had formed a company of the family, adding to their own considerable reserves the contributions of its sleeping partners. To their 30,000 dinārs the other Umayyad houses added 10,000. Four-fifths of the capital of the Badr caravan was therefore of Umayyad origin. We can understand why the direction and supreme control of the convoy was entrusted to Abū Sufyān, who was personally interested in the enterprise.

In the first place a caravan from Mecca carried skins and leather, sometimes also the *ṣabīb* of Ṭā'if, a kind of currant; then ingots of gold and silver partly from the mines of the Banū Sulaim and *tibr*, gold dust from Africa. The texts frequently call it *laṭīma*, i.e. a convoy laden with perfume and rare spices. Of the perfumes, the most esteemed came not from the Hīdžāz, but from southern Arabia, the "land of frankincense", or even from India and Africa. To these might be added aromatic gums and medicinal drugs, like the senna of Mecca, all objects of small bulk and purchased at higher prices by the luxury of the civilised countries.

From the Yemen the Meccan caravans brought back the products of India, the silks of China, the rich *ʿadani* cloths, so called from ʿAden. Besides gold dust, the main exports of Africa were slaves and ivory. From Africa Mecca recruited her labourers and her mercenary soldiers, the *Aḥābiṣh* or Abyssinians. In Egypt and in Syria, the Quraysh traders bought luxury articles, products of the industry of the Mediterranean, mainly cotton, linen or silk stuffs and cloths dyed in vivid purple. From Bosrā and the Sharāt (Syria) came arms, cereals and oil, much appreciated by the Beduins. The pace of the caravan was slow but the articles transported, leather, metals, scented woods, feared neither damage nor the delays of long journeys. The expenses were confined to the hire of the animals, the payment of the escort, the tolls and presents to the chiefs of the tribes. With such an economical organisation, the profits of 100% attested by our authors were quite usual. This was the case with the caravan of Badr "each dinār having brought back a dinār". Two years after this brilliant affair, the Companions of the Prophet who had sought refuge in Medina were able to carry out as profitable a transaction in the same field "since each of their dirhams gained a second dirham", that is to say a profit of 100% again.

Fortunes in Mecca. We can now imagine how money had gradually accumulated in the chests of the Meccan financiers, who were naturally of a saving disposition. This explains Pliny the Elder's ill-humour when he recalls "the millions of sesterces which the Arabs take annually from the Roman Empire giving nothing in return, *nihil invicem redimentibus*" (*Hist. Natur.*, vi. 28). This last statement is an exaggeration, but it should be remembered that the Meccan caravan carried only articles of high value, and that with regard to the Empire the Arabs were mainly importers, so that the trade balance was always very much

in their favour. The 30,000 *dīnārs* invested by the one house of Abū Ḥaiḥa in the Badr caravan suggests that H. Winckler is quite right when he tells us to think of the Palmyra of Zenobia if we wish to get an idea of the financial capacity of Mecca. The fortunes of the *Makhzūmīs* were no less than those of their Umayyad rivals. The Taimī 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān must have been a millionaire if the poet thought of comparing him to Caesar. The principal organisers of the Badr caravan were also millionaires. The thousands of *dīnārs* subscribed by them did not even represent all their fortune. Other portions of their capital were out at interest or put in other speculations. Among other millionaires we may mention the *Makhzūmīs* Walid b. al-Mughīra and 'Abd Allāh, father of the poet 'Umar b. Abi Rab'ā.

Next to these representatives of high finance come the well-to-do Meccans, like 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf who had a capital of 8,000 *dīnārs* and al-Ḥārith b. 'Amir and Umaiya b. Khalaf. Of the latter two, the first had 1,000 and the second 2,000 *dīnārs* in the Badr caravan. Lastly there were the small traders, brokers and shopkeepers who formed the petite bourgeoisie of the town. To their commerce a number added the supervision of some industry like ironwork or carpentry. The most typical representative of this class is given us by the future caliph Abū Bakr, a *baḥḥās*, retailer of cloth. He belonged like Abū Djud'ān to the plebeian clan of Taim, rich in men and women of initiative, like 'A'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr. He seems to have had a capital of 40,000 *dirhams*. 'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet, is also mentioned among the rich bankers of Mecca, but we have no details about him. The other Ḥāshimīs lived in circumstances bordering on poverty. Those Meccans most certainly must have been wealthy who paid without a murmur the enormous ransoms demanded for their relatives after the defeat of Badr. After this sacrifice — it cost them not less than 200,000 *dirhams* — the Meccan chiefs gave up their share of the profits in the Badr enterprise — some 25,000 *dīnārs* — to prepare for the revenge. They did this *ṭaiyibū 'l-anfus* "with a good heart", with the easy grace of opulent financiers, used to running the risks of speculations on a large scale. One touching detail is recorded. They refused to touch the modest shares of the small contributors. This example shows how at Mecca, "the strong", *aḥl al-ḥurūwa* (Wākidi), i. e. the patricians, were able in critical circumstances to realise a spirit of solidarity and of sound democracy.

Mecca before the *Hidjra* had neither ships nor a port. It was only exceptionally that foreign ships cast anchor in the little bay of Shu'aiba off a desert shore. It was here that the Byzantine ship was wrecked, the wood of which went to build the terrace of the Ka'ba. It was to Shu'aiba that the first Muslim emigrants for Abyssinia went, no doubt on hearing that two merchant ships had touched there. More rarely sailings took place from the desolate shore of Djidda, which was nearer Mecca. From the time of 'Uthmān, Djidda took the place of Shu'aiba and became the port of the *Kuraish* metropolis. When Muḥammad settled in Medīna and cut their communications with Syria, the Meccan leaders never thought of taking to the sea but resigned themselves to the enormous detour through al-Nadīd. The

creation of an Arab navy was the work of the caliph Mu'āwīya.

2. After the *Hidjra*. We need not rehearse the events of the first eight years of the *Hidjra*. They are summed up in the struggle with the Prophet. This struggle and the *riḍḍa*, the surrender of Mecca, were fatal to its economic prosperity. One after the other, the great families migrated to Medīna, now the capital of Islām. This tendency increased under the first three caliphs, who made their headquarters among the Anṣār. 'Alī definitely left Arabia to settle in Kūfa. Richly endowed by the state, the leading *Kuraish*, becoming generals and governors of provinces, lost interest in commerce. No more is heard about caravans or fairs in the *Hidjāz*. It was only at the period of the pilgrimage that Mecca became alive again and saw the caliphs reappear at the head of the pilgrims. The conquest of the 'Irāq dealt the last blow to the economic decline of western Arabia. The Indian trade resumed its old route by the Persian Gulf and the valley of the Euphrates. Direct communication was established by land with the markets of the middle east.

Umayyad period. The situation improved with the coming of the Umayyad dynasty. Mu'āwīya took an active interest in his native town. He erected buildings there and developed agriculture in the environs, dug wells and built dams to store up the water. Under his successors, especially the Marwānids, Mecca became a city of pleasure and ease, the rendezvous of poets and musicians, attracted by the brilliant society formed by the sons of the Companions of the Prophet. Many people returned to live in Mecca after making their fortunes in the government of conquered provinces. Contact with foreign civilisations had made them refined and fastidious. They had become accustomed to baths, a luxury which presupposes an abundant water-supply. Water had to be procured from the hills of the Sarāt. Khalid al-Qasrī's [q. v.] name is associated with this undertaking which changed the aspect of the town. To meet the scourge of flood, the caliphs 'Umar and 'Uthmān had called in the aid of Christian engineers, who built barrages in the high-lying quarters. They also secured the area round the Ka'ba by making dykes and embankments. The Umayyad caliphs continued and completed these works. They dug a new bed along the course of the *sail* and endeavoured to break its violence by barriers built at different levels. Their great anxiety was to protect the depression of the Baṭḥā' where the Ka'ba stood. The skill of the engineers of the period did not succeed in overcoming the topographical difficulties nor in averting the ravages of the winter rains, regular cloudbursts. They were frustrated by the steep slope of the ground, still further aggravated by the unusual shape of the Baṭḥā', a basin with no outlet. The houses on the bank of the *sail* were taken down and the alleys adjoining the Ka'ba removed. Each modification of the old plan meant the sacrifice of more buildings. These clearances in time changed the traditional aspect of Mecca, where the *sail* continued to sow destruction.

Along with these precautions against flooding an endeavour was made to enlarge the exiguous court around the Ka'ba. Islām aspired to possess a temple in keeping with its worldwide claims. Successive expropriations begun by 'Umar and finished

by Walid I prepared an esplanade. The plan of the great mosque [cf. *AL-MASJID AL-HARĀM*] with its galleries, a vast courtyard with the Ka'ba in the centre, is the work of the Umayyad caliph. He had the assistance of Christian architects from Syria and Egypt to carry it out. The important governorship of the Ḥidjāz with its three cities, Medina, Mecca and Ṭā'if, could in principle be given only to a member of the ruling family. Among the most celebrated of these Umayyads may be mentioned Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ and the two future caliphs, Marwān b. al-Hakam and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz. When no Umayyad was available the choice fell upon an official of tried capacity like Ḥadjdjādī and Khālīd al-Qasrī. At first they were given Ṭā'if and then transferred to Mecca. It was only after this probation that the three towns were entrusted to them. But even then the centre of government remained in Medina, which under the Umayyads eclipsed Mecca by its political importance and by the fact that it was the home of the new Muslim aristocracy.

Under Yazid I, the rising of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.] brought Syrian troops to Mecca. The rebel had made his headquarters in the court of the great mosque. A scaffold of wood, covered with straw, protected the Ka'ba. The carelessness of a Meccan soldier set it on fire. Ibn al-Zubair rebuilt the edifice and included the Ḥidjir within it [see KA'BA]. When Ḥadjdjādī had overthrown the Zubairid anti-caliph, he restored the Ka'ba to its former dimensions which have since remained unaltered. In 747 a Khārīdī rebel from the Yemen seized Mecca without meeting opposition. He was soon defeated and slain by the troops of the caliph Marwān II. In 750, Mecca passed with the rest of the caliphate under the rule of the 'Abbāsids.

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II

1. Mecca under the 'Abbāsids down to the foundation of the Sharīfate (750-961).

Although the political centre of gravity in Islām now lay in Baghdād, this period at first presents the same picture as under Omayyad rule. The *Haramān* are as a rule governed by 'Abbāsīd princes or individuals closely connected with them (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 181 *sqq.*). Sometimes Mecca and Ṭā'if were under one ruler, who was at the same time leader of the Ḥadjdj, while Medina had a separate governor of its own.

Arabia had however from the first century A.H. contained a number of 'Alid groups, who, as was their wont, fished in troubled waters, lay in wait as brigands to plunder the Ḥadjdj caravans and from time to time hoisted their flags when they were not restrained either by the superior strength or by the bribes of the caliphs. We find al-Manṣūr (136-156 = 754-774) already having trouble in Western Arabia. Towards the end of the reign of al-Mahdī (156-169 = 774-785) a Hasanid, Ḥusain b. 'Alī, led a raid on Medina, which he ravaged; at Fakhkh near Mecca, he was cut down with many of his followers by the 'Abbāsīd leader of the Ḥadjdj. The place where he was buried is now called al-Shuhadā'. It is significant that he is regarded as the "martyr of Fakhkh" (Ṭabari, iii. 551 *sqq.*; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 435, 501 *sq.*).

Hārūn al-Rashīd on his nine pilgrimages expended vast sums in Mecca. He was not the only 'Abbāsīd to scatter wealth in the holy land. This had a bad effect on the character of the Meccans. There were hardly any descendants left of the old distinguished families and the population grew accustomed to living at the expense of others and were ready to give vent to any dissatisfaction in rioting. This attitude was all too frequently stimulated by political conditions.

In the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198-218 = 817-833) it was again 'Alids, Ḥusain al-Afṣas and Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, who extended their rule over Medina, Mecca and the Yemen (Ṭabari, iii. 981 *sqq.*; *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 238), ravaged Western Arabia and plundered the treasures of the Ka'ba. How strong 'Alid influence already was at this time is evident from the fact that Ma'mūn appointed two 'Alids as governors of Mecca (Ṭabari, iii. 1039; *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 191 *sqq.*).

With the decline of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate after the death of Ma'mūn, a period of anarchy began in the holy land of Islām, which was frequently accompanied by scarcity or famine. It became the

regular custom for a number of rulers to be represented at the Ḥajj in the plain of 'Arafāt and to have their flags unfurled; the holy city was rarely spared fighting on these occasions. The safety of the pilgrim caravans was considerably affected; it was very often 'Alids who distinguished themselves in plundering the pilgrims.

The 'Alid cause received an important reinforcement at this time by the foundation of a Ḥasanid dynasty in Ṭabaristān (Ṭabarī, iii. 1523—1533, 1583 sq., 1682—1685, 1693 sq., 1840, 1880, 1884 sq., 1940). In Mecca the repercussion of this event was felt in the appearance of two Ḥasanids (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 343; ii. 10, 195, 239 sq.), Ismā'īl b. Yūsuf and his brother Muḥammad, who also ravaged Medina and Djidda in the way that had now become usual (251 = 865—866).

The appearance of the Ḳarmāṭians [q.v.] brought still further misery to the country in the last fifty years before the foundation of the shērīfate (Ṭabarī, iii. 2124—2130). Hard pressed themselves at the heart of the empire, the caliphs were hardly able even to think of giving active support to the holy land, and, besides, their representatives had not the necessary forces at their disposal. From 916 onwards the Ḳarmāṭians barred the way to the pilgrim caravans. In 930, 1,500 Ḳarmāṭian warriors raided Mecca, massacred the inhabitants by the thousand and carried off the Black Stone to Bahrain. It was only when they realised that such deeds were bringing them no nearer their goal—the destruction of official Islām—that their zeal began to relax and in 950 they even brought the Stone back again. Mecca was relieved of serious danger from the Ḳarmāṭians. The following years bear witness to the increasing influence of the 'Alids in western Arabia in connection with the advance of Fāṭimid rule to the east and with Būyid rule in Baghdād. From this time the Meccan 'Alids are called by the title of Sharīf which they have retained ever since.

2. From the foundation of the Sharīfate to Ḳatāda (c. 350—598 = 960—1200).

a. The Mūsāwīs. The sources do not agree as to the year in which Dja'far took Mecca. 966, 967, 968 and the period between 951 and 961 are mentioned (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 205 sqq.). 'Alids had already ruled before him in the holy land. It is with him however that the reign of the Ḥasanids in Mecca begins, who are known collectively as sharīfs, while in Medina this title is given to the reigning Ḥusainids.

The rise and continuance of the Sharīfate indicates the relative independence of Western Arabia in face of the rest of the Islāmic world from a political and religious point of view. Since the foundation of the Sharīfate, Mecca takes the precedence possessed by Medina hitherto.

How strongly the Meccan sharīfate endeavoured to assert its independence, is evident in this period from two facts. In 976 Mecca refused homage to the Fāṭimid caliph. Soon afterwards the Caliph began to besiege the town and cut off all imports from Egypt. The Meccans were soon forced to give in, for the Ḥidjāz was dependent on Egypt for its food supplies (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, viii. 491; *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 246).

The second sign of the Sharīfs' feeling of independence is Abu 'l-Futūḥ's (384—432 = 994—1039) setting himself up as caliph in 1011

(*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 207; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, ix. 233, 317). He was probably induced to do this by al-Ḥākim's heretical innovations in Egypt. The latter however was soon able to reduce the new caliph's sphere of influence so much that he had hurriedly to return to Mecca where in the meanwhile one of his relatives had usurped the power. He was forced to make terms with al-Ḥākim in order to be able to expel his relative.

With his son Shukr (432—453 = 1039—1061) the dynasty of the Mūsāwīs, i. e. the descendants of Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abi Ṭalīb came to an end. He died without leaving male heirs, which caused a struggle within the family of the Ḥasanids with the usual evil results for Mecca. When the family of the Banū Shaiba (q. v.; the Shēbis) went so far as to confiscate for their private use all precious metals in the house of Allāh, the ruler of Yemen, al-Ṣulaiḥī (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 208, 210 sqq.; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, ix. 422; x. 19, 38), intervened and restored order and security in the town. This intervention by an outsider appeared more intolerable to the Ḥasanids than fighting among themselves. They therefore proposed to al-Ṣulaiḥī that he should instal one of their number as ruler and leave the town.

He therefore appointed Abū Ḥāshim Muḥammad (455—487 = 1063—1094) as Grand Sharīf. With him begins the dynasty of the

b. Hawāshim (455—598 = 1063—1200), which takes its name from Abū Ḥāshim Muḥammad, a brother of the first Sharīf Dja'far; the two brothers were descendants in the fourth generation from Mūsā II, the ancestor of the Mūsāwīs.

During the early years of his reign, Abū Ḥāshim had to wage a continual struggle with the Sulaimānī branch, who thought themselves humiliated by his appointment. These Sulaimānis were descended from Sulaimān, a brother of the Mūsā II above mentioned.

The reign of Abū Ḥāshim is further noteworthy for the shameless way in which he offered the suzerainty, i. e. the mention in the *khutba* as well as the change of official rite which is indicated by the wording of the *adḥān*, to the highest bidder i. e. the Fāṭimid caliph or the Saldjūq sultān (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 253; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 67). It was very unwelcome to the Meccans that imports from Egypt stopped as soon as the official mention of the Fāṭimid in the *khutba* gave way to that of the caliph. The change was repeated several times with the result that the Saldjūq, tired of this comedy, sent several bodies of Turkomans to Mecca.

The ill-feeling between Sultān and Sharīf also inflicted great misery on pilgrims coming from the Irāk. As the leadership of the pilgrim caravans from this country had gradually been transferred from the 'Alids to Turkish officials and soldiers, Abū Ḥāshim did not hesitate occasionally to fall upon the pilgrims and plunder them (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 254; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 153).

The reign of his successor is also marked by covetousness and plundering. The Spanish pilgrim Ibn Djubair, who visited Mecca in 1183 and 1185, gives hair-raising examples of this. Even then however the Hawāshim were no longer absolutely their own masters, as over ten years before, the Aiyūbid dynasty had not only succeeded to the Fāṭimids in Egypt but was trying to get the whole of nearer Asia into their power.

Saladin's brother, who passed through Mecca on his way to South Arabia, abandoned his intention of abolishing the *sharifs* but the place of honour on the *Ḥajj* belonged to the Aiyūbids and their names were mentioned in the *khutba* after those of the 'Abbāsid caliph and the *sharif* (Ibn Djubair, p. 75, 95). The same Aiyūbid in 1186 also did away with the *Shi'ī* (here Zaidi, for the *Sharifs* had hitherto been Zaidis) form of the *adhān* (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 214), had coins struck in Saladin's name and put the fear of the law into the hearts of the *sharif's* bodyguard, who had not shrunk from crimes of robbery and murder, by severely punishing their misdeeds. — A further result of Aiyūbid suzerainty was that the *Shāfi'ī* rite became the predominant one.

But even the mighty Saladin could only make improvements in Mecca. He could abolish or check the worst abuses but the general state of affairs remained as before.

3. The rule of Ḳatāda and his descendants down to the Wahhābī period (c. 1200—1788).

In the meanwhile a revolution was being prepared which was destined to have more far-reaching consequences than any of its predecessors. Ḳatāda, a descendant of the same Mūsā (see above) from whom the Mūsawis and the Hawāshim were descended, had gradually extended his estates as well as his influence from Yanbu' to Mecca and had gathered a considerable following in the town. According to some sources, his son Ḥanzala made all preparations for the decisive blow on the holy city, according to others, Ḳatāda seized the town on the 27th Radjab when the whole population was away performing a lesser *'umra* in memory of the completion of the building of the Ka'ba by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair, which was celebrated on this day along with the festival of Muḥammad's ascension to heaven. However it came about, Ḳatāda's seizure of the town meant the coming of an able and strong-willed ruler, the ancestor of all later *sharifs*. He steadfastly followed his one ambition to make his territory an independent principality. Everything was in his favour; that he did not achieve his aim was a result of the fact that the Ḥidjāz was once again at the intersection of many rival lines of political interest.

Ḳatāda began by ruining his chances with the great powers; he ill-treated the son of the Aiyūbid al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (540—615 = 1145—1218) in brutal fashion (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 263). He roused the ire of the caliph by his attitude to pilgrims from the 'Irāk. He was able however to appease the latter and the embassy he sent to Baghdad returned with gifts from the caliph. The caliph also invited him to visit Baghdad. According to some historians, however, the *sharif* turned home again before he actually reached Baghdad. On this occasion, he is said to have expressed his policy of the "splendid isolation" of the Ḥidjāz in verse, as he did in his will in prose (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Qatādah's Policy of Splendid Isolation* etc. in *Bibl.*).

On the other hand, Ḳatāda is said to have vigorously supported an Imām of Ḥasanid descent in founding a kingdom in the Yemen. After the reconquest of this region by a grandson of al-ʿĀdil, the Aiyūbids of Egypt, Syria, and South Arabia were mentioned in the *khutba* in Mecca along with the Caliph and *Sharif*.

Ḳatāda's life ended in a massacre which his son Ḥasan carried out in his family to rid himself of possible rivals (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 215, 263 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xii. 262 sqq.). The Aiyūbid prince Mas'ūd however soon put a limit to his ambition and had Mecca governed by his generals. On his death however power again passed into the hands of the *sharifs*, whose territory was allowed a certain degree of independence by the rulers of the Yemen as a bulwark against Egypt.

About the middle of the xiiith century the world of Islām assumes a new aspect as the result of the advent of persons and happenings of great importance. In 1258 the taking of Baghdad by Hūlāgū put an end to the caliphate. The pilgrim caravan from the 'Irāk was no longer of any political significance. In Egypt power passed from the Aiyūbids to the Mamlūks; Sulṭān Baibars (658—676 = 1260—1277) was soon the most powerful ruler in the lands of Islām. He was able to leave the government of Mecca in the hands of the *sharif*, because the latter, Abū Numa'iy, was an energetic individual who ruled with firmness during the second half of the xiiith century (1254—1301). His long reign firmly established the power of the descendants of Ḳatāda.

Nevertheless the first half century after his death was almost entirely filled with fighting between different claimants to the throne. 'Adjlān's reign also (1346—1375) was filled with political unrest, so much so that the Mamlūk Sulṭān is said on one occasion to have sworn to exterminate all the *sharifs*. 'Adjlān introduced a political innovation by appointing his son and future successor Aḥmad co-regent in 1361 by which step he hoped to avoid a fratricidal struggle before or after his death.

A second measure of 'Adjlān's also deserves mention, namely the harsh treatment of the Mu'adhdhīn and Imām of the Zaidis; this shows that the reigning *sharifs* had gone over to the predominant rite of al-Shāfi'ī and forsaken the Zaidī creed of their forefathers.

Among the sons and successors of 'Adjlān special mention may be made of Ḥasan (1396—1426) because he endeavoured to extend his sway over the whole of the Ḥidjāz and to guard his own financial interests carefully, at the same time being able to avoid giving his Egyptian suzerain cause to interfere.

But from 1425 he and his successors had to submit to a regular system of control as regards the allotment of the customs.

From the time of Ḥasan, in addition to the bodyguard of personal servants and freedmen, we find a regular army of mercenaries mentioned which was passed from one ruler to another. But the mode of life of the *sharifs*, unlike that of other Oriental rulers, remained simple and in harmony with their Arabian surroundings. As a vassal of the Egyptian Sulṭān the *sharif* received from him every year his *tawqī'* [q. v.] and a robe of honour. On the ceremonies associated with the accession of the *sharifs* see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 97 sq.

Of the three sons of Ḥasan who disputed the position in their father's lifetime, Barakāt (I) was chosen by the sulṭān as co-regent; twenty years later, he succeeded his father and was able with slight interruptions to hold sway till his death in 1455. He had to submit to the sulṭān sending a permanent garrison of 50 Turkish horsemen under an emīr

to Mecca. This emir may be regarded as the precursor of the later governors, who sometimes attained positions of considerable influence under Turkish suzerainty.

Mecca enjoyed a period of prosperity under Barakāt's son Muḥammad (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 341 sqq.; iii. 230 sqq.), whose reign (1455—1497) coincided with that of Kā'itbey [q. v.] in Egypt. The latter has left a fine memorial in the many buildings he erected in Mecca.

Under Muḥammad's son Barakāt II (1497—1525) who displayed great ability and bravery in the usual struggle with his relatives, without getting the support he desired from Egypt (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 342 sqq.; iii. 244 sqq.), the political situation in Islām was fundamentally altered by the Ottoman Sultān Selim's conquest of Egypt in 1517.

Although henceforth Constantinople had the importance for Mecca that Baghdād once had and there was little real understanding between Turks and Arabs, Mecca at first experienced a period of peace under the sharifs Muḥammad Abū Numaiy (1525—1566) and Ḥasan (1566—1601). Under Ottoman protection the territory of the sharifs was extended as far as Khaibar in the north, to Ḥālī in the south and in the east into Nadjd. Dependence on Egypt still existed at the same time; when the government in Constantinople was a strong one, it was less perceptible, and vice versa. This dependence was not only political but had also a material and religious side. The Hidjāz was dependent for its food supply on corn from Egypt. The foundations of a religious and educational nature now found powerful patrons in the Sultāns of Turkey.

A darker side of the Ottoman suzerainty was its intervention in the administration of justice. Since the sharifs had adopted the Shāfi'ī madhhab, the Shāfi'ī Qāḍī was the chief judge; this office had also remained for centuries in one family. Now the highest bidder for the office was sent every year from Constantinople to Mecca; the Meccans of course had to pay the price with interest.

With Ḥasan's death a new period of confusion and civil war began for Mecca. In the language of the historians, this circumstance makes itself apparent in the increasing use of the term *Dhawī*... for different groups of the descendants of Abū Numaiy who dispute the supremacy, often having their own territory, sometimes asserting a certain degree of independence from the Grand Sharif, while preserving a system of reciprocal protection which saved the whole family from disaster (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 112 sqq.).

The struggle for supremacy, interspersed with disputes with the officials of the suzerain, centred in the xviii century mainly around the 'Abādila, the Dhawī Zaid and the Dhawī Barakāt.

Zaid (1631—1666) was an energetic individual who would not tolerate everything the Turkish officials did. But he was unable to oppose successfully a measure which deserves mention on account of its general importance. The ill-feeling between the Sunnī Turks and the Shī'ī Persians had been extended to Mecca as a result of an order by Sultān Murād to expel all Persians from the holy city and not to permit them to make the pilgrimage in future. Neither the Sharifs nor the upper classes in Mecca had any reason to be pleased with this measure; it only served the mob as a pretext to plunder well-to-do Persians. As soon

as the Turkish governor had ordered them to go, the Sharifs however gave permission as before to the Shī'īs to take part in the pilgrimage and to remain in the town. The Sharifs likewise favoured the Zaidis, who had also been frequently forbidden Mecca by the Turks.

The further history of Mecca down to the coming of the Wahhābis is a rather monotonous struggle of the Sharifan families among themselves (Dhawī Zaid, Dhawī Barakāt, Dhawī Mas'ūd) and with the Ottoman officials in the town itself or in Djidda.

4. The Sharīfate from the Wahhābī period to its end. The Kingdom.

Although the Wahhābis [q. v.] had already made their influence perceptible under his predecessors, it was Ghālīb (1788—1813) who was the first to see the movement sweeping towards his territory like a flood; but he left no stone unturned to avert the danger. He sent his armies north, east and south; his brothers and brothers-in-law all took the field; the leaders of the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrim caravans were appealed to at every pilgrimage for help, but without success. In 1799 Ghālīb made a treaty with the emir of Dar'īya, by which the boundaries of their territories were laid down, with the stipulation that the Wahhābis should be allowed access to the holy territory. Misunderstandings proved inevitable however and in 1803 the army of the emir Sa'ūd approached the holy city. After Ghālīb had withdrawn to Djidda, in April Sa'ūd entered Mecca, the inhabitants of which had announced their conversion. All kubbās were destroyed, all tobacco pipes and musical instruments burned, and the *adhān* purged of praises of the Prophet.

In July, Ghālīb returned to Mecca but gradually he became shut in there by enemies as with a wall. In August the actual siege began and with it a period of famine and plague. In February of the following year, Ghālīb had to submit to acknowledging Wahhābī suzerainty while retaining his own position.

The Sublime Porte had during all these happenings displayed no sign of life. It was only after the Wahhābis had in 1807 sent back the pilgrim caravans from Syria and Egypt with their mahmals, that Muḥammad 'Alī was given instructions to deal with the Hidjāz as soon as he was finished with Egypt. It was not till 1813 that he took Mecca and there met Ghālīb who made cautious advances to him. Ghālīb however soon fell into the trap set for him by Muḥammad 'Alī and his son Tusun. He was sent to Salonika, where he lived till his death in 1816.

In the meanwhile Muḥammad 'Alī had installed Ghālīb's nephew Yahyā b. Sarūr (1813—1827) as sharif. Thus ended the first period of Wahhābī rule over Mecca, and the Hidjāz once more became dependent on Egypt. In Mecca, Muḥammad 'Alī was honourably remembered because he restored the pious foundations which had fallen into ruins, revived the consignments of corn, and allotted stipends to those who had distinguished themselves in sacred lore or in other ways.

In 1827 Muḥammad 'Alī had again to interfere in the domestic affairs of the sharifs. When Yahyā had made his position untenable by the vengeance he took on one of his relatives, the viceroy deposed the Dhawī Zaid and installed one of the 'Abādila,

Muhammad, usually called Muḥammad b. 'Awn (1827—1851). He had first of all to go through the traditional struggle with his relatives. Trouble between him and Muḥammad 'Alī's deputy resulted in both being removed to Cairo in 1836.

Here the *sharīf* remained till 1840 when by the treaty between Muḥammad 'Alī and the Porte the *Hidjāz* was again placed directly under the Porte. Muḥammad b. 'Awn returned to his home and rank. Ottoman suzerainty was now incorporated in the person of the wālī of *Djidda*. Friction was inevitable between him and Muḥammad b. 'Awn; the latter's friendship with Muḥammad 'Alī now proved of use to him. He earned the gratitude of the Turks for his expeditions against the Wahhābī chief Faṣāl in al-Riyāḍ and against the 'Aṣīr tribes. His raids on the territory of Yemen also prepared the way for Ottoman rule over it.

In the meanwhile the head of the *Dhawī Zaid*, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (1851—1856), had made good use of his friendship with the grand vizier and brought about the deposition of the 'Abādila in favour of the *Dhawī Zaid*. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib however did not succeed in keeping on good terms with one of the two *pašas* with whom he had successively to deal. In 1855 it was decided in Constantinople to cancel his appointment and to recall Muḥammad b. 'Awn. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib at first refused to recognise the genuineness of the order; and he was supported by the Turkophobe feeling just provoked by the prohibition of slavery. Finally however, he had to give way to Muḥammad b. 'Awn, who in 1856 entered upon the *Sharīfate* for the second time; this reign lasted barely two years. Between his death in March 1858 and the arrival of his successor 'Abd Allāh in October of the same year took place the murder of the Christians in *Djidda* (June 15) and the atonement for it (cf. *DJIDDA*, and Snouck Hurgronje, *Een rector der mekkaansche universiteit, in Bijdragen t. d. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië*, 5^e volgr., deel ii, p. 381 sqq., 399 sqq.).

The rule of 'Abd Allāh (1858—1877) who was much liked by his subjects, was marked by peace at home and events of far-reaching importance abroad. The opening of the Suez Canal (1869) meant on the one hand the liberation of the *Hidjāz* from Egypt, on the other however more direct connection with Constantinople. The installation of telegraphic connections between the *Hidjāz* and the rest of the world had a similar importance. The reconquest of Yemen by the Turks was calculated to strengthen the impression that Arabia was now Turkish territory for ever.

The brief reign of his popular elder brother Ḥusain (1877—1880) ended with the assassination of the *sharīf* by an Afghān. The fact that the aged 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (see above) was sent by the *Dhawī Zaid* from Constantinople as his successor (1880—1882) gave rise to an obvious supposition.

Although the plebs saw something of a saint in this old man, his rule was soon felt to be so oppressive that the notables petitioned for his deposition (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 204 sqq.). As a result in 1881, the energetic 'Othmān Nūrī Pasha was sent with troops to the *Hidjāz* as commander of the garrison with the task of preparing for the restoration of the 'Abādila. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was outwitted and taken prisoner; he was kept under guard in one of his own houses in Mecca till his death in 1886.

'Othmān Pasha, who was appointed wālī in July 1882, hoped to see his friend 'Abdilāh, one of the 'Abādila, installed as Grand Sharīf alongside of him. 'Awn al-Rafīk (1882—1905) was however appointed (portrait in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, p.). As the wālī was an individual of great energy, who had ever done much for the public good and 'Awn, although very retiring, was by no means insignificant, nay even tyrannical, trouble between them was inevitable, especially as they had the same powers on many points, e.g. the administration of justice and supervision of the safety of the pilgrim routes. After a good deal of friction 'Othmān was dismissed in 1886. His successor was *Djamāl Pasha*, who only held office for a short period and was succeeded by *Şafwat Pasha*. Only Aḥmad Rātīb could keep his place alongside of 'Awn and that by shutting his eyes to many things and being satisfied with certain material advantages. After 'Awn's death 'Abdilāh was chosen as his successor. He died however before he could start on the journey from Constantinople to Mecca. 'Awn's actual successor was therefore his nephew 'Alī (1905—1908). In 1908 he and Aḥmad Rātīb both lost their positions with the Turkish Revolution.

With Ḥusain (1908—1916—1924), also a nephew of 'Awn's, the last *sharīf* came to power. But for the Great War his *sharīfate* would probably have run the usual course. The fact that Turkey was now completely involved in the war induced him to declare himself independent in 1916. He endeavoured to extend his power as far as possible, first as liberator (*munkidh*) of the Arabs, then (June 22, 1916) as king of the *Hidjāz* or king of Arabia and finally as caliph. Very soon however, it became apparent that the Sultān of Nadjd, 'Abd al-'Azīz Al Sa'ūd, like his Wahhābī forefathers, was destined to have a powerful say in the affairs of Arabia. In Sept. 1924 his troops took Ṭā'if and in October Mecca. King Ḥusain fled first to 'Aḳaba and from there in May 1925 to Cyprus. His son 'Alī retired to *Djidda*. Ibn Sa'ūd besieged this town and Medina for a year, avoiding bloodshed and complications with European powers. Both towns surrendered in December 1925.

Since January 1926, Ibn Sa'ūd has been king of the *Hidjāz*; the official title of his kingdom now is *Hidjāz*, Nadjd and dependencies. A political unit has thus been formed which covers a larger area than the *sharīfs* ever ruled and possesses greater internal strength than has been seen in Arabia since the end of 'Abbāsīd power.

By the organisation of the Nadjd warriors (*ikh-wān*) as agriculturists also, by the maintenance of a strict discipline among the Beduins, by the creation of a military police, which is held in awe, a security has been created such as Arabia has perhaps never known and secure foundations laid for traffic, especially of the pilgrims.

With the representatives of foreign governments in *Djidda* the king maintains friendly relations. Recently several states have raised their consulates there to the rank of an embassy. Treaties have been concluded with a number of states.

By making use of modern technical skill, the king is endeavouring to counteract the natural poverty of the land. The automobile has become of importance for the pilgrim traffic, agricultural machinery is being imported and cisterns built to hold the rain water. A project for examining the

ground to prospect for minerals has been drawn up as well as a plan for a quay in the harbour of Djidda.

Wahhābism — or as they prefer to call it in Arabia: Islām according to the Ḥanbalī rite — is the state religion. But it has advanced cautiously in comparison with its attitude at the beginning of the ninth century. The external symbols of veneration for saints and the dead have been removed; Muḥammad's tomb in Medina has however been spared. The maḥmal [q. v.] no longer comes to the ḥadjj; the new covering for the Ka'ba is made every year in Mecca. The pilgrim traffic again shows high figures and even Shī'is are admitted again to the pilgrimage.

The religious and economic life of the city has from the earliest times centred round the pilgrimage (cf. the article ḤADJJ) and the Mosque (cf. AL-MASJID AL-ḤARĀM). The character of Mecca as the metropolis of Islām is reflected in the great variety of its population. Besides the original Meccan nucleus we have numerous Arab elements — among which the Ḥaḍramīs are particularly prominent on account of their energy — and colonies of foreigners from all parts of the Muslim world who have out of worldly or religious motives taken up their abode permanently in the capital. Among these, special mention must be made of those from the Malay Archipelago who are known collectively as Djāwa; with them it is exclusively religious motives that have caused them to take up permanent residence in Mecca.

Even at the present day, slaves mainly African, form an important element in Meccan society. Abyssinian slave girls have always been highly esteemed as concubines. The slave-market however is no longer of the importance it once was. Freedmen rise from the slave caste and their dwellings, huts put together of every conceivable material, are on the outskirts of the city.

Artisans are, or at least down to the end of the ninth century were, organised in gilds. Among these gilds that of the pilgrim guides (*muṭawwif*, q. v.), who have agents in Djidda and outside Arabia, is the most important; it lives entirely on the pilgrim traffic.

This is true in a way of the whole population, which has arranged to let houses to the pilgrims for a considerable portion of the year. By the eighth month, tens of thousands of these visitors are in the town. Their number increases till the twelfth. In Muḥarram, Mecca resumes its usual appearance.

During the last few hundred years — except for the first Wahhābī period — the cult of saints in Mecca has steadily increased. Numerous places have sacred memories of Muḥammad and his family, the most prominent *muḥādjirūn* and later saints; numerous ḡubbas were built over their graves and ḥawls and mōlids were celebrated in their honour. The Wahhābis have done away with a great deal of this, how much is not exactly known.

Mecca is the seat of the government, although the king's residence is in Riyāḍ. The official gazette *Umm al-Ḳurā* appears weekly. There are also printing presses, which mainly print Wahhābī or Ḥanbal literature.

List of the Sharīfs of Mecca (ca. 961—1916).

a. Mūsāwis (ca. 961—1061)

Dja'far ca.	ca. 961—ca. 980
'Isā.	ca. 980—994
Abu 'l-Futūḥ	994—1039
Shukr	1039—1061
b. Sulaimānis or Banū Abi 'l-Taiyib, from 1061, at constant feud with the	
c. Hawāshim (1063—1200)	
d. Ḳatāda and his descendants (1200—1916)	

Ḳatāda	1200—1221
His sons	till 1254
Abū Numayī I.	1254—1301
His sons	till 1346
'Adjlān	1346—1375
His sons	till 1396
Ḥasan I.	1396—1426
Barakāt I.	1426—1455
Muḥammad	1455—1497
Barakāt II	1497—1525
Abū Numayī II	1525—1566
Ḥasan II	1566—1601
His sons	till 1631
Zaid	1631—1666
Sa'd I	1666—1672
Dhawī Barakāt	1672—1684
Sa'd II	1684—1704
Dhawī Barakāt	1704—1711
Dhawī Zaid	1711—1770
Sarūr	1773—1788
Ghālib	1788—1813
Yahyā b. Sarūr	1813—1827
Muḥammad	1827—1851
'Abd al-Muṭṭalib	1851—1856
Muḥammad	1856—1858
'Abd Allāh	1858—1877
Husain I.	1877—1880
'Abd al-Muṭṭalib	1880—1882
'Awn al-Rafīq	1882—1905
'Abdilāh	1905
'Alī	1906—1908
Ḥusain II	1908—1916 as

Sharīf; till 1924 as King.

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al-ʿArab; Oriente Moderno, passim (especially v. 143 sqq., 302 sqq., 413 sqq., 660 sqq.; vi. 219 sqq. etc. s. v. Arabia; treaties: vi. 14 sqq., 42 sq.; vii. 6 sq., 474—479; x. 105 sq., 122; constitution: vi. 530 sqq.; assumption of regal title: vi. 101 sqq.; cf. vii. 172 sq.).

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MEDEA, a town in Algeria (department of Algiers), 60 miles S. of Algiers, in 36° 15' 50" N. Lat. and 2° 45' E. Long. (Greenwich). Medea lies at an altitude of 3,070 feet on the northern border of the mountainous massif which divides the high plateaus from the Mitidja. Down to the French occupation, it could only be reached by a bridle-path over the Muzaiia pass (3,270 feet). The building of a road through the gorges of the Chiffa, alongside of which a railway now runs, has made access to it easier. The town itself is built at the foot of slopes covered with vineyards which yield wines of superior quality and orchards in which, as a result of the temperate climate, fruit trees grow very well. In the neighbourhood a number of European villages have grown up in which the cultivation of cereals is combined with that of the vine. There is also a fairly busy market but it is losing in importance since the railway has been extended to Djelfa at the southern end of the high plateaus. The population (census of 1926) is 13,816 of whom 2,225 are Europeans, almost all French and 11,591 natives.

Medea occupies the site of the Roman settlement of Lambdia, on the ruins of which Boluggin b. Ziri in the tenth century built the modern town. The district in which it was built was, according to Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, transl. de Slane, ii. 6), inhabited by the Ṣanhādja tribe of Lemdia, whence no doubt the name Lemdani taken by natives of Medea. Of the history of the town itself we know hardly anything. Leo Africanus (Bk. iv., ed. Schefer, iii. 66) and following him Marmol (*Africa*, ii. 394) only tell us that after having belonged to the sultāns of Tlemcen who kept a garrison there, it passed into the hands of the sultāns of Tenes, and then of the Turks when the Barbarossas established themselves in Algiers. Under Ḥasan Khair al-Dīn, Medea became the capital of one of the three provinces (beyliks) of the Regency, the beylik of the south or of Tilteri, to which at a later date was added the lower valley of the Sebau in Kabylia. Down to about 1770 we therefore find the bey of this province living alternately at Medea and Bordj-Sebau. It was not till this date that, the region of Sebau having been incorporated in the Dār al-Sultān governed by the dey, the bey of Tilteri settled permanently at Medea where he was in a better position to control the nomadic tribes of the plateaus. He had however no authority over the inhabitants of the town itself, who were under the authority of a *hakim* appointed by the agha of Algiers. The population, which did not exceed 4,000—5,000 among whom were many Kulughlis and Turks retired from the service, became wealthy through its trade with the south. Caravans brought thither the produce of the Sahara and also negro slaves who were sold to the citizens of Algiers.

During the years which followed the capture of Algiers, the French on several occasions (Nov. 1830—May 1831—April 1836) occupied Medea, without taking permanent possession. ʿAbd al-Kādir however placed a bey in it and had his

ownership of it recognised by the treaty of the Tafna [cf. ʿABD AL-KĀDIR]. The outbreak of hostilities again between the Emir and the French led to the final occupation of Medea by the latter on May 17, 1840.

Bibliography: Federmann and Aucapitaine, *Notice sur l'histoire et l'administration du beylik de Tilteri*, R. A., 1869; F. Pharaon, *Notes sur les tribus de la subdivision de Média*, R. A., 1857.

(G. YVER)

MEDINA. The Arabic word *madina* "town" [cf. AL-MADINA] has survived in Spain in a number of place-names. The principal are Medina de las Torres in the province of Badajoz, Medina del Campo and Medina de Rioseco, in the province of Valladolid, Medina de Pomar, in the province of Burgos, Medinaceli, in the province of Soria and Medina-Sidonia, in the province of Cadiz. The Arabic place-names Madinat Walid and Madinat al-Faradj correspond to Valladolid [q. v.] and to Guadalajara respectively (from the second Arabic name of this town: *Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra*) [cf. above ii. 177, and it may be added that the town took its name from a known individual, Mālik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Faradj, according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Thāta*, MS. in the Escorial, i. 189].

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MEDINACELI, a little town in the N.E. of Spain on the railway from Madrid to Saragossa, about halfway between these two towns, some 3500 feet above sea-level on the left bank of the Jalón. In the Muslim period it was called *Madinat-Sālim*, which is not to be confused with *Madinat Ibn al-Salim* or Ibn Salīm, in the Seville district (Idrisī, *Descr. de l'Espagne*, 174/208 and note 5, 177/215), the modern Grazalema in the province of Cadiz.

The Arab geographers give brief descriptions of Medinaceli. According to Idrīsī, it was a large town built in a hollow with many large buildings, gardens and orchards. Abu 'l-Fidā' says that this town was the capital of the Middle March (*al-thaḡhr al-awṣaf*); Yāqūt adds that Ṭarīk [q. v.] found the town in ruins at the conquest of Spain but it was repopulated under Islām and became a prosperous town.

Through its geographical position, Madinat Sālim was of considerable strategic importance for the Umayyads from the fourth century onwards. It was on many occasions, as the last stronghold on Muslim territory, the point from which forces assembled at Cordova finally started for expeditions against the Christians of the N.E. of the Peninsula and to which they retired. Though somewhat decayed down to the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, it was rebuilt, if we may believe the detailed evidence of a chronicler quoted by Ibn 'Idhārī, in 335 (946): this ruler put the work in charge of his client, the general Ḡhalīb, and all the garrisons of the country lent their aid in the work. This Ḡhalīb remained governor of Medinaceli and all the Middle March until the power was seized by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [q. v.]. It was in Medinaceli that this famous *ḥadji* died on 27th Ramaḍān 392 (Aug. 10, 1002) on returning from his last expedition against Castille. In the following century Medinaceli was frequently taken by the Christians and retaken by the Muslims, before being finally incorporated in the Kingdom of Castille.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Sifat al-Andalus*, ed.

Dozy and de Goeje, text 129, transl. 229–230; Abu 'l-Fida', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, text 178, transl. 257; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 13; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, index; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 229–230, transl. Fagnan, ii. 354–355; R. Menendez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, ii. 532.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MEDINA-SIDONIA, a little town in the S. W. of Spain, in the province of Cadiz, almost equidistant from Algeiras and Jerez de la Frontera. Under the name of *Shadhūna* it was in the Muslim period the capital of the district of this name; its territory formed part of the province of Seville and adjoined that of Moron.

Bibliography: Idrisi, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed.

Dozy and de Goeje, text 174, transl. 208, and note 6; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, text 166, transl. 236; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 267.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MEDJELLE (A. *maḍjalla*). Under this name the Civil Law Code of Turkey; is generally known it is an abbreviation of *Medjelle-i aḥkām-i 'adliye*. The elaboration of this Civil Code took place between 1869 and 1876 and was a part of the legislative programme of the *Tanzīmāt* [q. v.]. It had been preceded by a Penal Code (1858) and a Commercial Code (1861), but, while these two codifications had been based in a large measure on the laws of European countries, the *Medjelle* was a codification of that part of *Ḥanafite fikh*, which treats of obligations (*mu'āmalāt*). The codification was done by a commission of seven members, having as president Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha [q. v.]. In a preliminary report (*maḍ-baṭa*), dated 18 Dhu 'l-Hijda 1285 (April 1, 1869), this commission explains the reasons why a codification of this matter had become necessary. The newly instituted secular tribunals (*niẓāmiye*) had often to deal with matters of common civil law, but the judges did not know much, as a rule, about *fikh*; it had, therefore, been thought wise to appoint the president of the so-called religious tribunal at the same time president of the secular tribunal. This, however, did not prove satisfactory and so it was necessary to put the main points of the law of obligations into a code that could be more easily consulted than the voluminous *fikh*-books. Among the previous endeavours to bring *Ḥanafite* law into this form the commission mentions expressly Ibn Nuḍjaim (q. v.; the biography of this jurist is to be found at the end of the first part of the Cairo edition of 1334 of his *al-Baḥr al-rā'ih* [communication of Dr. C. van Arendonk]). The editors have followed as a rule those opinions of *Ḥanafite* doctors, which are most in harmony with the exigencies of modern life and business. It is, however, expressly stated that the Introduction (*muḳaddime*) and the first Book have been approved by the *Shaiḫ* al-Islām and other prominent jurists.

Though the different parts were successively sanctioned by Imperial *ḥaṭṭ* (with the formula *mudjibindje 'amel oluna*), the *Medjelle* cannot be said to have had an exclusive authority in the matter regulated. The judges were perfectly free to form their own opinion as a result of the study of the *Ḥanafite* law books and this liberty was really used.

The *muḳaddime* of the *Medjelle* contains in 100 articles a number of principles (*ḥawā'id*) as already elaborated by Ibn Nuḍjaim and his school; then follow sixteen books (*kitāb*), beginning with the *Kitāb al-Buyūt*; the last four books deal with process matters. The whole has 1,801 articles. The first part of each book gives definitions of the technical law terms used, and most of the articles are followed by examples taken from the collections of *fatwās*. The Introduction and the first book obtained the imperial sanction on the 8th Muḥarram 1286 (April 20, 1869) and the last two books on the 26th of Sha'bān 1293 (September 16, 1876).

The text of the *Medjelle* is to be found in the big code collection *Düstūr* (the introduction and book i.–viii. in vol. i.; book ix.–xiv. in vol. iii.; and books xv. and xvi. in vol. vi.). It has been published several times with a commentary, as the *Medjelle-i Aḥkām-i 'adliye sharḥī* by Ḥ. M. Diyā' al-Dīn (Der-i Se'ādet 1311) and a work under the same title by the in his time famous jurist 'Aṭif Bey (Der-i Se'ādet, in different parts from 1328 to 1339; most parts had a second and the first part a third edition); the latter commentary, however, does not go beyond art. 1448. A full French translation is found in G. Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, vol. vi., Oxford 1906, p. 170–446.

Since the Great National Assembly has adopted, on February 17, 1926, a new civil code (*Ḳānūn-i medenī*; cf. *Oriente Moderno*, vi. 134 *sqq.*), which is substantially the Swiss civil code, the authority of the *Medjelle* has disappeared.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MEDJİDİYE. In February 1844 (Muḥarram 1260) in the reign of 'Abd al-Medjid the Turkish coinage was entirely re-organised on European models and this currency is known as the *Medji-diye*. The name *Medjidiye* was also given to the largest silver piece in the new coinage: the 20 piastre piece of this new issue; it weighed 372 grains (24.08 grammes). (J. ALLAN)

MEHEDIA. [See AL-MAHDİYA.]

MEHEMET, MEHEMMED, MEHMED. [See MUḤAMMAD.]

MEHMED PASHA. [See ḲARAMĀNĪ MEHMED PASHA.]

MEHRĪ¹), the language of the Mahra country in Southern Arabia, which with *Shḥawrī* (spoken in the mountains northeast of Zafār) and the dialect of the island of Soḳoṭra forms a separate branch of South Semitic; the relation of this branch to the now extinct languages found in the inscriptions of the Sabaeans, Minaeans and Ḥaḍramawtans has not yet been accurately defined. *Mehrī* itself as a spoken language in South Arabia is seriously threatened by the steady advance of northern Arabic. The Mahra people are already almost all bilingual and their native idiom is very much influenced, especially in vocabulary, by northern Arabic; for example, of its old numerals it has preserved only the first ten; all higher numbers have been replaced by the northern Arabic forms. It is therefore not always easy to distinguish with certainty old words which are also found in northern Arabic from later borrowings.

As regards phonetics, the *Mehrī* consonants are in general agreement with Arabic and Ethiopic. Of the laryngals the loss of 'ain, which still sur-

1) In this article the author's system of transliteration is retained for philological reasons.

vives in *Shhawri*, is characteristic of Mehri. The uvular plosive *k* seems always to be voiced; of the palatals the *g*, which still survives in *Shhawri*, is always liquified, as in northern Arabic, to *ǧ*. The case of the sibilants is particularly characteristic. The original Semitic *s* seems to have been preserved as such, but in many words, as in northern Arabic, the original Semitic *sh* has coalesced with it. This sound, which is preserved in *Shhawri* as well as in Canaanite and Aramaic, has often been replaced by *h* in genuine Mehri words, initially for example in *hima* (he) "heard" (compare *mishma* "ear-muscle") and medially in *nehā* "forgotten"; in the final position it may be dropped, as in *tey* "a little goat", *herē* "head". But when we find alongside of *huda* "to obstruct" *suda* "to carry over, to come to an agreement", which is connected with the Arabic *sadūd* "straight, correct", the latter can only be regarded as borrowed from the Arabic. This *s* however is also found in words like *libes* (he) "put on" and in the pronoun of the third pers. fem. *se*, *sen*, etc., in which any such borrowing is highly improbable; these must therefore belong to a dialect for which the phonetic law *sh*—*h* did not hold. The primitive Semitic *sh* has also survived where a following *t* was assimilated to it, even when the consequent doubling was dropped, as in the prefix to the causative reflexive *sha*. A primitive Semitic sound seems also to have survived in the *shin*, to which Jahn has given the name "lateral", and which is transliterated in the Vienna texts by *š*; it corresponds etymologically to the Arabic *shin*, and therefore to the *šin* in Canaanite and old Aramaic. Whether the position of articulation was exactly the same cannot of course be decided; but the description of the sound as "lateral" probably means the same as the pronunciation with flattened tongue which is assumed for Canaanite and Aramaic. Among the dentals we find alongside of *d* and *t* also the fricatives *dh* and *th* in native as well as loanwords; but in both groups the fricative pronunciation has frequently been dropped, e.g. in the case of *dh* regularly in the demonstratives; alongside of *thelāthe-miye* 300, we have *telatān* 30. In *ser* "behind" *s* appears instead of the *th* in the Arabic *athar* "track", probably under the influence of *r*, like *sh* in the Eth. *ashar* instead of **asar* which we should expect. So also in the case of *z*, the fricative has in many cases become a plosive *z* under conditions still to be explained, as in *tohr* "noon", *aṭaim* "great" = Arabic *zuhr*, *ʿaṣim*. The voiced *q* has a lateral articulation differing from the Arabic. In the labials, as in Arabic, the voiceless fricative *f* corresponds to the voiced explosive *b*. Of the liquids, *n*, when in proximity to velars and palatals, is frequently more nasal than in Arabic. *L* and *r* before consonants frequently lose their own sound and merge in the preceding vowel, as *matigh* "slain" from *lgh* = *ktl*, *yaghdās* "he carries her" from *ghdl* (by dissimilation in *lāt* "night", *kallēt* "every night"), *ḥarn* > *kōn* "horn", *karš* > *kōs* "belly".

The vowels are frequently prefaced with the laryngeal fricative instead of the laryngeal plosive, i.e. we often have *hā* for *hamza*. As in Ethiopic and probably also in primitive Semitic, only two short vowel sounds, *a* and *e*, are distinguished, while of long vowels we have *ā*, *ū* and *ī*. The old diphthongs are contracted to *ē* and *ō*. These basic vowels are however more strongly affected

than in Arabic by the predominant articulation of consonants. The distinction between *a* and *e* is thus frequently obliterated. Stress brings about the disappearance of short vowels in unaccented syllables and lengthens them in accented ones, whereby *a*, if it is not retained by laryngals or emphatic (i.e. pharyngealized) consonants, becomes *ō* (which often passes into *ū*), open sounds adjoining it however become *ē*, *ī* (*imāla*). Assimilation of vowels in adjacent syllables is frequent. Original long vowels after laryngals and emphatic consonants become *au*, *ou* and *ai*, *ei*.

Of the phenomena of sound-shifting and sound-change in combination, a characteristic feature is the tendency, paralleled in the vowel assimilation just described, to bring voiced and unvoiced sounds into agreement (Jahn, *Grammatik*, p. 8). On this is based the transformation of Arabic *ākharu* "of others", the root of which poetic language retains in *wākhār* "to be delayed", into *ghāher* with metathesis of the initial sound (*hamza* being replaced by *h*) (cf. *mghōre* "thereupon"), while the *ghair* of the Arabic, which Bittner, *Studien*, i. 15 compares with this, is to be regarded as distinct). The tendency to the assimilation of *n* is, as in Arabic, usually counteracted by the necessity of maintaining the verbal system. Although the disappearance of vowels produced by stress sometimes produces double consonants initially, this is frequently avoided at the end of words by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, e.g. *arəd* alongside of *arđ* "earth". Such additional syllables are found medially also before sonants as in the subj. *yidelēf* (: *yiktēb*), after laryngals as in *yihakēm* and velars as in *yikhābēz*, *yaghaṣēl*, etc. Dissimilation, especially between sonants (*ṣanēb* "idol" from *ṣanam*, *zubbōn* < *zamān* "time"; Hein, p. 117, 25), haplology as in **ṭadit* > *ṭit*, *ṭait* "one" (fem.) and strong metatheses like *ḫatala* > *letōgh* "he slew", **shamā(t)* > **hemēt* > *hētem*, *hītem*, "heavens" also contribute to give the Mehri vocabulary its special features.

The pronoun has preserved very archaic forms. The first personal pronoun *ho*, *hu* can probably not be equated (as Bittner, *Studien*, iii. 7 suggests) to *kū* in Accadian *anāku*, as the change *k* > *h* is not found elsewhere in Mehri, but must be connected with the primitive Semitic **a* (with aspiration of the initial vowel — see above). It is also improbable that the 2nd pers. pronoun sg. *het*, plur. m. *tem* f. *ten*, should preserve in the singular, with assimilation of the *n*, the initial syllable **an* found in the other Semitic languages, but reject it in the plural. It is perhaps more probable that the initial sound of the 2nd pers. has been assimilated to that of the 1. and 3. The 1. plur. *nhā* reveals a corruption of the primitive Semitic **niḥnu*. The 3. pers. has alone among Semitic languages preserved the original difference in the initial sounds, m. *he*, f. *se*, plur. m. *hem*, f. *sen*; on the other hand, the double distinction through the vowels has been dropped. Among the suffixes may be noted the distinction of genders, found also in some North Semitic dialects, in the 2. pers. m. *k*, f. *sh*, with palatalisation from *ki*, as in *Shhawri shibdit* (Müller, iii. 113, 14) and Sok. *shibdeh* (Müller, ii. 227, No. 2), "liver". In place of the suffixes, the independent pronouns may also be used with the genitive particle as *māl di-hō*, "my farm"; *hārʾawn lehēt*, "thy sheep".

The demonstrative pronouns end in the sg. in *d* (in place of *dh*) and distinguish the

genders as in Arabic, m. *dā*, f. *dā*, in plur. comm. *lā*; they are further combined with (m) to m. *dōm(e)*, f. *dīm(e)*, pl. *lōm(e)*, with *k* to m. *dāk*, f. *dik*, pl. *līk*, or with both elements to m. *dākem(e)*, f. *dīkem(e)*, pl. *līākem(e)*; in the basic form both genders when unstressed sometimes coincide in *de*, in the combined form in *dekme*. The basic form, reduced to *dā*, *de*, *dī* without distinction of gender, pl. *lā*, *le*, *lī*, serves also as a relative. In the interrogative besides the personal *mōn* "who?", we have the neuter *hē < 'ai* "what?".

Of the numerals, as already mentioned, only the first ten have survived. "One" in the basic form *hād* is only used as an indefinite "any one"; otherwise it has been driven out by the relative phrase **dḥād > fād*; the fem. takes the ending of the nomina unitatis (see below), which by analogy has been transferred to 2 and the other numerals except 4 and 5, perhaps under the influence of *themēnīt* 8, which follows the regular phonetic law; from **ḥādīt* we get by haplology *ḥīt*, *ḥait*. The numeral 2 agrees in its stem with the Aram. *ṯhrū* (like *ber > ḥabrē* "son" with *bar*), the ending *ū* from *ā* is the old dual ending of the nominative. In 3 the initial letter, as in Sabaeans and Ethiopic, is dissimilated (from the final) to *ś* and the final has become a plosive: *śelīt*; the feminine form after dropping the *l* (see above) has dissimilated the final *ṯh* of the stem to *f*, becoming *śafāit*. 4 *arba* loses in the feminine the unaccented first syllable: *rbōt*. 5 loses the last radical, weakened to *h*; in the masculine the basic form **khamish* has through vowel assimilation become *khaime* through **kḥimih*, the feminine shows the feminine ending *ō*, to which the vowel of the stem is assimilated: *khomō*. 6 and 7 change the initial *śh* to *h*, while the final *dṯh* of 6 as in Arabic by mutual synthesis becomes *tt*: *hit*; 7 following phonetic laws: m. *hōba*, f. *hibéyt*. 9 loses its initial sound, which had already lost its vowel in the unaccented syllable: *śa*. f. *sait*. 8 and 10 show, following regular phonetic laws, m. *themōne*, f. *themēnīt*; m. *ōser*, f. *āsrīt*.

Among the nouns, the most noteworthy for their form are those which were originally monosyllabic; they are found throughout with the prefix *ha* (*ha*) as in *ḥabrē* alongside of *ber* (see above) "son", a new formation (differently Bittner, i. 28, 5), following *ḥabrīt* alongside of *bort* "daughter", *ḥamū* "water", *ḥayūm*, *ḥeyūm*, *hyūm* "day, sun" alongside of *yimō* "to-day", *ḥallū* alongside of *lālet* (*līt*, *kallēt* see above) "night". *Heib* "father" and *heid* "hand" are therefore not to be equated directly with *ab* and **d* with *h* for *h* instead of *hamua*, as it is found in *hām* "mother", but we must recognise in them as well the prefixed syllable which is found also before some nouns which are trilateral in the other Semitic languages, like *herē* "head" = **raśh*, *ḥanōf* "soul", which Bittner explained by metathesis, *ḥinē* "vessel" = Ar. *inā*, *ḥanōb*, pl. *ḥanīb* "great, elders" = Ar. *nāb*, pl. **anyāb* "old she-camel, head of a family", *ḥenid* (Shh. *nid*) "water-skin" = Hebr. *nōd*, Accad. *nādu*. In *bi ḥu-wōdī* "in a valley" (Müller, iii. 24, 5) this syllable (here assimilated only to the beginning of the next word) serves as an indefinite article, which has lost its significance in the above words and become a component of the stem, so that it also appears in the plur. *ḥabūn* etc., but originally however must have been identical with the numeral *ḥad*, which is still used as an

indefinite pronoun. *Ḥadīd* "uncle" and *haddīt* "aunt", *ḥithey* "fox" *ṯha'* show the *ha* weakened to *ha*. A. Ember, in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr. u. Alt.*, li. 118, 138, compares these nouns with the assimilated stems with prefixed *h* in Egyptian discussed by Sethe, *ibid.*, xlvii. 80, note 2.

Of other nominal forms we need only mention the diminutives, sometimes with internal formation similar to Ar. *ḥuwaitil* (see Rhodokanakis, *Zur Formenlehre*, p. 5), as, for example, *ṯawafēl* "little child", sometimes also with the ending *ān*, which here always appears as *ēn* under the influence of the diphthong of the basic form *ḥutail* (Rhodokanakis, *ibid.*), *wuḥatēn* "short time".

The feminine ending *at* takes the accent in nominatives with short stem vowel and therefore appears as *āt*, *ōt*, or with assimilation to close front vowels as *ēt*, as in *rahmāt* "rain", *ṣagh'ōt* "leaf", *ḥadjirēt* "chamber"; after long stem vowels however, it is unaccented, as in *alōmet* "flag", *fkhaidet* "tribe", *djiridet* "palm-wood", especially in loanwords from the Arabic, while in true Mehri words the vowel in the unaccented syllable usually disappears and the vowel of the now closed root syllable is abbreviated, as in *ḥaft* (= Yemen. *ḥāfe*) "town, village", *sust* "worm", *ḥayēft* "meal", at the same time showing assimilation of the final consonants: *djitt* (from *djūd*) "good" (fem.), *ḥanett* (from *ḥanūn*) "small" (fem.).

Another feminine ending *ī*, which still occasionally appears unsupported in Arabic and Aramaic, is here found, as in most Semitic languages, only in combination with the usual ending *t* as a regularly accented *īt*, e.g. in the participles, and again in simple noun-stems, corresponding to the masc. ending *ōne*, e.g. *tebrōne*, f. *tebrīte*, in the derivative stems like *mesāfire*, f. *mesfirēte*, *mefēkere*, f. *meftekerīte* with from the masculine transference of *e < ī*, and also in the feminines by signification derived from the masc. like *kelbīt* "bitch", *ḥabrīt* "daughter" (see above), *bālīt* "lady" from *bāl*, *ṣhrifīt* "noble lady" from *ṣherif*. The endings of the nomina unitatis likewise end in this way in *biḥdīt* "egg" from *bād*, *limīt* "citron" from *līm*, *śefīt* "hair" from *śēf* (alongside of the usual ending as in *ḥhaberōt* "bread", *nakhlēl* "date-palm"); as in Tigrē and Tigrīna, these are really feminines of adjectives of relation, which in their original meaning preserve the full form *iyet* (see Rhodokanakis, *op. cit.*, p. 6, 7).

Of the dual only a trace remains in *ṯhrū* 2; perhaps however also in the ending *ī* of nouns before this numeral, like *ḥarshī ṯhrū*, if this is not simply an epenthetic vowel before the double consonant. *Ḥaṣerēyen*, borrowed from the Arabic *al-ṣaraini*, takes the meaning "period after the 'aṣr'"; from this is formed on the model of *fenōwen* "before", *ḥaṣrōwen* "at the time before the 'aṣr'".

The sound plural of the masculine with the ending *in* (*ain*, *ein*), before suffixes *ī*, is still in use to a greater extent than in Arabic. The plural of adjectives of relation in *iyin* is still found alongside of the contracted form *īn*, frequently in names of trades like *ḥammaliyīn*, *seyafiyīn* (Rhodokanakis, *op. cit.*, p. 9). The ending of the fem. pl. is *ōt*, sometimes *ōten*, which does not, as Bittner thought, maintain the nunation, which survives in Mehri (as in modern Arabic and in Hebrew and Ethiopic) only in adverbs. The suffixed syllable is the plural ending of the masc. in unaccented syllables (*Grundr.*, i. 442), just as the fem. sg. *īt* takes the masc.

ending *e* (see above), or it may be, as Rhodokanakis (*op. cit.*, p. 8) suggests, the other plural ending *ān*, as in Accad. *kullatān* "all". In the formation and use of the broken plural, Mehri adopts a mean between Arabic and Ethiopic. Characteristic are a number of formations from plurals of the plural, such as are found also in Arabic, e.g. *ṣarḳ* "a piece of wood", plur. **ṣirāk*, then **ṣarāyik* and and thence *ṣeryak* (Rhodokanakis, p. 11 *sqq.*). Double plurals also arise through the addition of the masc. pl. ending *in* in *riahēn* "wind", *dhembin* "tails", *sehmīn* "bows", to which the original plurals *riāh*, *dhenōb*, *shūm* are then taken as singulars (Rhodokanakis, p. 9), and again with vowel reduction after the accented syllable in *kilēbten* "bitches", *habānten* "daughters", in which however Rhodokanakis (p. 15) sees the ending *ān*.

The case-inflections, except for a few remains of the accusative in some adverbs, have completely disappeared. The genitive is expressed by the simple juxtaposition of two nouns, more frequently by the relative, sometimes with a demonstrative suffix, as in *djeldēh de ghōdēb hībri di bagrēt* "the skin of the steer, the young of the cow", Hein, p. 15, 16, alongside of *hebrē tiwīt* "the young of the ewe", *ibid.*, p. 3, 17.

Determination and indetermination are never indicated. Nunation only survives in some adverbs, like *fenōwen* "in front", *ghairen* "behind", *mghōren* "later".

The prepositions of Mehri are for the most part new formations, some of uncertain origin. Of the old Semitic prepositions, only *bi* (*ba*, *b-*), *bein*, *bād* "after", *le* < *alā* and *ilā*, and *min* have survived; *ka*, *ke* has come to mean "with". The place of *li* has been taken by *ha*, *he*, which Bittner traces to the first syllable of **ilā*, but this is not very probable. The other prepositions have been replaced by words indicating place, like *fenōwen*, *fenē* "before", *ser* (properly "track") "behind", *tewāl*, *tuwāl* "at" (properly a T-nomen connected with Arabic *waliya* "to be near", rather than with Syriac *lewāth*, as Bittner considers), *nkhali* "below" (properly "depression"?, but Sokotri, *nhet*; Müller, iii. 54 *infra*), or parts of the body, like *birek* "in" (lit. "in the bosom"; Christian) and *ṣar*, *tair* "upon" (properly "back").

The verb distinguishes from the simple form, which is found in the active as *ketōb* "wrote" and stative as *libes* "was clothed", an intensive which has however dropped the doubling and thus coincides with the purposive, and a causative with the prefix *ha*, which in the imperfect also sometimes has the same form as the intensive (e.g. *hemrōd* "to tend a sick person", impf. ind. *yihemrōd*, subj. *yihamrād*, but *haṣalāh* "to remedy", impf. ind. *yihāṣolāh*, subj. *yihāṣalāh*). The causative has very often a passive sense, like the simple intransitive verb, with which it often coincides as an inner causative. To each of these stems there is a reflexive with inserted *t*: to the simple verb in double form as *katteb* or *katteteb*, or with assimilation to the vowels of the simple verb *ktetōb*, to the intensive *ktōteb*, to the causative from the simple form *shaghfur* "to beg pardon", to the purposive stem *shhākem* "to go to law", *shdjedel* "to quarrel".

In contrast to the perfect (quoted above as the normal form), which expresses a fact as such, there is an imperative in the active *tebēr* "break", in the stative *lebōs* "put on", in the intensive

sōfer "travel", in the causative *hakteb* "cause to write", in the reflexive *ktēteb*, *kteteb*, *ktōteb*, in the caus. refl. *shaghfer* and *shhākem*. From these imperatives is formed the affective mood (Bittner's subjunctive), like *yitbēr* "that he crush", *yilbōs* "that he put on", *yisōfer* "that he travel", *yihakteb* "that he write", *yiktēteb*, *yikteteb*, *yiktōteb*, *yishaghfer*, *yishhākem*. Next there is expressed the progressive aspect, which presents the action as in progress, often with limitation to the present and future, a form which doubles the second radical in the simple verb but, as in the intensive, has replaced the reduplication by lengthening the vowel as in *yitōber* "he crushes", so also in the causative *yihakōteb*, but in the intensive and sometimes in the reflexive shows an ending corresponding to the Arabic energetic, as in *yisāferen* "he travels", refl. *yiktetibēn* and *yiktātēben*, caus. refl. *yishhākemen*. In the intransitive simple verb, the affective mood serves also to indicate that an event is happening at the present time (as a so called indicative); on account of the relations of the intrans. to the caus. and refl. already referred to this formation, but now for the indicative only, is transferred to these forms in *yihaktōb* (alongside of *yihakōteb*), *yishaghfōr* and *yiktetōb* (from *kattēb*).

In the so called perfect in active verbs, the stress remains on the second syllable of the stem with the exception of the 3rd fem. sg., the ending of which *ōt*, as in the noun, attracts the emphasis to itself (*teberōt*). The 3rd pl. has lost the endings and replaces them only in the masc. by *em*, which comes from the pronoun. The consonantal terminations have lost their vowels, but the double consonant at the end of a word is separated by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel only before the sonant *n* of the 1st pers. plur. (*tebōren*); before other terminations the vowel of the stem remains short. As in Ethiopic the initial of the 2nd pers. is assimilated to that of the 1st (-*k*); as in the suffix, the 2nd fem. sg. appears in the palatalised form *sh*. The intransitives with the exception of the 3rd fem. sing. retain the stress on the first syllable of the stem, the vowel of which is assimilated to that of the second (*tiber*). In the intensive the lengthening of the *a* to *ō* is found only in the forms which do not add a termination.

In the imperative in the transitive simple verb as well as in the causative there is no distinction of gender in the singular. In the intransitive form however, the vowel of the second accented syllable of the stem was assimilated to the feminine ending *i*, so that even after it was dropped the distinction between m. *tebōr* and f. *tebūr* was retained, similarly in the reflexive *ftehōm*, *ftehīm*.

Accordingly, in the intensive and its reflexive and in the causative reflexive the distinction of gender is expressed also by changing the accented vowel: m. *sōfer*, f. *sifer*, m. *ntōbeh*, f. *ntibeh*, m. *shkhālef*, f. *shkhāylef*. In the plural the genders are distinguished by the endings in *-em*, f. *-en*. In the intransitive simple form however, the vowel change is transferred from the singular to the plural, m. *tebōrem*, f. *tebiren* and in the reflexive of the scheme *ktetōb*, with peculiar change of function m. *ktetibem* (assimilation to the indic. imp. *yiktetibēn*, pl. *yiktetibēm*), f. *ktetōben*. The same change of function is also found in the perf. of the causal: 3 m. pl. *haktibem*, f. *haktōb*.

Out of the imperative arises the so-called subj.

of the impf. by means of the same personal prefixes as in all Semitic languages and with the endings *i* for the 2nd sg. f. and m. -em, f. -en for the plural of the 2nd and 3rd pers. In the corresponding indicative the distinction of gender is expressed in the second person by internal vowel change, m. *tetöber*, f. *tetiber* and on the addition of the plural endings the short vowel (*yiteberem* etc.) is restored. In the intransitive simple verb the moods are not distinguished, the genders of the 2nd pers. sg. are distinguished by the same vowel change as in the imperative; this vowel change is also transferred to the plural (m. *tetbörem*, f. *tetbiren*) and with exchange of functions also to the 3rd pers. (m. *yitbörem*, f. *tetbörem*). In the intensive, distinction of gender in the second person is expressed only in the singular (subj. *tesöfer*, f. *tesifer*, indic. m. *tesáferen*, f. *tesiferen*); before the endings, the vowels are short and the mood endings give way to the plural endings so that the 3rd pers. f. sg. and pl. are the same: *tesáferen*.

The participles are in the simple form active *tebröne*, f. *tebrüte* (see above), pass. *metbir*; in the derivative stems as in e.g. intensive *mekátebe*, f. *mekatebite*, caus. *mehákátebe*, f. *mehaketebite*; in the passive they follow the model of the simple verb, *makhazáis* "despatched" (in the intensive only when borrowed from the Arabic like *meqaddem* "chief").

The infinitives are in the simple verb of the form *tiber* (more rarely like *ghádel*: "to carry", *miréd* "to be ill") or *qabyüt* "to take" (frequently with med. lar.), with prefix, like *māmül* "work", or with ending like *ghafirón* "to forgive"; in the intensive *tebrid* "to cool down", in the causal and the reflexives with the ending *öt* (*üt*) as in Eth. *hakteböt*, *ktetböt*, *shaghferöt*.

In the verbs with laryngeal as second radical, the perfect is e.g. *djehem* "he went"; it is therefore, as in Ethiopic, the intransitive scheme with the type of the transitive making itself felt; the imperfect is therefore inflected as in the intransitives without distinction of mood. As a first radical, a laryngeal frequently produces intrusive syllables, as in subj. *yihakem* "let him judge". *Hamsa*, arising out of *ain* as first radical, acts in the same way, e.g. *ya'anáf* "let him become hard" (cf. Arabic *anafa*, not Hebrew *anaf* as Bittner suggested), while an original *hamsa* disappears, as in *yämer* "let him say". As a second radical *ain* disappears, but keeps *a* in the perfect of the simple verb unchanged, as *fän* "thrust (past tense) with the lance". In the verbs with third *ain*, unlike Ethiopic, trans. and intrans. formation is distinguished in the simple verb, whereby the perf. of the trans. coincides with the intensive (*döfa* "he paid" like *djöma* "he collected"); the intransitives distinguish the moods of the imperf. exactly like the transitives.

In the verbs with first wāw, the primitive Semitic formation of the biliteral stem is dying out. It is true we still find the imperative *zēm* "give" with the subj. *yizēm* and *kēb* "come in" with the subj. *yikēb*, but *kēb* is already limited to the feminine and the masc. *wēkōb* formed from it; we have besides the reduplicated imperatives: *zēm-zēm*, *kēbkēb*, as well as *daḳadeḳ* and *shakashēk* "to load", and with vowel lengthening *thākh* "to calm" and *djeyb* "to be necessary". In secondary formations the *w* disappears from the root in some forms of the reflexive, like *watkhaf* "to go in the

afternoon", imp. ind. *yitkhōf*, subj. *yitakhf*, inf. *takhf* and *watkhaf* "he awakened", imp. ind. *yetkhōt*, subj. *yetekeṭ*, inf. *tekeṭein*. For the rest the first-wāw verbs inflect regularly, and the few first-yā verbs follow them.

The third-hamza verbs very often coincide with the third-wāw and third-yā. In the transitives in the simple form we have *ū* throughout and in the intransitives *i*, which in the perfect in the forms with consonant endings merges with the stem, e.g. *ksū* "he found", but 2 m. and 1 c. *kush* and *šini* "he saw", but *šink*. In the 3rd plur. m. besides the original *ksūem*, we have also *ksūm* with secondary vowel differentiation, and with a new formation on the model of forms like *kuskem* also *kusem*. In the imper. and subj. the form of the third-yā, like *ksē*, *yiksē* has predominated; in the indic. the unaccented final vowels disappear except in the 2. f. sg. (*tekéysi*). The denominative *bürü* "to bear" from *ber* "son" follows completely the strong paradigm *tiber*, only the *i* of the 2. sg. f. is also found in the 3rd, e.g. *tibriu*, alongside of *tibrōu* and *tiberū* (Müller, iv. 31, 24). In the derivative stems only the 3rd m. sg. of the perf. in the caus. (*haksū*) and its refl. (*shaksū*) is formed after the trans. simple verb, in all other forms the paradigm of the third-yā is followed (*kōsi*, *ktōsi*, *kaisi* etc.). But the final vowel is lost in the imperative always and in the subj. of the reflexive sometimes (*katir* "hide thyself", subj. *yikatir*, but *ghatir* "speak", subj. *yighatiri*), and both forms lose it regularly in the causative and its reflexive (*hebd*, *yihebd*, sometimes with lengthening: *heyder* "get up", *yiheyder*, *shidh* [Jahn, p. 113, 25] "give heed", *yishidah*).

The medial *ū* and *i* verbs are, as in Ethiopic, to a great extent assimilated to the plan of the strong verbs, *yā* and *wāw* being treated as consonants. Only in the simple form of the med. *ū* is the old Semitic inflexion retained in principle. But the old form *yimūt* (frequently *yimōt*) has become indicative, and a new subj. has been formed with vowel change, *yimēt*, followed by the imperative *mēt*. As in the intransitives, the ending of the 2nd sg. f. reacts on the stem in the indicative: *temit*, whence also the fem. plur. *temiten* to the m. *temōtem*, and the 3rd pers. with these reversed: *yimitem*, *temōten*. In the perf. *mōt* < *māta* is retained but abbreviated before consonant suffixes, as *metk*; the participle from it is *metōne*. But the pass. part. is quite strong in formation as *makh-wif* "feared". Some verbs, probably formed from nouns, follow the strong paradigm throughout the simple form, like *tawoś* "to be finished", *hāiwei* "to be mad". This is always the case in the reflexive of the base, e.g. *šetwek* "to long for home" and in the causative, as *had'wōr* "turned" and its reflexive, e.g. *shhowōb* "warmed himself", as well as in the med. *yā* verbs e.g. *seyōr* "travelled". The intensive stem shows a peculiar formation, e.g. *awid* "returned", impf. i. ind. *ye'awiden*, subj. *ye'awid*, imp. *awid*, part. *ma'awide*, inf. *awōdet* (from the simple verb, elsewhere however like *ta'awir*) and *ayit* "called aloud" following the formation of the doubled verbs.

The biliteral roots with short vowel (the so-called med. gem. or doubled verbs) have retained the primitive Semitic inflexion with doubling of the second radical only in the perfect of the simple form; in addition the consonantal endings take an epenthetic vowel: 3rd m. *temm* "was at an end":

f. *temmōt*, 2nd m. *temmek* etc. But the vowel of the stem changes without regard for the meaning: *hass* "thought of", *riṣṣ* "crept" (spider), *hudd* "stopped", *zūll* "lost the way", *ghoff* "covered", *dōbb* "crept". The imper. and subj. follow the pattern of the strong verb, e.g. *temēm*, *yitmēm*. The indicative however is *yitmōm* (*yifelūl*). This is a new formation on the analogy of the med. *ū*, like *yimōt*: *yimēt*. The simple form **yitammem* had avoided the threefold repetition of the same sound just as the intensive has done, by forming in the perf. *temīm*, ind. imperf. *yit(e)mimen*, subj. *yitmīm* (with assimilation to the vowels of the inf. *tetmīm*?). The causative of the simple form follows in the perf. *hatmōm* and ind. impf. the strong paradigm e.g. *yihatmōm*, while in the subj. the succession of similar consonants is avoided, as in Aramaic, by doubling the first radical: *yihāttem*, and in the imper. *hattem* and part. *mahattame*. The causative of the intensive however follows its formation, e.g. perf. *hatmīm*, etc. The reflexive of the simple form replaces in the perf. (after the model of *kattēb*) the repetition of the second radical by doubling the *t*: *fattak* "was released", but in other respects follows the pattern of the strong verb e.g. ind. *yiftekūk*, subj. *yiftakk*, imp. *ftakk*, part. *mefstakke*, inf. *ftakkōt*. The causative reflexive follows the same pattern but with doubling of the 2nd radical in the subj. and part.: *shemūdūd*, "he attained", ind. *yishemūdūd*, subj. *yishemmed*, part. *meshēmmede*.

The suffixes are added to the 3rd pers. sg. m. of the perf. with the "binding vowel" *i*, which as in the similarly constructed forms of the Syr. imperf. (e.g. *nektēliw*) may have been an originally independent particle, which in Arabic is expanded to *iyā*, cf. e.g. *ghabrīs* "he met her" with *ghabōr*. Only before the 2nd pers. sg. m. suffix, *ū* appears instead for unknown reasons. This *i* may also appear in association with the element *t* found in North Semitic (Hebrew *ʾōth*, *ʾēth* etc.), probably abbreviated from the verb **atā* "to come", which with the 2nd pers. sg. m. *tūk* also shows *tēk*. These independent suffixes however may also appear after all the other verbal forms, which otherwise take the suffixes direct or with an epenthetic vowel.

The vocabulary shows the closest affinity, apart from later borrowings, to northern Arabic, but possesses, in addition to many characteristic new formations like *khō* "mouth" (cf. Arab. *khawkhāt* "air-hole"), many old words which otherwise survive only in outlying regions, like *fām* "foot" as in Punic, instead of the phonetically inconvenient *rigt*; so also *thiwiit*, *tiwiit*, *Soḳ. teten*, *tēe*, Müller, iv. 170, 22, 1, 2, "sheep" = Eg. *Aram.* and *Mand.* *tēthā* (see Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, iii. 256; *Johannesbuch*, ii. 215 note); *fakhre* "together", cf. *Accad.* *pakhāru* "to assemble". The language of the Beduins and that of poetry has in addition many special features, particularly in its vocabulary.

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MEKNES (AR. MIKNĀS and MIKNĀSAT AL-ZAITŪN), a town in Morocco, one of the residences of the Sultān. The old French name *Méquinez* or *Miquenez* has not prevailed against the form inspired by the ethnic.

Situated in 5° 39' W. Long. (Greenw.) and 33° 53' N. Lat. at an average height of 1,700 feet above sea level, Meknes is 80 miles east of Rabat and 40 west of Fās. It occupies the centre of the transitional zone which lies between the Middle Atlas, 30 miles to the south, and the Sebū. It commands the exit towards the Gharb of the depression ("south Rifan pass") which separates the massif of the Zarhūn from the plateau of el-Hādjeb. At Meknes intersect the roads from Rabat to Fās, from Tafilālt through the land of the Benī Mgīl and Azrū, from Marrākush through the Tādla. Meknes at the present day is economically connected with Kñitra.

The temperature rarely exceeds 30° C. or falls below 5°. The rainfall (491 mm. in 1929) is remarkably equal from one year to the other. The excellent water supply of the plain of Meknes and the quality of its light soil, resting on a subsoil of permeable limestone, make it one of the best agricultural districts of Morocco.

The population at the last census was 30,000, of whom 19,000 were Muslims and 6,000 Jews. Canal in 1902 put it at 20,000 of whom 9,000 were Būākher and 5,000 Jews.

Meknes is built on the flank of a mountain spur. The ruins of the *Ḳaṣba* of Mawlāī Ismā'il lie to the S. E. of the native town, and give to the old town, surrounded by walls of clay, a considerable extension, of which the *mdina* itself only covers about a fifth. Beyond the ravine dug out by the Wādī Bū Fekrān the European town has been laid out and is being built. The appearance of the native town, dominating this ravine and placed upon a verdant plateau, is striking. The houses of the *mdina*, often substantial, are always very simple. There are only fifteen or so houses of an artistic interest. They date for the most part from the reigns of Sultāns Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Mawlāī al-Ḥasan. The suburbs of the town look like the streets of a country village. The suḳs, which lie between the Madrasa

Bū 'Inānia and the *Djāmi'* al-Nadīdjārīn (sūks of the jewellers, carpenters and curiosity shops), have no remarkable features except the covered *kašariya* [q. v.] the booths of which were ornamented a few years ago with shutters of painted wood. The *mellāh* [q. v.] of Meknes is to the south of the *mdīna*; it seems to have been here since the reign of Mawlāi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. A new *mellāh*, three times the extent of the old one, has been occupied since 1925. The *mdīna* of Meknes is one of those which have retained their native character most unaffected. Only one artery, the Rouāzmīn street, is accessible to European trade and traffic. The centre of the town's activity is the Hedim square. In the evening the story-tellers and buffoons, who usually call themselves *shorfā'* of Mawlāi 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Gilānī, are surrounded by a crowd, the animation of which is exceeded only by that which fills the *Djāma'* al-Fnā at Marrākush. To the S. E. lie the vast ruins of the *kašba* of Mawlāi Ismā'il. They now reveal nothing but chaos and disorder. The only buildings still kept in repair are the *Djenān* b. Ḥalima, out of which the Direction de l'Agriculture has made a charming garden, and the *Dār al-Baiḍā'* which is now a school for native officers. In the *Dār al-Makhzen* live the last surviving women of the family of Mawlāi al-Ḥasan and sometimes it is used as a royal residence. Begun at the end of the xviith century this palace was built in several periods. The Bāb *Dār al-Makhzen* dates from 1889. In the ruins of the *Dār Kbira* live the families of the Ḥasani *shorfā'*, near the abode of the *naḳib* of the *shorfā'*, Mawlāi Kabir b. Zidān. To the *Djāma'* al-Aḳḥḍar mosque the *kāḍīs*, *shorfā'* and principal officials go every Friday and on the occasion of solemn prayers. In the old Agḍāl of Mawlāi Ismā'il, among waste lands, an ostrich farm, the origin of which goes back to Mawlāi 'Abd Allāh, has been laid out, beside an experimental garden. Farther on there is a horse-breeding establishment. The remainder is nothing but ruins. The visitor goes along miles of massive walls and finds enormous ruins: the *Herī* al-Manṣūr used as a stable and storehouse for forage, the stables, the granary and the ornamental water left to go to ruins.

There is very little industry in Meknes: carpentry and particularly weaving, already noted by al-Idrīsī. The most notable artistic industries are the many coloured embroideries of large irregular point lace and painted wood. The public services endeavour to keep going these trades, in which purely Berber influence is more and more marked. European competition is severely affecting, at Meknes as elsewhere, some classes of artisans, like the tailors, smiths and potters. The building trades, on the other hand, are flourishing. Sūks are held outside the town and are attended by the country people: the Sūk of the Bāb *Djīdīd*, before the gate on which the heads of rebels used to be placed for the edification of the tribes, the Sūk al-*Khamīs* and that of the Lanterns. There is no native commercial house of any importance. The market of Meknes does not extend beyond the environs of the town: it exports nothing except in years of abundant harvest. The region was already famed in the tenth century for its fruits, its vines, its gardens and its vegetables. The mills, four or five of which are still working, date from the same period. Since the French occupation, colonisation has developed

considerably. The colonists, most of whom have come from Algeria, cultivate mainly wheat, of which they are obtaining increasing yields. The cultivation of the vine is increasing each year. The region of Mawlāi Idrīs is one of the principal centres of olive-growing in Morocco (400,000 trees); 330 farms are laid out in the district, covering 85,000 hectares. Official colonisation which has now disposed of almost all the reserved lands has been out-distanced since 1927 by private colonisation. The native farms (130,000 hectares) tend to disappear from the plain and to confine themselves to mixed farming in the mountains. Prospecting for minerals has only been done piece-meal; traces of petroleum have been found beside Petitjean and of lead in the Central Atlas.

The government of Meknes, which is a *makh-zaniya* town, is in the hands of a *bāshā*. He is also *bāshā* of the Būāḳḳhers, who have retained a relic of their past greatness in a special statute and down till 1912 provided the garrison of the town (800 men according to Le Chatelier). The *naḳib* of the Ḥasani *shorfā'* exercises a jurisdiction independent of that of the *bāshā*. In the administrative organisation of the protectorate, Meknes has been made the capital of a very considerable area. It was from it that the military operations in the Central Atlas were directed. Although this active part is now over, Meknes is still a military command, and its administrative region, although greatly reduced, still stretches to Midelt. Situated in the centre of Morocco at the junction of important roads, Meknes is marked out as one of the strong places of the country in the future: a military camp is being laid out at el-Ḥādjeb.

The population of Meknes consists of many distinct elements: *Shorfā'*, Būāḳḳhers, Berbers and Jews. The Idrīsīd *shorfā'*, who have played their part in the history of the town and retain privileges (of the numerous descendants of Mawlāi Idrīs, only the families residing in Fās and Meknes are allowed to share in the income of the *zāwiya* of Fās) and the Ḥasani *shorfā'*, who have many privileges of their own, form a kind of aristocracy, generally penurious. The Būāḳḳhers, descendants of the *'abid* of Mawlāi Ismā'il, up till 1912 formed an unreliable element, which was always a nucleus of trouble. Since that date they have been taking up the trades of mat-makers and farriers. They live close to the town of old *kašbas* and gardens which belong to the *Makhzen*, and in the old *kašba* of Mawlāi Ismā'il in the Bāb *Mrāḥ* quarter. Their houses, roofed with thatch, look like African encampments. But it is the Berber (*Brāber*) element which predominates at Meknes and gives it its desire for independence, a feature of which has for centuries been a jealousy of Fās. It is the Berbers of the mountains who give it its tone; when they come down to the town, their women give colour to the streets of the *mdīna* with their short skirts, their leather gaiters and their wide brimmed hats. The Berber elements of the plain are much more mixed, having undergone many vicissitudes since the day when Mawlāi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh inaugurated the policy, considerably practised by his successors, of transferring tribes. A considerable part of the population of Meknes consists of floating elements who come, usually between harvests, to work as artisans. These immigrants almost all come from the south, from Tāfilālt in particular (potters, tanners and porters),

from Sūs (grocers), from Tūāt (oil-makers), from Figī and Dar'a (masons). The Rifans and Jbāla supply most of the agricultural labourers. A small number of Fāsīs, who have in recent years merged into the population of the town, are cloth-merchants, old-clothes-dealers and shoemakers.

Jews form a quarter of the native population. Foucauld estimated the *mellāh* of Meknes to be half that of Fās. Chénier remarked on its prosperity. It has increased since his day as elsewhere and the position of the Jews is greatly improved since the establishment of the French Protectorate.

Religious life. From the presence of the Idrisid and Ḥasanid *shorfa'*, the proximity of the sanctuary of Mawlāi Idris and the religious event of the celebrations of his *mūsem* (class. *marṣim*, q. v.) every year, Meknes is one of the most important centres of *sharīfism*. At the same time for the Berber population it is a centre of marabout rites of the most elementary kind. All the brotherhoods that have *zāwiyas* in Morocco are represented in Meknes. The most important are those of the Kādīriya, Tīdjāniya, and especially Ḥmādsha and the largest, the Ṭsāwa, to which half the population are attached. Meknes, whose patron saint is Sīdī Muḥammad b. Ṭsā and which contains his tomb under the *kubba* erected by Mawlāi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, is the capital of the order. This saint came here at the end of the xvth century. His teaching at first met with a vigorous resistance, which he overcame so completely that, when the governor of the town sought to take steps against him, the people protected him. Before his death he acquired an estate, constituted it *ḥubūs* and set it aside as a cemetery. It is still used and many men of religion are buried there. The celebration of his *mūsem* on the first day of the *mūlūd* (*marwīd*) festival is the great event of the year. The preparations for it begin forty days before and become all-absorbing ten days before the festival. On the day before or the preceding day delegations flock in from all parts of Morocco, following the traditional routes. The most generous hospitality is given to the pilgrims by the descendants of *Shāikh* al-Kāmil, who have the *niḡāba* (Brunel). The excesses committed on the occasion of this pilgrimage have been frequently described. Many other special cults are observed in Meknes. Bū Zekrī is the patron of the graziers, and Mawlāi Idrīs of the Zarhūn is the patron of the tanners, weavers and butchers (Massignon). There is even the cult of a living holy man, Mawlāi Aḥmad Wazzānī. As it was his custom to sit in the public way in a very simple costume, he was in 1917 granted clothes and a *kubba* at the request of Mawlāi Yūsuf. The *kubba* is at the entrance to a dispensary and the admirers of the saint come there daily to keep him company.

History. We know nothing certain about the history of the region in the Roman period nor in the centuries which followed. The most advanced Roman stations were on the slopes of the Zarhūn guarding the plain, out of which the warriors of the Central Atlas might debouch, and perhaps throwing out a screen as far as the plateau of el-Hādjeb.

We do not know at what date the people here had their first contact with Islām, nor even if it was not till the Hilālī invasion that Islām became securely established here. The Berber tribes of the Sā'is and Sebū made the most of the fertility of their country. A tradition records that a fire

destroyed the gardens there in 917. It was at this period that the country was covered, from Tāzā to Meknes, by the migration of a Znāta tribe, the Miknāsa, a section of whom, who received the name of Miknāsa al-Zaitūn to distinguish them from the Miknāsa Tāzā, who lived farther to the east, established themselves securely in the plain. The Idrisids met with a vigorous resistance from the Miknāsa. They always found in them opponents whom they could not overcome in spite of several campaigns, and who were the medium of Umayyad intervention.

The *Kīrtās* records that a governor of the district, al-Mahdī b. Yūsuf al-Kezanī, having joined Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, was assassinated by the tribesmen, but the terrified citizens hastened to disown the murder. At this date a few villages stood on the site of Meknes. One cannot say at what date, perhaps in the tenth century, they were grouped together to form the *Tacadart* mentioned by Idrīsī (*Tagrarī*, according to the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*). The population seems to have been more numerous in the Almoravid period than later, and prosperous. Enclosed by a wall, Meknes looked like a pleasure resort, with its gardens, cultivated fields, its mosques, its baths and water channels.

The Miknāsa vigorously opposed the Almohad onslaught. When passing through this region in 1120—21, Ibn Tūmart preached here but he was not well received. Twenty years later, 'Abd al-Mu'min laid siege to Meknes but it was not he who took it. He left it to enter Fās, leaving the conduct of siege in the hands of Yaḥya b. Yaghmur. The *Kīrtās* says the siege lasted seven years. The town fell in 1150. It was plundered, the defences dismantled, a part of its wealth confiscated and all its garrison put to death, except the governor Yadder b. Ulgūt, who is said to have gone over to the Almohads before the surrender in order to save his head. On the site, or beside the ruins, Meknes rapidly rose again under the shelter of the fortifications built by the Almohads. At the end of the century, it had regained some importance and the mosque of al-Nadīdjārīn was finished. This is the oldest monument in Meknes: in 1756—1757 Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh had it restored and built the present minaret. The Almohads brought water hither from Tadjenna, five miles away. In 1182 the *kubba* was said in five different places in Meknes and there were six gates in the wall which surrounded the town.

In the course of the following century, the intrigues of the Banū Marīn [q. v.] disturbed the country, where the fighting that accompanied the fall of the Almohads was particularly lively. In 1231—1232, al-Ma'mūn had to intervene against the Banū Fāzāz and Meklāta, who were ravaging Meknes. In 1236—1237, as a result of the Marinid success in the battle in which al-Sa'īd's son was slain, Abū Bakr entered the town. This occupation was only temporary but the Almohad restoration was not secure. In 1245—1246, the governor left there by al-Sa'īd was slain in a rising in the town in favour of Abū Zakariyā' the Ḥafṣid. Al-Sa'īd again returned victorious, causing Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḡḡ to fly to Tāzā. The Marinid had only two years to wait; after the death of the Almohad governor, he returned to Meknes to occupy it definitely.

The first period of greatness for Meknes dates from the Marinids. They set out to make it beautiful

like Rabat and Fās. Abū Yūsuf moved from Fās Dīdīd to Meknes, which owed to him a *kaṣba* and a mosque (1276). Abū 'l-Ḥasan improved its water-supply, built bridges on the road to Fās and began the *Madrasa Dīdīda* which Abū 'Inān was to finish. It bears the latter's name and is still the most notable building in Meknes, in spite of the indiscreet restorations carried out in 1917–1922. Other madrasas, 'Aṭṭārīn and Filāla, were built by the Marinids.

During this period the political organisation of the country was developing in quite a different direction. The Idrisid *shorfa'*, having assisted the Marinids to gain power, prepared to take advantage of the organisation which the latter had given them. Thus the foundations were laid for the movement which was to end in the partition of Morocco in the last years of the xvth century into practically independent divisions. The *shorfa'* were numerous in Meknes. When the weakening of the Marinids and the decline of their prestige made it possible, they supplied leaders. History has preserved the name of Mawlāi Zaiyān. The Waṭṭāsids only once intervened, it appears, when at the beginning of the xvth century Maṣ'ūd b. al-Nāṣir, having rebelled against Muḥammad al-Borṭugālī, found an asylum at Meknes. The Sultān besieged the town and took it, then installed his brother al-Nāṣir al-Kiddīd there, who however did not prove faithful to him. The few years of independence enjoyed by Meknes were not particularly glorious. They mark, however, an epoch in the history of the town destined at other periods to be only the prey of anarchy or the plaything of a tyrant.

The rise of the brotherhoods of the xvth century found a favourable soil among the Miknāsa. The *zāwiya Dīazūliya* was established there, as in other places in Morocco. A few years later, Muḥammad b. 'Isā was teaching there.

Meknes was thus well prepared to welcome the Sa'adians. When Muḥammad al-Shaikh approached in 1548 he entered the town without much trouble. The Marinid al-Nāṣir al-Kaṣrī is said to have agreed to hand over the town in return for the liberty of his father Aḥmad Bū Zekrī, and the marabouts to have demanded the conclusion of such an agreement. Muḥammad al-Shaikh however took a sufficiently sure method to establish his authority; when the Khatīb Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ḥar-zūz began to preach against him, he had him scourged to death. When he returned two years later, he was welcomed with gifts. The estimates of travellers of this time put the population of the town at 6–8,000 hearths. It was the only town in the region. The Sa'adians took little interest in Meknes which never attracted their attention. The country was well in hand and the Berber tribes peaceful to such a degree that the road from Marrākush by the Tādā was regularly used. It was the practice to make Meknes the residence of one of the sons of the Sultān. There was however no important command attached to it. Leo Africanus credits it with a revenue equal to half that of the viceroyalty of Fās, which is astonishing. Under Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī lived there and then after the second partition, Zidān and, lastly Mawlāi al-Shaikh, but as a prisoner in the last years of his father's life.

The civil war which broke out on the death of al-Manṣūr placed Meknes at the mercy of the

Berber risings and marabout intrigues. Mawlāi 'Abd Allāh b. al-Shaikh lived by brigandage and often found a refuge in al-Kaṣr al-Kabīr. In 1619, his brother Muḥammad defeated him near Meknes. Al-Ifrānī mentions for the next year the rising of an individual who called himself the Sharif Amghār. In the midst of this disorder an authority gradually made itself felt, that of the *zāwiya*, and especially the *zāwiya of Dila'*. In 1640–1641, Muḥammad al-Ḥādīdī was even able to seize the sovereign power and get himself recognised by Fās and Meknes after his victory over Mawlāi Muḥammad al-Shaikh b. Zidān. He gained over the Berber tribes, and Mawlāi al-Raṣhīd in 1666 found the Banī Mṭir against him, allied with the *Dila'* Abū 'Abd Allāh, and he had to fight them again in 1668.

Mawlāi al-Raṣhīd seems to have been interested in Meknes, the *Kaṣba* of which he restored. In burying him in the mausoleum of al-Madjdjhūb, Mawlāi Ismā'īl said he was fulfilling the last wishes of the deceased. But the most important event was that al-Raṣhīd sent Mawlāi Ismā'īl to Meknes. The latter lived before his accession in the Almohad *kaṣba*, as a landed proprietor managing his estates. In his choice of a capital, we see the attraction of a rich district like this. He wished it to be in his own image and realised his desire. For fifty years Meknes was simply the framework for his splendour, the scene of his extravagances.

He at once decided to build himself a palace and at once a grandiose scheme was projected. He began by clearing a space. The houses adjoining the Almohad wall east of the town were destroyed and their owners forced to carry the debris off to a site which has retained the name of Hedīm, then to rebuild on a site which the sharif enclosed by a wall to the N. W. of the *mdīna*. The site which he chose for himself was also separate from the town. His palace was built, and one even more splendid for his women. This first edifice, Dār Kbīra, was finished in 1679. It was a series, without intelligible plan, of *riyāḍs* embellished with fountains, paved with marble, surrounded by galleries which were supported by columns of marble; the apartments opened on to three galleries. The sovereign's palace was in two suites, that of his ladies in four and larger than his. His four wives and his favourites were equally splendidly housed. The other concubines, of whom he had 500 of all nations, were housed in rooms along the passage. At the end was a common hall, on a higher level, which gave a view over the gardens through iron grilles. The reception pavilions were planned on the same scale; one of them had forty rooms. The palace contained in all 45 pavilions and twenty *ḡubbās*. The whole was surrounded by a crenelated wall pierced by twenty gates. It was triple in the N. E. with a road round it and it could be defended equally well against the interior of the *kaṣba*. The bastions supported batteries of guns and mortars. The women being subject to rigorous confinement and Mawlāi Ismā'īl being very meticulous in the performance of the duties of religion, a mosque was set aside for them. Another had been begun in 1672, communicating with the town by the Bāb 'Isī. Lastly the palace with its dependencies contained four mosques; two are still in use, the *Djāmi'* al-Akhḍar and in the quarter of the mews, very broken down, the *Djāmi'* al-Ruwā. To the south was a garden, the area of which is equal to that of the present *mdīna*, an

orchard in which olive trees predominated. Farther on were the stables to which the Sultān admitted only picked horses, to the number of 1,200: two parallel rows of arcades about 100 feet apart. In the centre ran running water. Each animal had its stall and a shelter for its equipment. Opposite was a storehouse, the *herī*, which supported a supplementary palace with twenty pavilions. Between the palace and the stables was the granary, forty feet high and big enough it was said, to contain the whole harvest of Morocco. At the side was a pond for irrigation purposes and also subterranean reserves of water in case of a siege.

The buildings did not stop here. To the south west of the town lay a city of pleasure, Madinat al-Riyād, where the officials had palaces, where Mawlāi Ismā'il himself had his mosque, his madrasa, his ḥammām, his fondaks and the offices of the *umana'* of the Treasury, with the shops of the Sharifan tailors. In 1732-1733 Mawlāi 'Abd Allāh on returning from an unsuccessful expedition into the Sūs, had the Madinat al-Riyād destroyed by Christian slaves. There is nothing left of it to-day except the Bāb al-Khamīs, dated 1667, one of the finest and best proportioned gates in the city.

Lastly a site was reserved for the troops. To the west of Meknes a large *duwwār* was settled with *'abids* and their families. To the east of the Dār al-Makhzen, five *kaṣbas* for the 130,000 men of the *gīsh* were gradually incorporated in the great *kaṣba*.

After fifty years of unorganised but superhuman effort, the buildings were not yet completed. It was in 1731-1732 that Mawlāi 'Abd Allāh finished the surrounding wall and the Bāb Maṣṣūr, the most finished example of the Ismā'lian gate, ponderous, of proportions by no means perfect but imposing, of which the Bāb al-Barda'in and the Bāb al-Nuār are the two other finest examples at Meknes at the present day. This name of a renegade, Maṣṣūr al-'Euldj, was no doubt that of a keeper of the gate. Mawlāi Ismā'il directed all the operations himself. During the first twenty-four years of his reign he never spent twelve months on end at Meknes. But he returned there after each expedition; in proportion as his ambition and his power increased, his despotism and the needs of his government, his army and his family grew, his scheme became more and more grandiose; the work done was found unsatisfactory, modifications were made, buildings taken down and the work began all over again. The result certainly was sumptuous and imposing but also odd and varied.

All the country helped in the work. Mawlāi Ismā'il collected materials wherever he could. Volubilis, Chella, Marrākush were plundered. If he destroyed al-Badī', it was perhaps out of jealousy of Sa'dian work, or perhaps simply to get material. Like Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, he procured marble from Pisa. One day when a corsair ship had stranded near Tangier he ordered the *Ghumāra* to bring the cannon from it by unaided manual labour. When he died the columns of marble which were still on their way were left at the roadside.

Labour was recruited by similar means. The Sultān imposed days of labour on the tribes, levied forced labour as he pleased, sent his ministers to the workshops, but relied mainly on renegades and Christian slaves who were his permanent workmen. From 1680 the work was pushed on frantically. All the Christians in Morocco were

collected there. The Trinitarians of Fās joined them. The slaves were at first housed in siloes near the building-yards, then they were moved to the Dār al-Makhzen, then to near the stables, under the arches of a bridge, where their lot was particularly miserable, finally to the interior of a ruined *bordj*, east of the town along the north wall of the Dār al-Makhzen. They were able to organise themselves a little there, to build themselves a church, to have chapels, a convent and infirmaries. A pharmacist monk made up a medicine, the "Christian decoction"; this was the means by which humane relations were established with the natives, even with the dwellers in the palace. Their last historian has reduced the number of Christian prisoners in the service of Mawlāi Ismā'il to its real figure: they did not as a rule reach a thousand and the Sultān, in the course of over fifty years, himself killed only one hundred and nine (Koehler).

The emperor revealed in his palaces his extravagance and his cupidity; he accumulated wealth as he did buildings, but only to hide it. The consuls and ambassadors who came to negotiate the ransom of captives he received with a mixture of buffoonery and splendour. Frequent mention is made of the cruelty and the terror which this ruler inspired; he loved to torture his women and cut off heads to show his skill. His amusements were of a similar character; he liked to shoot with his *ka'ids* at the deer in his menageries then to finish them off with spearthrusts. "Let us avert our eyes from all these horrors which make nature shudder", says Chénier. Following his example his household inspired terror in the town. He had six hundred children, a nursery of slaves, "who might have had a happier lot if he had loved them as much as his horses". On the approach of any of them, "every one hid all that he might take a fancy to", and the *'abid* in their turn, negroes robed in bright colours, went about bullying, in the name of their master at first and then in their own.

All his work was to collapse at his death, but he was able to keep it up in his lifetime. From the troubles that broke out when he disappeared from the scene, one can judge of the energy of this man of eighty who maintained order among his horde of negroes and in this country destined by God to anarchy. The *kaṣba* of Zarhūn, the *kaṣba* of Azrū in the middle of the Central Atlas, defended Meknes on North and South. He was also able to preserve it from other scourges; when an epidemic of plague broke out, the *'abid* were simply given orders to kill any people who came from Fās.

Mawlāi Ismā'il was buried like his brother in the mausoleum of Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maḍj-dhūb, a moralist saint of the xvth century. His sons, the rebel Mawlāi Muḥammad, killed at Tārdānt in 1706, and Mawlāi Zīdān in 1707, had already joined Mawlāi Raḥshid. In 1859 the ashes of Mawlāi 'Abd al-Raḥmān were also deposited there.

On the death of Mawlāi Ismā'il, the Buākḥers and the soldiers of the *gīsh* stirred up a palace war which lasted twenty years. Mawlāi 'Abd Allāh lost and regained his throne six times. But however great this danger was, the other threat was still more disturbing; having got rid of the garrisons of the Ismā'lian *kaṣbas*, the Berbers, armed, came down from the mountains. The problem for the sultāns was to choose the lesser evil; they

declined to disband the 'abid and in the struggle which naturally arose between these and the Berbers relied more on the former. The civil war extended to the tribes of the plain and the garrisons of Fās, especially the Ūdāya; pretenders stirred up the flames, readily giving the signal to plunder and, in the rivalries of races and tribes, easily finding a party to support them. Gradually the Būākher sank in misfortune. It was in vain that Mawlāi 'Abd Allāh and his sons expended the treasure of Mawlāi Ismā'il for them. The worst of it for Meknes was that every one ended or began by plundering it.

Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh almost re-established order and restored to the town its past glory. He did a great deal for it; his palace of Dār al-Baiḍā, the severe architecture of which, not without charm, can still be seen in a part of the olive-grove of al-Ḥamriya; in the Kaṣba, he built the Djāmi' al-Anwār and in the mdīna, the minaret of the Djāmi' al-Nadīdjārīn, the ḡubba of Sidi Muḥammad b. Isā, and several mosques (al-Azhar, al-Bardā'in, Bāb Mrāh, Berrima and Sidi Bū 'Uṭhmān). It was he who made the 12,000 books of the library of Mawlāi Ismā'il ḡubūs for the benefit of all the mosques of Morocco. As regards the tribes his policy was to break them up. He transplanted many of them and tried several repressive measures. The end of his reign was marked by the success of the Berbers whose attacks had been resumed about 1775.

Soon nothing was to be left of the work of Mawlāi Ismā'il. The Christian community lost its Franciscan mission in the reign of Mawlāi Yazīd and did not survive the persecution of this sharīf. The earthquake of 1755 had destroyed their church, convent and hospice. The renegades, who had gathered together at Kaṣba Agūrāi, were gradually absorbed.

The Berber crisis was again acute from 1811. Communication with Fās was continually being cut and it was something to boast of for the sultān to go out of Meknes. Mawlāi Slimān (Sulaimān), who had undertaken to restore the Kaṣba and rebuild the bridges on the road to Fās and who would have liked to get rid of the Būākher, decided to settle in Fās. His walls were his only defence at Meknes, which was blockaded by the tribes. Mawlāi 'Abd al-Raḥmān, whom Delacroix saw there and who built a ḡubba in Djenān b. Ḥalima, left the Berbers in semi-independence and at last disbanded the 'abid without even granting those who remained in Meknes the character of Makhzen troops. His son carefully avoided all quarrels.

Mawlāi al-Ḥasan revived the tradition of the great sultāns and made his authority felt. He was able to enter Meknes after his accession only by crushing the power of the tribes. In 1879 he conducted a campaign against the Benī Mfīr. In 1887 he forced his way through the country of the Benī Mgīd in his campaign against the Nūn. On his death the Berbers regained their independence. If they retained their kā'ids it was because the latter cast off their allegiance to the Makhzen. After the fall of Mawlāi 'Abd al-'Azīz, Meknes recognised all the competitors in succession. It was Meknes that proclaimed 'Abd al-Ḥafīz, who had come via the Berbers of Tādla in 1908, in 1909 it summoned the sharīf al-Kattānī and in 1911 rallied to Mawlāi Zain. It was in this year

that General Moinier entered Meknes and two years later Colonel Henrys under the direction of General Lyautey pacified the Benī Mfīr country.

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(C. FUNCK-BRENTANO)

MELLĀḤ, the name given to the quarter in Moroccan towns which the Jews are compelled to inhabit. Being *ahl al-dhimma*, the Jews have a right to the special protection of the government which allots them a particular quarter to live in, situated very often quite close to the citadel (*kaṣaba*) where the governor of the town resides. Moreover, the sovereigns and governors liked to have at hand "their" Jews who were frequently of use, to them as clever diplomatic

agents and often gave them valuable financial support. All the towns of Morocco, even the large ones, did not necessarily have a *mellāḥ*. Thus at Tangier there are certain quarters particularly inhabited by Jews but they are not set aside for them and we also find Muslims there. As to Rabat, its present *mellāḥ* was established only in 1808 by Sultān Mawlāy Sulaimān; formerly the Jews lived together in the al-Buḥaira quarter (el-Bḥera) where there were also Muslims. When he founded Fās in 805, Idris II compelled the Jewish refugees who flocked into the capital to reside in the northern part of the 'Adwat al-Ḳarawiyīn (Aghlān quarter as far as the gate called Bāb Ḥiṣṣ Sa'dūn); this was undoubtedly the first Moroccan ghetto; and the present *Fondaḡ el-Iḥūdī* ("the Jew's warehouse") apparently preserves its memory. But at the end of the xiiith century the Marinid [q. v.] dynasty, wishing to create a new capital, founded alongside of "Old Fās" (*Fās al-Bālī*) "New Fās" (*Fās al-Djādīd*) or "White City" (*al-Madīnat al-Baiḍā*). In the first half of the xivth century, the town of Ḥimṣ was built close beside Fās and at first occupied by the Ghuzz archers who formed a part of the regular Marinid army; after the suppression of this force in 1320, Ḥimṣ became the quarters of the Christian mercenaries, whom we find there in 1361. Later, probably at the beginning of the xvth century, and no doubt as the result of massacres, the Jews of Old Fās were ordered to settle in Ḥimṣ; this town was built on a site known as *al-Mallāḥ*, the "salt spring", or "salt marsh", and the new ghetto became known by this name. From a proper, this became a common noun, and passed from Fās to the other towns of Morocco as the name for the quarter assigned to the Jews. The etymology proposed by Dozy in his *Supplément* (*al-mallāḥ* < *al-maḥalla* "quarter") is therefore to be rejected, as are the explanations as "salted, accursed land", or "quarter of the Jews who were forced to salt the heads of decapitated rebels". In Morocco instead of *el-mellāḥ*, in speaking, the expression *el-messūs* (class. *al-masūs*) is often used by antiphrasis, lit. the "not-salted".

The *mellāḥ* of Fās is therefore the oldest in Morocco in every way. For a long time it was also the most important; in the middle of the xth century, al-Bakrī says that Fās is the town with most Jews in the Maghrib, which has given rise to the proverbial saying: *Fās balad bi-lā nās*. "Fās, a town where there are no people (worth mentioning)". But the constitution of Marrākūsh in 1063 resulted in the foundation in southern Morocco of a new Jewish centre which was to attract to it the Jewish and pseudo-Jewish peoples of the Atlas. The term *el-mellāḥ* however appears for Marrākūsh only in the second half of the xvth century (cf. E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, p. 409). At the present day the *mellāḥ* of Marrākūsh and the Jewish town of Mogador form the most important Jewish centres of Morocco.

The name *el-mallāḥ* is peculiar to Morocco; there, however, it is applied not only to the Jewish quarter in a town but also to little mountain villages exclusively inhabited by Jews. At Tlemcen the term *derb el-iḥūd* (class. *darb al-yahūd*) is used; at Constantine *esh-shāra*^c and in Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli: *el-hāra*.

On the interior organisation of the present day Moroccan *mellāḥ* see E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'*

hui, Paris 1904, p. 367—372; J. Goulven, *Les mellahs de Rabat-Salé*, Paris 1927, p. 99—107; the article *Morocco* in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

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(GEORGES S. COLIN)

MELILLA (in modern Arabic: *Mīliya*, Berber *Tāmlilt*, "the white", in the Arab geographers: *Malila*), a seaport on the east coast of Morocco on a promontory on the peninsula of Gel'īya at the end of which is the Cape Tres Forcas or the Three Forks (*Rās Hurk* of the Arab geographers, now *Rās Werk*).

Melilla probably corresponds to the *Rusadir* of the ancients (cf. *Rhyssadir oppidum et portus* [Pliny, v. 18], *Russadir Colonia* of the Antoninian Itinerary). Leo Africanus says that it had belonged for a time to the Goths and that the Arabs took it from them, but in reality we know nothing of the ancient history of the town.

It is only at the beginning of the tenth century that Melilla appears in the Muslim history of Morocco. In 930, the Umayyad Caliph of Spain, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh succeeded in detaching from the Fātimids the famous Miknāsa chief Mūsā b. Abi 'l-'Āfiya, who had established his authority over the basin of the Moluya and the district of Tāzā; having seized Melilla, al-Nāṣir built ramparts around it and gave it to his new ally, who thus had at his command a base of defence (*ma'kil*) against the Fātimids of Ifrikiya and a port which made communication with Spain easy. Later on, the descendants of his son, al-Būrī b. Mūsā, rebuilt the town, which remained one of the strongholds of the Miknāsa in Morocco down to the time of the decline of the power of the tribe, who were definitely defeated and scattered by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfin in 1070.

But the Miknāsa must have abandoned it before their dynasty was crushed by the Almoravids; for al-Bakrī shows us that by 1067 a descendant of the Ḥammūdīd Idrisids of Spain had been summoned to Melilla and recognised as ruler by the people of the district.

At the period when al-Bakrī wrote (1068), Melilla was a town surrounded by a wall of stone; inside was a very strong citadel, a great mosque, a *ḥammām* and markets. The inhabitants belonged to the tribe of the Banū Wartadī (or B. Wartadā), a branch of the Ṣanhādja group of the Baṭṭūya. Melilla had a harbour which was accessible only in summer. It was the terminus of a trade route which connected Sīdjilmāsa with the Mediterranean through the valley of the Moluya and Agarsif (French: *Guercif*). The trade must have been considerable; the principal exports were no doubt those mentioned by Leo Africanus: iron from the mines of the mountains of the Banū Sa'īd and honey from the Kabdāna country; we may also add pearls which were taken from oysters found in the harbour itself. Al-Bakrī notes that the inhabitants made money by granting protection to merchants. The environs of the town were occupied by the Banū Wartadī (who also occupied the stronghold called Kulū' Gāret), the Maṭmāṭa, the Ahl Kabdān, the Marnisa of the "White Hill" (*al-Kudyat al-baiḍā*) and the Ghassāsa of the massif which ends in Cape Tres Forcas (*Djabal Hurk*). All this region was then independent and had no political

link with the kingdom of Fās or that of Nakūr.

But in 1080 the Almoravid sovereign Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn took Melilla and added its territory to the Almoravid empire. In 1141–1142, in the course of the Almoravid pursuit of the Almohads, a body of the latter set out from Tāmsāmān to lay siege to Melilla, which was taken and plundered. In 1272, the Marinid Sultān Ya'qūb took Melilla from the Almohads and Ibn Khaldūn simply mentions it as a fortified place. It seems in fact that these three captures of the town had destroyed its commercial importance to the advantage of another town on the west coast of the peninsula of the Gel'ya: Ghassāsa also called al-Kudyat al-baiḍā', the *Alcudia* of the Portolans; in the xiiith century it is this latter town that appears as the Mediterranean port of Fās and Tāzā, and it was through it that political and commercial relations with eastern Spain and Italy (Genoa and Venice) were carried on.

Leo Africanus says that in 1490, hearing that an attack on it was planned by the Spaniards, the inhabitants abandoned the town and fled to the mountains of the Baṭṭūya; to punish them for this the Waṭṭāsīd Sultān had the town burned down; when in Sept. 1497 the Spaniards arrived they were thus able to disembark without resistance and occupied the town, abandoned and half destroyed. The occupation of Melilla enabled the Spaniards to attack the port of Ghassāsa by land and it was taken in April 1506. The Moroccans recaptured it in 1533 but the dangerous proximity of Melilla henceforth deprived it of importance. The commercial activity of this region was moved farther west to the port of al-Mazimma (Spanish: Alhucemas, Fr.: Albouze), and the centre of Muslim resistance in this part of Morocco was henceforth the stronghold of Tāzūṭā, which after having been the capital of the Marinid fief of the Banū Waṭṭās became that of a practically independent leader of a holy war. After passing into the hands of the Spaniards, Melilla was continuously besieged by the Muslims, mainly by the forces of the leaders of holy war established at Tāzūṭā and at Mǧīāu (the *Megeeo* of Leo Africanus). Occupied by the Christians, the town naturally became one of the places in Morocco in which Muslim pretenders and rebels found asylum and support against the central power, especially at the beginning of the Sa'dian dynasty. In 1549, it sheltered the dispossessed Waṭṭāsīd Abū Ḥassūn, "king" of Bādīs; in 1550 it welcomed with his family the Mawlāy 'Amar, "king" of Debdū. It was from Melilla that in 1595, the pretender al-Nāṣir b. al-Ghālīb bi'llāh set out against his uncle Sultān Ahmad al-Manṣūr.

Later Melilla only appears in history in connection with sieges which it had to suffer: sieges by Mawlāy Ismā'il in 1687 and 1695; siege in 1774 by Mawlāy Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh; Spanish-Moroccan war of 1893 (Sīdī Waryāsh affair). From 1903 to 1908 the region of Melilla was the scene of struggles between the pretender al-Djilālī al-Rūgī, established in the *ḥaṣba* of Selwān, and the troops of the Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz; defeated and receiving no support, the latter had to take refuge in Spanish territory and be repatriated. Still more recently in 1921, the same district witnessed the sanguinary battles between the Spaniards and the Rifans under 'Abd al-Karīm (Anwāl disaster). Melilla is for Spain a "place of sovereignty" like Alhucemas, Peñon de Velez and Ceuta. Before the establish-

ment of the French protectorate, Melilla, constituted a free port, was the landingplace for all the European merchandise (cotton, sugar, tea) intended not only for eastern Morocco but also for the Saharan regions of Morocco and Orania. It has now lost much of its commercial importance.

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(GEORGES S. COLIN)

MENDEREZ, the name of two rivers in western Anatolia:

1. Büyük Menderes (called by al-'Umārī Menderos, by Piri Re'īs, Mendiraz or Mendiros), the ancient Maeander, the Mandra of the Crusaders. It rises in the district of Germiyan in a little lake, the Huweiran Gölü (Sāmi) above Diner (according to Abū Bakr b. Bahrām in a spring called Buñar bāshī, a day's journey from Homa), flows past Homa at some distance off, then through the plain of Ishkīl and the ḳaṣās of Baklan and Cal. In the ḳaṣā of Čarshamba (capital Bulladan) it is joined by the Banaz Čai (called Murād Dagħ Suyu in Abū Bakr b. Bahrām whose statement that it flows past Ishkīl is wrong), which rises in the Murād Dagħ and flows past Banaz. Farther down its course, in the plain of Denizli, it receives the Čürük Su, the ancient Lycus Fl. Farther on a ruined bridge called Demirtaş Köprüsü marked the frontier between the two old liwās of Germiyan and Aidīn; according to Abū Bakr a warm spring rising in its foundations had contributed to the destruction of this bridge.

In the territory of Aidīn the Büyük Menderes flows past at a distance the villages of Ortaḳčī, Nazilli, Sultānhişar, Köşh and Güzelhişar Aidīn, breaks up into several arms in the plain of Balat (Palatia, the ancient Miletus) and feeds a lake full of fish (al-'Umārī) there, which is now called Bafī Deñizi (Lake of Palatia, the ancient *κόπος Λατμικός*). A little below Balat, it enters the sea.

Al-'Umārī who, generally speaking, is inaccurately informed about its course (he puts Deñizli and Birgi on it, i. e. brings the Cayster into its basin and makes it flow into the Black Sea) compares the Maeander for its size at low level with the Nile, in flood however with a sea. According to him, it is navigable and the people on its banks sail from its mouth on military or commercial enterprises. Western writers also speak of the trade borne on the Maeander in the late middle ages. The main centre of trade on the Maeander and also on the land routes through the valley was Palatia (Balat, the ancient Miletus); in later times, however, the caravan route down the Maeander valley ended in Scalanuova (Kush Adasi).

2. Küçük Menderes, the ancient Caystrus. The central part of its course runs in a wide plain on the northern edge of which is Birgi, on the southern edge Tire, the old capital of the *liwā* of Aidīn. A little below Ayasolugh, the ancient Ephesus, it enters the sea.

In the middle ages the centre of trade with the hinterland reached by the Cayster was Altoluogo (from *Ἄγιος Θέολογος*), the ancient Ephesus (Turk. Ayasolugh, now called Seldjuk); later Scalanuova (Kush Adasi). In the Ottoman period Smyrna attracted all the trade of the Aegean Sea with the Anatolian hinterland. The caravan routes which

came down the river valleys opening on the Aegean thus ended in Smyrna, just as at the present day the railways which utilize these valleys start from Smyrna.

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MENF. [See MANŪF.]

MENGÜCEK (MANGUDJAK), a Turkish emir, who after the capture of Romanus Diogenes in 1071 A.D. seized various places in the north-east of Asia Minor and transmitted his power to his descendants. We find them in Erzindjān, Koghonia (Colonia, Kara-Ḥiṣār *Sharḳī*) and Diwrigi (cf. the genealogical table in von Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie* etc., p. 146). Little is known of their history. It is incidentally mentioned in Michael Syrus (ed. Chabot, iii. 205) that Ibn Mangūdjak, being threatened by the Ortukid Balag, made an alliance with Theodore Gabras, the Byzantine commander of Trebizond, but was taken prisoner in battle along with the latter (1118). He was, however, again released by the Daniṣhmandid Emīr Ghāzī, whose daughter he had married, while the Greek had to pay a heavy ransom. His name is not mentioned but, from the genealogical statements in the inscriptions of his descendants, he was called Ishāk. The same story is given elsewhere but not so fully. Better known is his grandson Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrāmshāh, who ruled for many years in Erzindjān and died in 622 (1225). To him the celebrated poet Nizāmī dedicated his poem, *Makhsan al-Asrār*, which was composed in 1198 or 1199. He was on the best of terms with the Saldjuks of Konya, with whom he was connected by marriage, but when these relations were altered under his son ʿAlā al-Dīn Dāwūdshāh, the rule of the Mandjukids was ended. At the end of 625 (1128) he was forced to cede Erzindjān to Kaikobād, and his brother Muzaḥfar al-Dīn Muḥammad who ruled in Koghonia met a similar fate. A collateral line established in Diwrigi and ruling there in the name of the Saldjuks held out for a few more years, perhaps till the coming of the Mongols into these regions in 675; only a few scraps of information about this line have been gleaned from inscriptions and coins.

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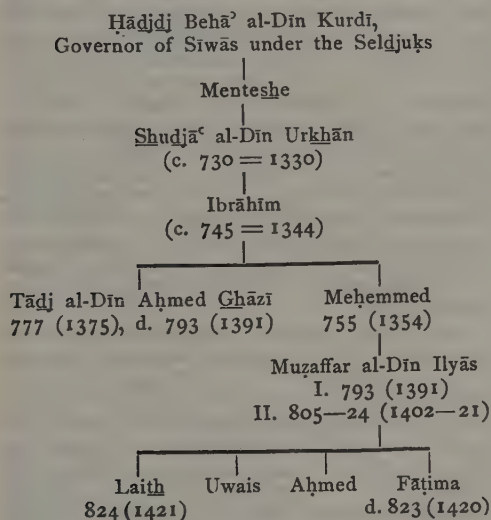
(M. TH. HOUTSMA)

MENTESHE-ELI, a little principality in Anatolia. The boundaries of the territory of the Menteshe-oghlu's [q. v.] are given by Münedj-djim-bashī (cf. Fr. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 234 sq.) in his *Şahāʾif al-Akḥbār* (Sтамbul 1285) as marked by Mughla, Balāt, Boz-Üyük, Milās, Bardjīn, Marīn, Čine, Tawās, Bornāz, Makrī, Gödjīniz, Foča and Mermere. They thus correspond approximately to those of the ancient Caria. The origin of the name is uncertain, but it can confidently be asserted that the opinion, presumably first put forward by F. Meninski (*Lexicon*, iv. 737) and till quite recently upheld, that the district takes its name from the Myndus (*Mýndos* in Strabo) of the ancients is not worthy of credence. Several of the places above mentioned play a not unimportant part as centres of scholarship and literature in the earlier period of Ottoman intellectual life. Thus in the time of the Menteshe-oghlu Meḥemmed (775—777) a certain Maḥmūd b. Meḥemmed of Bardjīn composed a *Bāz-nāma* which was published by J. v. Hammer-Purgstall under the title "*Falkner-klee*" (Pest 1840) from the Milan MS. and rightly described as one of the earlier documents of the Ottoman language. In many of these places there were academies where an active intellectual life flourished, so that the share of the district of Menteshe in Ottoman literature is strikingly large. (FR. BABINGER)

MENTESHE-OGHLULARI, a petty dynasty in Anatolia. The princes of Menteshe first appear in history after the break up of the Seldjūk empire. The founder of the family is said to have been a certain Menteshe Beg b. Behāʾ al-Dīn Kurdī. He had his court at Milās (Mylasa) in the ancient Caria, and not far from it his stronghold Paīčū (Petsona). His descendants also lived in Milās until they moved their court to Miletus. The son of Menteshe was Urkhān Beg, who is known from an inscription on a building in Milās and from Ibn Battūta who visited him in 1334 in Milās (cf. Ibn Battūta, *Voyages*, ed. Defrémery, Paris 1854, II, 278 sqq.). Urkhān's successor was his son Ibrāhīm, who built a mosque in Mughla in 745 (1344) and left two sons, Aḥmed Ghāzī and Meḥemmed. The second succeeded him in 755 (1354), but succumbed in the struggle for the throne to his brother Aḥmed, who took Eski Ḥiṣār in 755 (1354), in 777 (1375) founded an academy at Bardjīn and at the end of Djumādā II, 780 (Oct. 1378) completed the Ulu Djāmīʿ in Milās. Aḥmed Ghāzī died in Shaʿbān 793 (July 1391) and was succeeded by his nephew Ilyās. The Ottomans had in his reign already taken possession of several principalities in the neighbourhood of Menteshe-eli, such as that of the Germiān-eli [q. v.] and of the Ḥamid-eli [q. v.], and now seriously threatened the existence of the Menteshes. Immediately after the accession of Ilyās Beg, Bāyazid I, who had just become Sultān, deprived the lords of Menteshe of the last vestige of independence. They sought refuge with the ruler of Sinope, Bāyazid Kötürüm, and later with the conqueror of the Ottomans, Timūr-Lenk. Ilyās Beg, who built a mosque in Miletus, regained possession of Menteshe-eli in 1402. On 24 July 1403, he concluded a treaty with the Count of Crete, Marco Falieri (publ. by Mas Latrie, at the end of his essay, *Commerce d'Ephèse et de Milet moyen âge* in the *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, Ser. v. Vol. vi. Paris 1864, p. 226 sqq.) and with

the admiral Ser Pietro Civrano on 17th Oct. 1414 (cf. *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii. 305, 293 and W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii. 353 sq.). The reign of Ilyas Beg, filled with fighting and difficulties of all kinds, ended in 824 (1421) when his lands passed to the Ottomans. Mehemmed I had struck coins as early as 818 (1415) on which he calls himself lord of Menteshe. Among the children of Ilyas Beg, mention is made of Laith Beg, but the shadowy part he played is quite uncertain. The year 829 (1426) saw the end of the princes of Menteshe. A certain Balaban was appointed as Ottoman governor of Menteshe-eli and henceforward the district forms a part of the Ottoman empire. The chronology of the dynasts of Menteshe is still uncertain and essential points have still to be cleared up, which will require a systematic study of the many monuments in Menteshe-eli with their important inscriptions, especially in Milas, Miletus, Bardjin, Mughla, etc.

The following genealogical table shows the relationship of the various princes and is based on coins and inscriptions.



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Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte osmanischer Baukunst, in the *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der Technischen Hochschule Karlsruhe* (1925). (FR. BABINGER)

MERDAWIDJ. [See MARDĀWIDJ.]

MERIDA, Ar. MĀRIDA, from the Latin *Emerita*, a town in the southwest of Spain, in the modern province of Badajoz, where it is the capital of a *partido*, on the right bank of the Guadiana. Now somewhat decayed, it has only 11,150 inhabitants. It is on the Madrid-Badajoz railway and is also connected by rail with Cáceres in the north and Seville in the south.

The ancient capital of Lusitania, *Augusta Emerita*, was founded in 23 B. C. and under the Roman empire attained remarkable importance and prosperity. Numerous remains of Roman buildings still testify to the position it held in the Iberian peninsula in those days: a bridge of 64 arches, a circus, a theatre, and the famous aqueduct of *los Milagros*, of which there are still standing ten arches of brick and granite. Merida under the Visigoths became the metropolis of Lusitania and according to Rodrigo of Toledo was fortified and strongly defended, which explains why the Muslim conquerors led by Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q. v.] had some difficulty in taking it. The Arab leader on landing in Spain in Ramaḡān 93 (June 712) first took Medina-Sidonia and Carmona, then Seville. He next laid siege to Merida, before which he stayed for several months; but the inhabitants in the end capitulated and the town surrendered on 1st Shawwāl 94 (June 30, 713). From Merida, Mūsā b. Nuṣair continued his advance to Toledo.

Under the Arab governors, Merida seems to have very soon become a rallying point for a large number of rebels of Berber and Spanish origin. It was there that Yūsuf al-Fihri endeavoured to organise a movement against that organised for his own benefit by 'Abd al-Raḡmān al-Dākhil in 141 (758). At a later date, a Berber named Aṣḡagh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Wānsūs rebelled there against al-Ḥakam I in 190 (805) and the emir of Cordova had for the next seven years to undertake summer campaigns against him before bringing him to reason. Another rebellion broke out in Merida in 213 (828) and the town had to be besieged in 217 and again in 254 (868). In the reign of Emīr 'Abd Allāh it was the headquarters of 'Abd al-Raḡmān b. Marwān al-Djillīkī (the Galician), an Arabic name which concealed that of a Christian nationalist leader. Merida definitely returned to its allegiance in the reign of 'Abd al-Raḡmān III al-Nāṣir when it submitted in 316 (928) to the ḡā'id Ahmad b. Alyas.

From the xith century, Merida began to decline in favour of Badajoz, especially when the latter town became the capital of the independent little kingdom of the Aṭṭasids [q. v.]. It remained in the hands of the Muslims till the beginning of the xiiith century. In 1228 it was retaken by Alfonso IX of Leon but never recovered its former importance.

The Arab geographers who mention Merida, describe its Roman ruins in detail; they also mention the Muslim citadel, the foundation inscription of which has been preserved. It was built in 220 (835) by the governor 'Abd Allāh b. Kulaib b. Tha'labā by order of the Umayyad Emīr 'Abd al-Raḡmān II.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MERĪNIDS (BANŪ MARĪN), a Berber dynasty, which ruled over the extreme Maghrib (Morocco) from the middle of the xiiith to the middle of the xvth century.

The first references we have to the Banū Marīn show them living a nomadic life in the Sahara between Figuig [q. v.] and Tāfilālt [q. v.]. Like the other groups who claimed to be Zenāta, they must have been driven to the west by the nomad Arab Banū Hilāl in the second half of the xith century. Like their brethren, the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, whose lands adjoined theirs, they had attempted in 1145 to resist the conquest of the Central Maghrib by the Almohads and had been defeated. While the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād entered the service of the conquerors, the Banū Marīn took refuge in the desert. The weakening of the Almohad empire gave them a chance to take their revenge. In the course of their periodic movements in the valley of the Muluya, they learned of the weakness of the defences of the extreme Maghrib, the best forces of which were engaged in Spain, and the Banū Marīn therefore made a formidable razzia northwards in 613 (1216). This was the first stage of the conquest which was to proceed step by step for 53 years. It was continued next year by the crushing of the Banū Riyāḥ Arabs, who lived in the plains of the west, and by a first fiscal exploitation of the country. The Almohads, paralysed by dynastic feuds, made no serious thrust in return until 27 years later, when the Banū Marīn were defeated by the troops of the caliph al-Saʿīd (642 = 1244). After a forced check, the conquest was resumed with more method by the *amir* Abū Yahyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḥḥ. He endeavoured to increase his military forces by granting lands to groups of his kinsmen and taking into his service foreign mercenaries, and he made every effort to capture towns. To achieve this end and to gain a moral support which he lacked, the *amir* claimed to be the mandatory of the Ḥafṣids [q. v.], the Almohads of Ifrikiya. He further declared himself the protector of the holy men, who were venerated by the people. It was thus that he took possession of Meknes, Fās, Tāzā, Rabat and Sale. Finally the help he gave the Almohad pretender Abū Dabbūs enabled the *amir* Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb, Abū Yahyā's successor, to annex Marrakeṣh, which marked the completion of the Marīnid conquest (669 = 1269).

Inheriting this area of the western Muslim world, which had been the very heart of the great Almohad empire, the Merīnids also inherited the traditions

of those they had dispossessed and their dreams of hegemony in Spain and Barbary.

As in the time of the Almoravids and Almohads, Spain was for the Maghribis the sacred land of martyrs for the faith. Not only did the dynasty send there its troublesome sons, princes whose presence in the Maghrib might be inconvenient and who formed the corps of volunteers of the faith, but several sultāns fought there in person: Abū Yūsuf, whose resumption of the holy war was his one great scheme, his successor Abū Yaʿqūb, and Abū 'l-Ḥasan, who saw the failure of these oversea expeditions.

In crossing the Strait, Abū Yūsuf fulfilled his dearest vow but he was also answering the reiterated appeals of the Banu 'l-Aḥmar of Granada, who were tired of enduring the exactions and insults of the King of Castille. He was received there as a saviour and at once undertook a plundering expedition. Don Nuño de Lara, endeavouring to capture the loot taken from the Christians, sustained a heavy defeat near Ecija and was himself slain (674 = 1275). Very few other pitched battles are mentioned in these wars of the Merīnids in Spain, but almost daily razzias into Christian territory. The Muslims destroyed or carried off the crops and stocks and they took prisoners who were sold as slaves in the Maghrib. The relations between the Sultāns of Fās and of Granada, by no means warm at the time of the landing in Spain, became decidedly hostile when Abū Yūsuf claimed the ownership of the town of Tarifa [q. v.] as a base for his future operations in the Peninsula. Ibn al-Aḥmar appealed to the King of Castille for help against the encroachments of his rescuer. An alliance was formed between Christians and Muslims of Spain which Yaghmorāsan, sultān of Tlemsen, soon joined. The latter undertook to prevent or impede any further crossings of the Moroccan ruler into Andalusia.

The entente with the Christians did not however prevent the latter from continuing the task of the Reconquista. In 709 (1309) they took Gibraltar and the Sultān of Granada appealed again to the Maghribī Sultān. Abū 'l-Ḥasan sent his son ʿAbd al-Malik who recaptured Gibraltar (733 = 1333). ʿAbd al-Malik having been killed, Abū 'l-Ḥasan sent a large army on ships supplied by the ports of Ifrikiya and himself landed near Tarifa. This town was in the hands of the Christians. He tried to take it but was routed by the combined forces of Alfonso XI of Castille and Alfonso IV of Portugal. This disaster of 1340 and the taking of Algeciras by the King of Castille finally discouraged the Merīnid sultān. Neither he nor his successors again made attempts in Spain.

If circumstances prevented the Merīnids from reviving against Christianity the glories of the wars of the Almohads, they were able to devote themselves to regaining the great African empire of their predecessors and they succeeded in doing so for a comparatively short time. That empire, as is well known, covered in addition to the kingdom of the Merīnids, that of the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemsen and that of the Ḥafṣids of Tunis [q. v.]. The kingdom of Tlemsen was that most directly threatened by the ambitions of the sultāns of Fās. Causes of quarrel were numerous between these neighbouring and related dynasties. To old rivalries, dating from the days when the two clans were nomads, had been added the competition of two adjoining states each seeking to extend their frontiers.

The 'Abd al-Wāḍids very soon lost hope of annexing territory in the west. If, as we have seen, they were a thorn in the side of the Merinids who desired to cross into Spain, this policy was of brief duration. Very soon they had to confine themselves strictly to the defensive. On many occasions, the kingdom of Tlemsen was invaded and the Tlemsenians shut up within their walls. For example for eight years and three months, from 698 (1299), they were blockaded, during which period the Merinids established a permanent camp which became the town of al-Manṣūra [q. v.] in addition to numerous other works of circumvallation; Tlemsen however did not fall till later. In 737 (1337) Abu 'l-Ḥasan took it; he and his son Abū 'Inān were to hold it for 22 years. For these two princes, whose reigns mark the apogee of the dynasty, Tlemsen was only a first stage towards Ifrikiya. The dream of recreating the empire of the Almohads was to be realised by annexing the Ḥafṣid kingdom.

Constant relations, in which each hoped to gain some advantage, united the two states of east and west, Banū Ḥafṣ and Banū Marīn. To a contemporary observer like the Egyptian al-'Umarī, the Banū Marīn alone counted as a military power, but the Banū Ḥafṣ, descendants of the Almohad caliphs, had a prestige which the Banū Marīn could not claim in spite of the title of *Amīr al-Mu'minin* which Abū 'Inān arrogantly assumed. This explains why, from the very first, the Banū Marīn in annexing the towns of the Maghrib declared themselves mandatories of the sovereigns of Tunis and why they married Ḥafṣid princesses. On their side, the Banū Ḥafṣ did not think it wise to refuse their daughters; they dealt tactfully with the Moroccan sultāns, who might be useful in protecting them against the sultāns of Tlemsen. In a word, they hoped to see the Merinids attack central Maghrib but not to become complete masters of it, which would directly expose Ifrikiya to the attacks of the conquerors.

This is what actually happened in 1347. Taking advantage of the usurpation of the throne of Tunis and of the troubles which followed it, Abu 'l-Ḥasan invaded Ifrikiya and sought to impose his authority there as in his own kingdom. The situation here however was very different from what he was familiar with in the Maghrib. In Ifrikiya, the Arabs were still very strong. Abu 'l-Ḥasan came to grief against the Arab tribes united against a foreign master and near Qairawān they inflicted a disastrous defeat on him in Muḥarram 749 (April 1348). This disaster even endangered the position of the Merinids in the Maghrib itself. An attempt by Abū 'Inān, son of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, to reconquer Ifrikiya proved fruitless.

In spite of the collapse of Marinid aims, the period of these two last sultāns was nevertheless one of the greatest in the history of Muslim Barbary, one of those which has left us most memorials of its magnificence.

The Merinids were vigorous builders. In 1276, Abu Yūsuf had founded New Fās, west of the old town, to make it his official capital; but it was during the first half of the xivth century that the greatest building activity was displayed. The majority of those that have come down to us date from this period. Works of considerable artistic value, they are at the same time evidence of the military activity and religious ardour of

the Banū Marīn, like the ramparts and the mosque of al-Manṣūra, the walls and necropolis of Chella, the medersas of Fās and Sale, the different buildings erected near Tlemsen around the tomb of the great ascetic Sīdī Bū Madyan. Piety in the form of mysticism was the dominating note in the intellectual life of the Maghrib. We must however not forget that the court of Fās was frequented by men like 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Baṭṭūta, who have left a name in the field of literature and profane learning.

The failure of the attempts upon Ifrikiya and the disaster at Qairawān may be taken as the beginning of the decline of the Merinids. As a result of these military failures, the troops stationed in some parts of the Maghrib had to be withdrawn. The passes of the Atlas being no longer guarded, the Arabs of Sūs and Tafilālt, excited by the rumours from Ifrikiya, began to display their turbulent spirit. The tribes who paid taxes now paid only at longer and longer intervals under the threat of expeditionary forces sent against them. There was still a graver cause of decline: the power of the viziers vastly increased. An aristocracy of high officials related to the royal family handed down offices from father to son, backed by powerful clans, and ended by acquiring the power to nominate the new sovereigns. To keep them in tutelage, they used to choose for the throne a minor or a weakling. When the Sultān displayed some desire to rule in person, they did not hesitate to dethrone or assassinate him. Thus in 762 (1361) Abū Salīm was decapitated by a soldier of the Christian militia; his successor Tāshfin, an idiot, was deposed and replaced by Abū Zaiyān, who was found strangled and drowned in a reservoir.

In the midst of these palace revolutions the unity of the kingdom was destroyed. We find the prince who governs Sīdjmāsa fighting with the sultān reigning at Fās. The vizier who has control of the legitimate sovereign has pretenders against him, who end by dividing up the country among them. Marrākesḥ fights against Fās. At one time, the traditional enemies of the dynasty, the 'Abd al-Wāḍids of Tlemsen, endeavour to profit by the occasion to resume the aggressive policy of Yaghmorāsan. But Tlemsen was itself too weakened to attain success. Besides, it was attacked in the rear by the Arabs of the Central Maghrib, instigated from Fās. One of the *shaikhs* of the Suwaid Arabs is called the "friend and patron of the Marinid dynasty". The Banū Marīn had another means of neutralizing Tlemsen; this was to support pretenders of the 'Abd al-Wāḍid family. To sum up, in spite of the weakness of the Banū Marīn, the Banū 'Abd al-Wād, whose lands had for the most part passed into the hands of the Arabs, cut a still sadder figure and could not resist when attacks from the west were resumed. From 1389 all the sultāns of Tlemsen ruled under the suzerainty of Fās.

But grave events were to turn the attention of the Merinids from the affairs of the Central Maghrib. In 1401, King Henry III of Castile landed in Barbary to take vengeance for outrages of the Muslim corsairs and destroyed Tetwān. This attack, which produced considerable commotion in the Maghrib, and the taking of Ceuta by the Portuguese in 818 (1415), provoked a vigorous campaign by the religious element. The threat from abroad, combined with its weakness in meeting this critical

situation, brought about a series of troubles under which the dynasty succumbed. In 823 (1420) after the assassination of the Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd, the Merīnids gave place to the Banū Waṭṭās.

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MERKEZ, MUṢLIḤ AL-DĪN MŪSĀ, an Ottoman Shaikh of an Order and Saint.

Merkez Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Mūsā b. Muṣṭafā b. Kiliḍj b. Ḥadjdar belonged to the village of Şarḥ Maḥmūdlu in the Anatolian district of Lāḥikiya. He was at first a pupil of the Mollā Aḥmad Paṣha, son of Khidr Beg [q. v.], and later of the famous Khalwati Shaikh Sünbül Sinān Efendi, founder of the Sünbūliya, a branch of the Khalwatiya, head of the monastery of Koḍja Muṣṭafā Paṣha in Stambul (cf. on him: Brūsali Meḥemmed Ṭāhir, *Oṭhmānī Mü'elliflerī*, i. 78 sq.). When the latter died in 936 (1529), Merkez Efendi succeeded him in the dignity of Pir. He held the office of head of a monastery for 23 years and died in the odour of sanctity in 959 (1552), aged nearly 90. He was buried in Stambul in the mosque which bears his name (cf. *Ḥadiqat al-Djawāmiʿ*, i. 230 sq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 95, N^o. 495) before the Yeñi Kapu. At the tomb of Merkez Efendi there is a much visited holy well, an *ayazma*, to which one descends by steps. Its reddish water is said to have the miraculous power of healing those

sick of a fever (cf. Ewliyā Çelebi, i. 372; J. v. Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, i. 503; do., *G. O. R.*, ix. 95, N^o. 495, following the *Ḥadiqat al-Djawāmiʿ*, loc. cit.). Beside it is the cell (*zāwiya*) of Merkez Efendi, of which wonderful stories still circulate among the people. He had many pupils, including his son Aḥmad, famous as the translator of the *Kāmiūs*, his son-in-law Muṣliḥ al-Dīn (cf. Ewliyā, i. 372), the poet Ramaḍān Efendi, called Bihishṭi and many others.

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(FR. BABINGER)

MERSİNA, an Anatolian sea-port on the south coast of Asia Minor.

Mersina, the port and capital of the former sandjak of the same name (with an area of 1,780 sq. m.) in the wilāyet of Adana [q. v.] on the south coast of Anatolia, is 40 miles from Adana, to which a railway runs. The name Mersīna comes from the Greek *myrsini* (μυρσίνη), myrtle, because this tree grows in large numbers in this region. The regularly built town, founded only in 1832, with about 21,171 inhabitants (1927) is only of importance as a port for the export of silk, corn and cotton. The climate is very unhealthy in summer. The old name of Mersina was Zephirium; in the vicinity (8 miles S. W.) lie the ruins of Soloi or Pompeiopolis. The town which is quite modern is of no Muslim historical interest.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 50 sq. (FR. BABINGER)

MERTOLA, Ar. *Martūla* and *Mirtūla*, a little town in the south of Portugal on the Guadiana, 35 miles above and north of the mouth of this river, at its junction with the Oeira. This place, the *Myrtilis* of the Romans, was of some importance in the Muslim period. It was in the district of Beja and according to Yāḳūt was the best defended stronghold in the whole of the west of the Peninsula. At the end of the ninth century it was the headquarters of an independent chief, 'Abd al-Malik b. Abi 'l-Djawād, who was in alliance with the lords of Badajoz and Oesonoba and held his own against the Cordovan emir 'Abd Allāh.

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MĒRWĀRA, a British district in Rāḍjputāna, lying between 25° 24' and 26° 11' N. and 73° 45' and 74° 29' E., has an area of 641 sq. miles and a population (1901) of 109,459. The local name of the district is Magra, or "hills". Beyond the fact that between 1138 and 1232 (1725 and 1816), several unsuccessful attempts were made by Rāḍjput and Marāṭhas to subdue the country, the history of Mērwāra is a blank up to 1234 (1818), when the British appeared on the scene. The District was at one time an impenetrable jungle, inhabited by outlaws and fugitives from surrounding states. The population known under the name of Mērs originally comprised a mixture of castes, Čandēla Guḍjars, Bhātī, Rāḍjput, Brahmans and Minas. It is said that Nisāḍēw, the

Čauhān King of Adjmir, subdued the inhabitants and made them drawers of water in the streets of Adjmir. The country has made much progress under the British rule.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MERZIFŪN, also called MĀRSIWĀN, a town in the Anatolian wilāyet of Siwas [q. v.] and in the sandjak of Amasia [q. v.] at the beginning of the fertile plain of Şulu Owa, with 11,334 inhabitants (in 1927), of whom the Armenians have had to migrate, which produces a good deal of wine and makes some cotton. Merzifūn before the World War was the centre of activity of the Protestant missions in this region and contained the Anatolia College. The town most probably occupies the site of the ancient Phazemon (Φαζυμών) in the district of Phazemonitis; the name is probably a development of Φαζυμών. Ibn Bībī (cf. *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, iv., Leyden 1902, p. 292, 12) also gives the form **بازمون**. Little is known of the early history of the town in the Muslim period. It belonged to the kingdom of the Dānish-mandids [q. v.] and when in 1393 Bāyazid I drove the ruler of Siwas, Mīr Aḥmad, out of the country, the land of "Marsvani", as the Bavarian traveller Hans Schiltberger (cf. *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, ed. V. Langmantel, Tübingen 1885, p. 12) called it, passed to the Ottoman empire. Merzifūn plays a notable part in the history of Ottoman culture as the birth-place and scene of the activities of learned men and authors (cf. A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover 1925, p. 88). In Merzifūn there used to be a number of dervish monasteries (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhetnāma*, ii. 396 infra, where several are mentioned). Of special interest are the mosques, mainly converted from Byzantine churches, including the so-called Eski Džāmi, on the walls of which Christian paintings could until recently be seen (cf. V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 761) and the mosque of Murād II, both on the market-place. The saint locally revered was Pīr Dede Sulṭān, said to be a pupil of Ḥādjīdī Bektāš; (Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, ii. 396). In A. D. Mordtmann's time (1852) the "whole Turkish population" consisted of sharifs, i. e. descendants of the Prophet.

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the later Greeks; Stephen of Byzantium (fifth century A. D.) already writes Φαμιζών (var. lect. Φαμεζών, Φαμαζών)]. (FR. BABINGER)

MESHĤĤED (AL-MASHHAD), capital of the Persian province of Khurāsān (q. v., ii., p. 966), the greatest place of pilgrimage for the Shi'is in Persia. It lies 3,000 feet above sea level in 59° 35' E. Long. (Greenw.) and 16° 17' N. Lat. in the valley from 10 to 25 miles broad of the Keshef-Rūd, which runs from N. W. to S. E. This river, also called Āb-i Meshhed (the "river of Meshhed"), rises about 12 miles N. W. of the ruins of Tus [q. v.] in the little lake of Česhme-i Gilās (cf. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 350; Khanikoff, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 315) and joins the Heri (Hari)-Rūd (q. v., and cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 407 sq.) about 100 miles S. E. of Meshhed on the Russo-Persian frontier. Meshhed lies about 4 miles south of the bank of the Keshef-Rūd. The hills which run along the valley rise to 8,000 or 9,000 feet at Meshhed.

In consequence of its high situation and proximity to the mountains, the climate of Meshhed is in the winter rather severe, in the summer, however, often tropically hot; it is regarded as healthy.

Meshhed may in a way be regarded as the successor of the older pre-Muḥammadan Tūs [q. v.], and it has not infrequently been erroneously confounded with it.

The fact that Tūs is the name of both a town and a district, together with the fact that two places are always mentioned as the principal towns of this district, has given rise among the later Arab geographers to the erroneous opinion that the capital Tūs is a double town consisting of Ṭabarān and Nūḵān; e. g. Yāḳūt, iii. 560, 5 (correct at iv. 824, 23) and in the *Lubāb* of Ibn al-Aṭhīr [q. v.] quoted by Abu 'l-Fidā' (*op. cit.*, p. 453). Ḳazwīnī (*Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 275, 21) next made the two towns thought to be joined together into two quarters (*maḥalla*). This quite erroneous idea of a double town Tūs found its way into European literature generally. Sykes (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1115—1116) and following him Diez (*Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, i. 53 sq.) have rightly challenged this untenable idea. The older Arab geographers quite correctly distinguish between Ṭabarān and Nūḵān as two quite separate towns. Nūḵān, according to the express testimony of the Arabic sources, was only 1/4 parasang (*farsakh*) or one Arabic mile from the tomb of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd and 'Alī al-Riḍā (see below) and must therefore have been very close to the modern Meshhed. The ruins of Ṭabarān-Tūs and Meshhed are about 15 miles apart.

As to Nūḵān (often wrongly vocalised Nawḵān) it is sometimes called more precisely (e. g. Yāḳūt, iii. 153, 21) Nūḵān Tūs, and occasionally (e. g. Iṣṭakhri = B. G. A., i. 257, 3; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfi, *op. cit.*, p. 151, 2-3) included with Sanābād. The distance between these two towns is put at an Arabic mile (Yāḳūt, iii. 153, 21) or what is practically the same, 1/4 *farsakh* (e. g. Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*; Ibn Ḥawḳal in Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, p. 451). Nūḵān must have lain to the east and northeast of the modern Meshhed and a small part of it is the northeastern quarter of the latter town.

In Nūḵān or in the village of Sanābād belonging to it two distinguished figures in Muslim history

were buried within one decade: the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and the 'Alid 'Alī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā.

When Hārūn al-Rashīd was preparing to take the field in Khurāsān, he was stricken mortally ill in a country house at Sanābād̲h̲ where he had stopped, and died in a few days (193 = 809). The caliph, we are told (Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, iii. 737, 13-17), realising he was about to die, had his grave dug in the garden of this country mansion and consecrated by Ḳur'ān-readers.

The three available accounts differ at first sight as to the house in which Hārūn spent his last hours. Two of them are given by Ṭabari: according to the first (iii. 736, 17-18; 737, 4) it was on the estate of Ḍjunaid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān that the caliph stopped; the second story (iii. 735, 15-16; 738, 14-15) says that Hārūn lived in the mansion of Ḥumaid b. Abi Ḡhanm. A third story in Yāqūt (iii. 560) says that the tombs of Hārūn and of 'Alī al-Riḍā were in one of the gardens of the house of Ḥumaid b. Ḳaṭṭaba. Now there is not the slightest doubt that the references to the house (*dār*) of Ḥumaid b. Ḳaṭṭaba and to that of Ḥumaid b. Abi Ḡhanm are to the same place. Ḥumaid b. Ḳaṭṭaba must be the same person as Ḥumaid b. Abi Ḡhanm; they are both described as of the tribe of Ṭaiy.

As to Ṭabari's second story, which substitutes a *dār* b. 'Abd al-Rahmān for a *dār* Ḥumaid, it may be observed that Ḍjunaid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān held the office of governor of Khurāsān under the Omayyads (caliphate of Hishām) from 111 to 116 (729-734) (on him cf. above i. 1109 sq.; ii. 357b; Weil, *op. cit.*, i. 629-631; E. v. Zambaur, *op. cit.*, p. 47). Ḍjunaid probably resided as a rule not in Nishāpūr or Ṭūs but in the palace at Sanābād̲h̲ which he had probably built. One of his successors, Ḥumaid, also chose to live here and seems to have enlarged the place. This would explain how our sources call the same house the house of Ḍjunaid and of Ḥumaid. Perhaps the estate became the property of the 'Abbāsids on the death of Ḥumaid.

About 10 years after the death of Hārūn, the caliph al-Ma'mūn on his way from Merw spent a few days in this palace. Along with him was his son-in-law 'Alī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā, the caliph designate, the eighth imām of the Twelvers. The latter died suddenly here in 203 (818); the actual day is uncertain (cf. Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-Shi'a*, Leipzig 1926, p. 171). On 'Alī al-Riḍā and his death cf. above i. 296, 298b; iii. 222a; Weil, *op. cit.*, p. ii. 225b; Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan* (London 1825), p. 449-451 (gives the story current in Meshhed of the imām's death); Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 340-342; Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, London 1910, p. 235-238; W. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 265-266.

It was not the tomb of the caliph but that of a highly venerated imām which made Sanābād̲h̲ (Nūḳān) celebrated throughout the Shi'a world, and the great town which grew up in course of time out of the little village actually became called *al-Mashhad* (Meshhed) which means "sepulchral chapel" (primarily of a martyr belonging to the family of the Prophet). Cf. on the conception of Mashhad, iii. 323 and v. Berchem in Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkemäler*, i. (Berlin 1918), p. 89-90. Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 313) calls our sanctuary simply Mashhad, Yāqūt (iii. 153) more accurately al-Mashhad al-Riḍāwī = the tomb-chapel of al-Riḍā; we also find

the Persian name *Meshhed-i muḳaddas* = "the sanctified chapel" (e. g. in Ḥamd Allāh al-Muṣṭawfi, p. 157). As a place-name Mashhad first appears in al-Muḳaddasī (p. 352), i. e. in the last third of the tenth century. About the middle of the xivth century the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii. 77) uses the expression "town of Mashhad al-Riḍā". Towards the end of the middle ages the name Nūḳān, which is still found on coins in the first half of the xivth century under the Ilkhāns (cf. Codrington, *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, London 1904, p. 189), seems to have been gradually ousted by al-Mashhad or Meshhed. At the present day Meshhed is often more precisely known as Meshhed-i Riḍā, Meshhed-i muḳaddas, Meshhed-i Ṭūs (so already in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 66). Not infrequently in literature, especially in poetry, we find only Ṭūs mentioned, i. e. New Ṭūs in contrast to Old Ṭūs or the proper town of this name; cf. e. g. Muḥammad Mahdī al-'Alawī, *Ta'rikh Ṭūs aw al-Mashhad al-Riḍāwī*, Baghḍād 1927, p. 3.

The history of Meshhed is very fully dealt with in the work of Muḥammad Hasan Khān Ṣanī' al-Dawla entitled *Maṭla' al-Shams* (3 vols., Ṭeherān 1301-1303). The second volume is exclusively devoted to the history and topography of Meshhed; for the period from 428 (1036) to 1302 (1885) he gives valuable historical material. On this work cf. Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 313-314 and E. G. Browne, *A History of Pers. Lit.*, Cambridge 1924, iv., p. 455-456. The *Maṭla' al-Shams* forms the chief source for the sketch of the history of the town in Yate, p. 314-326. Cf. also the chronological notes in Muḥammad Mahdī al-'Alawī, *op. cit.*, p. 13-16.

The importance of Sanābād̲h̲-Meshhed continually increased with the growing fame of its sanctuary and the decline of Ṭūs. Ṭūs received its death blow in 791 (1389) from Mirānshāh, a son of Timūr. When the Mongol noble who governed the place rebelled and attempted to make himself independent, Mirānshāh was sent against him by his father. Ṭūs was stormed after a siege of several months, sacked and left a heap of ruins; 10,000 inhabitants were massacred (see Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 316; Sykes, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 1118 and Browne, *op. cit.*, iii., p. 190). Those who escaped the holocaust settled in the shelter of the 'Alid sanctuary. Ṭūs was henceforth abandoned and Meshhed took its place as the capital of the district.

As to the political history of Meshhed it coincides in its main lines with that of the province of Khurāsān [q. v.]. Here we shall only briefly mention a few of the more important events in the past of the town. Like all the larger towns of Persia, Meshhed frequently saw risings and the horrors of war within its walls. To protect the mausoleum of 'Alī al-Riḍā in the reign of the Ghaznawid Mas'ūd [q. v.], the then governor of Khurāsān erected defences in 1037. In 1121 a wall was built round the whole town which afforded protection from attack for some time. In 1161 however, the Ghuzz [q. v.] succeeded in taking the place, but they spared the sacred area in their pillaging. We hear of a further visitation by Mongol hordes in 1296 in the time of Sultān Ghāzān [q. v.]. Probably the greatest benefactors of the town and especially of its sanctuary were the first Timūrid Shāh Rukh (809-850 = 1406-1446; see vol. iv. 265 sq.) and his pious wife Djawhar-Shādh.

With the rise of the national Šafawid dynasty [q. v.], a new era of prosperity began for Meshhed. The very first Šah of this family, Ismā'il I (907-930 = 1501-1524; q. v.), established Shī'ism as the state religion and, in keeping with this, care for the sacred cities within the Persian frontier, especially Meshhed and Kumm, became an important feature in his programme as in those of his successors. Pilgrimage to the holy tombs at these places experienced a considerable revival. In Meshhed the royal court displayed a great deal of building activity. In this respect Tahmāsp I, Ismā'il I's successor (930-984 = 1524-1576; q. v.), and the great Šah 'Abbās I (995-1037 = 1587-1627; q. v.) were especially distinguished.

In the xvth century the town suffered considerably from the repeated raids of the Ōzbegs (Uzbek). In 1507 it was taken by the troops of the Shaibānī Khān [cf. SHAIBANIDS]; it was not till 1528 that Šah Tahmāsp I succeeded in repelling the enemy from the town again. Stronger walls and bastions were then built and another attack by the same Ōzbek chief was foiled by them in 1535. But in 1544 the Ōzbegs again succeeded in entering the town and plundering and murdering there. The year 1589 was a disastrous one for Meshhed. The Shaibānīd 'Abd al-Mu'min after a four months' siege forced the town to surrender. The streets of the town ran with blood and the thoroughness of the pillaging did not stop at the gates of the sacred area. Šah 'Abbās I who lived in Meshhed from 1585 till his official ascent of the throne in Qazvin in 1587 was not able to retake Meshhed from the Ōzbegs till 1598.

At the beginning of the reign of Tahmāsp II [q. v.] in 1722 the Afghān tribe of Abdālī [q. v.] invaded Khurāsān. Meshhed fell before them, but in 1726 the Persians succeeded in retaking it after a two months' siege. Nādir Šah [q. v.] (1736-1747) had a mausoleum built for himself in Meshhed.

After the death of Nādir Šah civil war broke out among the claimants to the throne, in the course of which the unity of the Persian empire was broken. The whole eastern part of the kingdom of Nādir Šah, particularly Khurāsān (except the district of Nīshāpūr), passed in this period of Persian impotence under the rule of the vigorous Afghān Šah Ahmad Durrānī. An attempt by Karīm Khān Zand to reunite Khurāsān to the rest of Persia failed. Ahmad defeated the Persians and took Meshhed after an eight months' siege in 1167 (1753); cf. above i., p. 169b, 202b, 203b. Ahmad Šah and his successor Timūr Šah left Šah Rukh in possession of Khurāsān as their vassal, making Khurāsān a kind of buffer state between them and Persia. As the real rulers however, both these Afghān rulers struck coins in Meshhed (cf. above i., p. 202b).

Otherwise the reign of the blind Šah Rukh, which with repeated short interruptions lasted for nearly half a century, passed without any events of special note. It was only after the death of Timūr-Šah (1207 = 1792) that Agha Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Qājār dynasty, succeeded in taking Šah Rukh's domains and putting him to death in 1210 (1795) and thus ending the separation of Khurāsān from the rest of Persia (cf. above, i., p. 204a). The death soon afterwards of Agha Muḥammad (1211 = 1796) enabled Nādir, who had escaped to Herāt, to return to Meshhed and take up the reigns of government

again. A siege of his capital by a Qājār army remained without success; but in 1803 Faṭḥ 'Alī Šah was able to take it after a siege of several months when Nādir's funds were exhausted.

From 1825 Khurāsān suffered greatly from the raids of Turkoman hordes and the continual feuds of the tribal leaders (cf. Conolly, *op. cit.*, i. 288 and Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 53). To restore order the crown prince 'Abbās Mirzā entered Khurāsān with an army and made Meshhed his headquarters. He died there in 1249 (1833).

The most important political event of the xixth century for Meshhed was the rebellion of Hasan Khān Sālār, the prince-governor of Khurāsān, a cousin of the reigning Šah Muḥammad-i 'Abbās. For two years (1847-1849) he held out against the government troops sent against him. At the time of the accession of Nāsir al-Dīn (1848) Khurāsān was actually independent. It was only when the people of Meshhed, under pressure of famine, rebelled against Sālār that Ḥusām al-Saltāna's army succeeded in taking the town.

In 1911 a certain Yūsuf Khān of Herāt declared himself independent in Meshhed under the name of Muḥammad 'Alī Šah and for a period disturbed Khurāsān considerably with the help of a body of reactionaries who gathered round him. This gave the Russians a pretext for armed intervention, and on March 29, 1912, they bombarded Meshhed in gross violation of Persia's suzerain rights and many innocent people, citizens and pilgrims, were slain. This bombardment of the national sanctuary of Persia made a most painful impression in the whole Muslim world. Yūsuf Khān was later captured by the Persians and put to death (cf. E. G. Browne, *The Press and Poets of Modern Persia*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 124, 127, 136; Sykes, *History of Persia*, London 1927, ii. 426-427).

Meshhed is now the centre of eastern Persia, the capital of the province of Khurāsān which, since its eastern part was taken by the Afghāns in the xviii century, is barely half its former size (cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 383 sq.; *Isl.*, xi, 108 sq. and above, ii. 966). In the middle ages it was not Tūs, Meshhed's predecessor, but Naisābūr (modern Persian Nīshāpūr) that was the capital of this extensive and important province. A royal prince has usually been governor since the fall of the Nādirids. Since 1845 the lucrative and influential post of Mutawallī-Bāshī, the controller or treasurer of the sanctuary of the Imām, has usually been combined with the governorship (cf. Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 322).

The only plan — not very accurate — of Meshhed known to me is that of Colonel Dolmage (cf. Curzon, *op. cit.*, i. 151, note 2; 160) and was made about 1870. It is published in MacGregor, *op. cit.*, i. 284. The plan of the town is an irregular oblong with its longer axis running from N. W. to S. E. Its circumference is according to the most reliable calculations about 6 miles, the greatest breadth about a mile, and the length not quite two miles measured along the main street Khīyābān which runs right through the town.

Like most Persian towns Meshhed is enclosed by a great girdle of walls, which gives it a very picturesque appearance. The lines built to stiffen the defences, namely a small moat with escarpment before the main wall and a broad ditch around outside, are now in ruins and in places have completely disappeared.

The citadel (*ark*) in the southwest part of the town is directly connected with the system of defences. It is in the form of a rectangle with four great towers at the corners and smaller bastions. The palace begun by 'Abbās Mīrzā but finished only in 1876, with its extensive gardens, is connected with the fortress proper, now fallen into disrepair (cf. Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 327). It is used as the governor's residence. The whole quarter of government buildings which, according to MacGregor, occupies an area of 1,200 yards, is separated from the town by an open space, the Maidān-i Tōp (Cannon Place) which is used for military parades.

There are six gates in the city walls.

The town is divided into six great and ten smaller quarters (*maḥalla*) (see Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 328). The six larger bear the names of their gates; see al-Mahdī al-'Alawī, *op. cit.*

The principal street which divides the whole town into two roughly equal halves, the *Khiyābān*, is a creation of Shāh 'Abbās I who did a great deal for Meshhed (1587—1627; see Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 319; cf. the pictures in Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p. 231). This street, a fine promenade, is, being the main thoroughfare, filled all day with a throng of all classes and nationalities, including numerous pilgrims, and caravans of camels and asses; the bustle is tremendous, especially in the middle of the day.

The canal, which flows through the *Khiyābān* in a bed about 9 feet broad and 5 feet deep is fed, not from the *Keshf Rūd* (see above) which runs quite close to Meshhed, as it has too little water, but from the *Česhme-i Gilās* already mentioned, which used to provide Tūs with water. When this town had been almost completely abandoned, Shīr 'Alī, the vizier of Sulṭān Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr b. Bāikarā (1468—1506; on him see above, ii. 343; i. 594^a), at the beginning of the xvth century had the water brought from this source to Meshhed by a canal 45 miles long, thus sealing the ruin of Tūs; cf. Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 315; al-Mahdī al-'Alawī, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

The making of this canal (see Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 315; Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 13) contributed essentially to the rise of Meshhed; for the greater part of its inhabitants rely on it for water, although after entering the town, the canal becomes muddy and marshy (which was often a subject of satire; cf. 'Abd al-Karīm, *op. cit.*, p. 74), and use it for drinking, washing and religious ablutions without hesitation. There are also large and deep reservoirs before the main gates. The water is saline and sulphurous and therefore has an unpleasant taste (cf. Conolly, i. 333—334; Khanikoff, p. 105; Curzon, i. 153).

The sacred area divides the principal street into two parts: the *Bālā* (= Upper) *Khiyābān* in the N. W. and the *Pā'in* (= Lower) *Khiyābān* in the S. E., of which the former is about 3 times as long as the latter. The sacred area covered by the sanctuary of the Imām al-Riḍā is usually called *Bāst* (cf. above, i. 709). The name *Haram-i Sharif* or *Haram-i Muḥaddas* or *Haram-i al-Riḍāwī* (al-Riḍā's *Haram*) is often also applied to it; frequently it is called simply, "Imām" as in Persia as in the 'Irāq this title is applied also to a building or piece of ground sacred to an Imām. The *Bāst*, a rectangle 900 feet X 700 feet in area, is in the lower half of the *Khiyābān*. With its courts, mosques, sanctuaries, madrasas, caravanserais,

bazaars, dwellinghouses etc. it forms a town by itself; a wall around it cuts it off completely from the rest of Meshhed. The main entrances from the *Khiyābān* are two great doors on north and south, but they are barred by chains so that no vehicle or riding-beast can enter; for the ground of the *Bāst* is holy and may only be trodden on foot. Animals which get in by accident become the property of the administration of the Imām. The *Bāst* also has the right of asylum (whence the name *Bāst*). Debtors who take refuge in it are safe from their creditors; criminals can only be handed over by order of the Mutawallī-Bāshī, which is now usually done after three days. In the whole of the sacred area strict discipline is maintained by its own police; there is a special prison for thieves (see the plan in Yate, p. 332, N^o. 75; cf. also Conolly, i. 263; Khanikoff, p. 98; Bassett, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Curzon, i. 153—154; Massy, *op. cit.*, p. 1006; Yate, p. 334).

Entrance to the *Bāst* is strictly forbidden to all non-Muslims. In earlier times the rule does not seem to have been so strict, for Clavijo (see *Bibl.*) in 1404 was able to visit the sepulchral chapel of the Imām al-Riḍā. In the sixth century Fraser (1822, 1833), Conolly (1830), Burnes (1832), Ferrier (1845), Eastwick (1862), Vámbéry (1863), Colonel Dolmage (in the sixties) and Massy (1893) visited the sacred area. Only Fraser, Conolly, Dolmage and Massy actually entered the sepulchral chapel itself. Vámbéry and Massy were dressed as Muslims while the others retained their European dress. Except Dolmage, all these travellers have given more or less full descriptions of the sacred area. The full and accurate description given by Sykes in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1130—1148 and in the *Glory of the Shia World* is based on information supplied by the attaché to the British Consulate, Khān Bahādur Aḥmad Dīn-Khān (cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1113 and *The Shia World*, p. iii.; see also Curzon, i. 154 sq. and Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 17—22).

The most detailed plan of the *Bāst* is in the already mentioned *Maṭla' al-Shams* of Ṣanī' al-Dawla (1885); also given in Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 332. A plan on a somewhat smaller scale was prepared by the Persian architect Mu'awīn-i Ṣanā'ya (cf. Sykes, *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 240) and was published by Sykes in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1128 and in *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 100. The latter differs in details not inconsiderably from Ṣanī' al-Dawla's plan; which is right we have not the means of telling.

The history of the sanctuary of 'Alī al-Riḍā is pretty well known from inscriptions and literary sources (cf. especially the references in Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 317 sq.; Sykes, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1130 sq. and Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 14 sq.). According to local legend, Alexander the Great built a wall around the site as he foresaw in a dream that it was destined to be the tomb of a saint (cf. Fraser, *Narrative*, p. 449; Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 1130). As early as the second half of the tenth century, as Ibn Ḥawḳal tells us (*B. G. A.*, ii. 313), the 'Alid sanctuary had a strong wall built around it, within which devout men who wished to lead an ascetic life (*ʿitikāf*, q. v.) took up their abode. The almost contemporary account of al-Muhallabī in Abu 'l-Fidā', p. 452 is similar. A few decades later, Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna (998—1030) as a result of a dream enlarged the

buildings of the tomb and provided a new wall around them (see Sykes, p. 1130). The sanctuary at a later date seems to have fallen somewhat into decay: for about a century later it was restored by the Saldjūk Sultān Sandjār [q. v.] out of gratitude, local tradition says, for the miraculous cure effected on his sick son there (see Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 451; Napier, *J. R. G. S.*, xlv. [1876], p. 80 sq.; Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 1141—1142 and in *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 238 sq.). It is to this event that an inscription of 512 (1118) inside the chamber of the tomb refers (see it in Sykes, p. 1140—1141 and cf. Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, p. 18). There is also a second inscription (in Sykes, p. 1142—1143) which records a restoration undertaken in 612 (1215). The existence of these two inscriptions, the oldest in Meshhed, shows that the Mongols of Čingiz-Khān when they swept over Khurāsān in 1220, if they may have plundered the sanctuary, spared the buildings. We hear of another restoration of the buildings in the reign of Sultān ʿUldjaitū Khudābāda (1304—1316; cf. Sykes, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1132; Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, p. 18). From the middle of the xivth century we have the somewhat fuller description of the sanctuary of ʿAlī al-Riḍā by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 77—79). Timūr's son Shāh Rukh (1406—1446) and his wife Djawhar Shādh did a great deal for the Ḥaram. The latter built the splendid mosque to the south of the tomb which still bears her name. The Dār al-Siyāda, the fine hall west of the tomb, and the adjoining chamber, the Dār al-Ḥuffāz, are also due to this queen. Under Timūr's grandson Sultān Ḥusain Bāikarā (1469—1506) [q. v.], the vizier Shīr ʿAlī erected the southern part of the Ṣaḥn-i Kuhna, "the old court", with the imposing portico; see the inscription reproduced in Sykes, p. 1133.

With the coming to power of the Ṣafawids a new and brilliant era dawned on Meshhed. The rulers of this dynasty vied with one another in the development and adornment of the sanctuary of ʿAlī al-Riḍā, which they raised to be the religious centre of their kingdom. In this respect Tahmāsp I, ʿAbbās I, ʿAbbās II and Sulaimān I deserve special mention. Tahmāsp I (1524—1576) erected a minaret covered with gold in the northern part of the Ṣaḥn-i Kuhna, adorned the dome of the tomb with sheets of gold and put a golden pillar on the top of it. The Özbegs carried off this rich adornment on their raid in 1589. ʿAbbās I the Great did most of all the Ṣafawids (1587—1627) for Meshhed. ʿAbbās II (1641—1666) devoted his attention mainly to the further decoration of the Ṣaḥn-i Kuhna. The inscription published in part by Sykes, p. 1133 (cf. also Khanikoff, p. 103) was written by the master hand of Muḥammad Riḍā ʿAbbāsī (on him cf. Sarre and Mitthew, *Zeichnungen den Riza Abbassi*, Munich 1914, p. 15—16). Sulaimān I (1666—1694) devoted special attention to the restoration of the dome of the Imām's tomb; see Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, p. 19 (cf. also Yate, p. 343; Sykes, p. 1137).

Foreign potentates also gave great gifts to the ʿAlid sanctuary in the Ṣafawid period, such as the Emperor Akbar of India who made the pilgrimage to Meshhed in 1695 (cf. Yate, p. 319) and in 1512 the Kuṭb Shāh of the Dekkan.

It was Nādir Shāh (1736—1747) who did most for the town of Meshhed in the xviiith century. Although a very strict Sunnī, he devoted a considerable part of the enormous wealth which he had

brought back from his Indian campaign to the embellishment of the great Shīʿa place of pilgrimage. He restored thoroughly the southern half of the Ṣaḥn-i Kuhna built in the reign of Sultān Ḥusain Bāikarā. He decorated the portico richly and covered it with sheets of gold so that it is still called "Nādir's Golden Gate" after him. In 1730, before his accession to the throne, Nādir erected a minaret covered with gold in the upper part of the Ṣaḥn, as a counter-part to that erected by Tahmāsp I on the north side of the "old court". Cf. on Nādir Shāh's activities at the sanctuary of al-Riḍā: Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn *Ta'rikh Ahwāl Shāikh Ḥazīn* (*Memoirs*, ed. Balfour, London 1831, p. 272).

The rulers of the Kādjar dynasty of the xixth century, Faṭḥ ʿAlī (1797—1834), Muḥammad Shāh (1834—1848) and Naṣir al-Dīn (1848—1896), faithfully followed in the footsteps of their predecessors, as regards attention to the Imām's sanctuary.

In spite of the number of times which the ʿAlid sanctuary has been plundered in course of time, it still has countless treasures within its buildings and puts in the shade, as regards this wealth and the extent of its buildings and courts, all the other great Muḥammadan sanctuaries, except perhaps Mecca, but including the much admired Naḍjaf and Kerbelāʾ.

A detailed and accurate description of the Ḥaram and an account of its architectural history based on its present state cannot be given because the strict prohibition of admission to members of other faiths has prevented non-Muslim scholars from examining thoroughly and reproducing the buildings. Relying on descriptions of the sacred area prepared by Europeans and Orientals and on the valuable data contained in inscriptions (the latter were first noted by Khanikoff, p. 103—104; the more important were published by Sykes assisted by Khān Bahādūr Ahmad Dīn, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1131 sq.), we can assume with considerable probability that, except the tomb proper, which in its present form (excluding the later dome) according to the inscription (512 = 1118), dates from the beginning of the xiith century, only insignificant remains of the earlier mediaeval period have survived. The Ḥaram in its present form is in the main a creation of the last 500 years, as is briefly outlined in the above short historical sketch of the sanctuary.

The dome of the tomb with its various annexes rises in the centre of the sacred area and is bounded on the north and east by two great rectangular courts, the Ṣaḥn-i Kuhna and the Ṣaḥn-i Naw, while in the south it is adjoined by the extensive buildings of the Djawhar Shādh mosque.

The most popular entrance to the Bāst and the one preferred by pilgrims is the gateway in the Bālā-Khiyābān barred by a chain. The road runs for 250 yards through this street filled with shops and ends at a great gateway through which the Ṣaḥn-i Kuhna, the "old court" is entered. Its northern part dates from the time of Shāh ʿAbbās I, while the southern is as old as the second half of the xvth century (reign of Sultān Ḥusain Bāikarā) but was completely restored by Nādir Shāh. Four great towers with niche-like halls (hence called *aiwān*) admit to the court. The simplest are the west and east towers built by ʿAbbās I; the former has the clock tower, while the platform of the latter is used as *naḳḳāra-khāne* i. e. "music-

house", where, according to an old Persian custom, found in other royal cities, sunrise and sunset are greeted with music. From the east gate one reaches the eastern exit of the Bāst through the Bazar of the Pa'in-Khiyābān. Much more impressive from the architectural point of view are the northern gateway built by 'Abbās II and especially the southern gateway of the court, "Nādir's Golden Gate", Nādir Shāh's most splendid achievement and the most imposing building of the whole Hāram. At each of the two great gates stands a minaret 100 feet high, the upper part of which is covered with gold; the builder of the northern gate was Tahmāsp I and of the southern Nādir Shāh. Nādir built in the centre the famous octagon of "Nādir's Well" covered by a gilt baldachin (*Saqqā-Khāne-i Nādiri* = "Nadir's water carrier-house"); it was hewn out of a huge block of white marble which the Shāh had brought at great expense from Herāt. The walls of the court are pierced by two rows of alcoves, the lower of which is occupied by artisans, schools and dwellings of the servants of the mosque, while the higher officials of the Imām occupy the upper storey. The whole courtyard which has a length of about 100 yards and a breadth of 70, is paved with dark Meshhed stones (cf. below) which are also to some extent tombstones. For pictures of the Ṣaḥn-i Kuhna with clock tower and Nādir's Well see above, iii. 384, pl. 15; Yate, p. 340, 346; Sykes, *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 241; picture of Nādir's Golden Gate in Yate, p. 328 and Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

Nādir's golden gateway leads southwards into the area of the holy tomb, the sepulchral chamber with the halls and rooms surrounding it. Strictly speaking, it is only this nucleus of the whole sacred area that should be called Hāram or Hāram-i Muqaddas or Hāram-i Mubārak, terms often extended to the whole Bāst. The names *al-Rawḍa al-Muṭahhara* and *Āsitāne* = the (holy) threshold, are also used. After passing through the Golden Gate one enters the *Dār al-Siyāda*, built by Djawhar Shādh, the finest hall in the sacred quarter. Hung on a wall here is a round dish said to be that on which the poisoned grapes were offered to 'Alī al-Riḍā. The pilgrim can see into the sepulchral chamber through a silver grille from the *Dār al-Siyāda*. Turning to the southeast one enters a smaller, more simply decorated chamber, the *Dār al-Huffāz*.

Adjoining the *Dār al-Huffāz* in the north is the dome of the Mausoleum of the Imām. The interior of the sepulchral chamber (see the picture in Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 251), an almost square area, 30 × 27 feet, is, as there are no proper windows, lit by the dim light from golden lamps and chandeliers and furnished with the greatest splendour. The tomb itself is in the N.E. corner and surrounded by three beautiful grilles, one of which, dated 1747, is said to come from the mausoleum of Nādir Shāh now destroyed. 'Abbās I gave the top of the tomb with its gold covering. In a projection at the foot of the tomb, Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh placed a false door of gold inlaid with jewels (picture in Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 255). In niches in the wall behind glass are kept very valuable votive offerings (jewelled arms, etc., mainly gifts of the ruling house). On the wall are the two inscriptions already mentioned of 512 (1118) and 612 (1215) of which the first is the earliest known

example of the so-called round hand (*thulūḥ*) in Arabic epigraphy (cf. v. Berchem in Diez, *Churasan. Baudenkmäler*, i. 97, note 8). These enable us to place the building of the present chamber in the beginning of the xiith century, while the dome 65 feet high covered with sheets of gilt copper was built only in 1607 by 'Abbās I and renovated in 1675 by Sulaimān I, according to inscriptions on its outside. As the thread of tradition regarding the site of the Imām's grave can hardly have been broken, it may be assumed practically with certainty that the present dome is built on the true site. There is no longer any trace of Hārūn's grave; it probably was in the centre of the mausoleum, whence the tomb of the 'Alid who died later was put in a corner of the same place.

Of the other chambers and isolated buildings belonging to the system of the Hāram proper, we shall only mention here the *Gumbad* (domed tomb) of Allāh Wardī Khān, which lies to the N.E. and takes its name from its builder, a famous general of 'Abbās I (cf. Conolly, i. 271; Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p. 266; see also the picture in Diez, *Persien: Islam. Baukunst in Churasan*, p. 54).

Leaving the sacred chamber by the eastern door one reaches, after traversing two adjoining rooms, the "Golden Gate" of Nāṣir al-Dīn, which leads into the New Court (*Ṣaḥn-i Naw*); its northside is bounded by the Pa'in Khīyābān. Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh began this court in 1818. His two successors continued the building, which was completed in 1855.

If one turns southwards from the *Dār al-Siyāda* already mentioned, one soon enters the area of the charming mosque endowed by Sulṭāna Djawhar Shādh and bearing her name. Like the Ṣaḥn-i Kuhna this older court, an oblong running N. to S. about 100 yards long and 90 broad, is broken in the middle of each of its four sides by an arched hall (*aiwān*), while the unbroken parts of the walls have rows of alcoves fitted up as dwellings. The largest and finest of these four aiwāns of the mosque, the *Aiwan-i Maḥṣūra* in the south (for *Maḥṣūra* = stall, cf. iii., p. 336), is used for prayers; in it is a wooden pulpit in which the Mahdī will one day show himself to the faithful. The entrance hall is covered by a blue dome which surpasses that on the tomb of the Imām in height and width, and is flanked by two high minarets covered with blue glass tiles. The centre of the court is occupied by the *Masdjid-i Pir-i Zan* = "Mosque of the Old Woman", a square unroofed area surrounded by a wooden balustrade around which runs water in a deep stone channel.

The Djawhar Shādh mosque is the noblest and finest building in the sacred area; cf. the opinions of Fraser, *Narrative*, p. 447; Vámbéry, *Meine Wanderungen* etc., p. 322 and Sykes, *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 1145. — Pictures of the mosque in Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p. 263; Yate, p. 344 (*Aiwan-i Maḥṣūra* and *Masdjid-i Pir-i Zan*); Diez, *Persien: Islam. Baukunst*, p. 45-48.

Of the various small sanctuaries which the pilgrim visit in the Hāram, only two need be mentioned here, the *Ziyārat Qadam-i Mubārak* or *Sharif* = "the place of pilgrimage of the blessed or excellent foot" also called *Djā-i Sang-i Čahār-pā* = "place of the foot-stone" (see the plan in Yate, p. 332, N^o. 16), a circular space covered by a dome (east of the north aiwān of the Djaw-

har *Shādh* mosque), in which reverence is paid to a dark grey oval-shaped stone said to contain an impression of 'Alī al-Riḍā's foot (cf. Massy, *op. cit.*, p. 1003—1004). The second noteworthy feature of the Bāst is a tall stone pillar, out of which a water basin has been roughly hewn. It is said to have fallen into the Bāst as a shapeless block from heaven (see Massy, *op. cit.*, p. 1002).

Inside of the sacred area are the richest and busiest bazars of the town, the most richly endowed madrasas, the most profitable caravanserais and the most popular baths. These are all, like the dwelling houses there, the absolute property of the Imām, the 'Alid buried here, i.e. of the ecclesiastical authorities who administer the sanctuary on his behalf. The whole Bāst belongs exclusively to them. This dead hand however has still more possessions in land, buildings, canals (*kanāt*, q.v.), in all the provinces of Persia, especially in the immediate and more distant vicinity of Meshhed. To the vast sums which these properties yield in produce and rents, are to be added the considerable payments for funerals and tombs, the gifts of pilgrims etc. There is also considerable expenditure, the payment of a considerable number of higher officials and of a large number of lower officials and servants, the maintenance of many pilgrims, the cost of repairs, lighting, decoration of the sanctuaries etc. The income of the Ḥaram in course of time has naturally varied. Towards the end of the Ṣafawid period it is said to have been about £ 15,000 while at the time of Fraser's first visit (1822), as a result of the troubled times, it had sunk to £ 2,000—2,500 (Fraser, *Narrative*, p. 456). Later travellers, like Basset (1878) and Curzon (1889), estimated the annual revenues of the Imām at £ 16,000 to £ 17,000 (without revenues in kind); for the last decade of the sixteenth century Massy (p. 1106) and Yate (p. 344) give £ 20,000. Ibrāhīm Beg's estimate (*op. cit.*, p. 43) of £ 40,000 is certainly much too high.

At the head of the administration of the Ḥaram there has been from early times a Mutawallī-Bāshī, who must be a layman. In view of the very influential position which this official occupies in his capacity as head of the greatest Persian sanctuary and treasurer of a very considerable estate, it is only natural that an appointment to such a position of trust is regarded as a very special honour. As it was not uncommon for disputes about the limits of their respective spheres of authority or other matters to arise between the holder of this office, the representative of ecclesiastical power, and the governor of *Khūrāsān*, the clerical element has since the middle of the sixteenth century been subordinated to the civil power by giving the office of Mutawallī-Bāshī to the governor of the time (see Yate, p. 322, 344). This very lucrative double office — the Mutawallī-Bāshī gets 10 % of the revenues of the Ḥaram — is as a rule only held for a few years by the same individual.

The Mutawallī-Bāshī is assisted by a staff of higher officials (*mutawallīs*). He has further at his command the varied hierarchy of the sacred area, among whom the *muḍṭahids* [q.v.], who have a thorough knowledge of religious law and are men of great prestige and influence, occupy the first place. Next comes a regular army of lower clerics (*mullās*) who conduct the services, teach in the schools and guide the rites of the pilgrims;

not a few of them make a living by supplying official documents sealed with the seal of the Imām (see the picture in Sykes, *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 278) which deal among other matters with the answering of petitions made by the pilgrims at the sacred tomb (cf. Khanikoff, p. 99). On the administration of the sanctuary of Meshhed cf. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 455—456; Curzon, i. 162—164; Massy, p. 1006 and especially Yate, p. 344—346.

As we know from mediaeval Arabic sources, pilgrimage to the tomb of 'Alī al-Riḍā began at an early date. We occasionally hear also of royal visits from the sixteenth century onwards.

As to the number of pilgrims who visit Meshhed annually we have different estimates for the sixteenth century but as exact figures can hardly be kept and the numbers vary greatly, they can only claim reliability to a very limited extent. While Yate (p. 334) gives the annual number for the last decade of the sixteenth century at 30,000, earlier travellers, except Marsh (1872: 20—30,000) give much higher figures, e.g. Bellew (1872): 40—50,000; Ferrier (1845): 50,000; Khanikoff (1858) and Eastwick (1862): over 50,000; Curzon 1889 even gives 100,000, but this is certainly too high. The numbers go up considerably when special religious ceremonies are going on, e.g. at the anniversary of 'Alī al-Riḍā's death (cf. the pictures in Diez, *Persien* etc., p. 46) and during the first third of the month of Muḥarram at the *Ta'ziya* [q.v.] in memory of the tragedy of Kerbelā. We have a full description of the Muḥarram festival of the year 1830 from Conolly (see his *Journey* etc., i. 267—284, 335—336) and a shorter one of 1894 by Yate (*op. cit.*, p. 144—148); cf. also the illustrations in Yate, p. 146 and the drawing by the painter 'Alī Riḍā 'Abbāsī of a Meshhed pilgrim at the time of the Muḥarram festival in Sarre and Mittwoch, *Zeichnungen des Riza Abbasi* (Munich 1914), Plate I (thereon p. 23, 49 and *Isl.*, ii. 216 sq.).

Every pilgrim who arrives has a right to free maintenance for three (according to Vámbéry: six) days. In the sacred quarter, south of the *Bālā Khayābān* (see the plan in Yate, p. 332), there is a special kitchen used exclusively for pilgrims, which gives out 5—600 free meals every day (cf. Vámbéry, *op. cit.*, p. 323; Goldsmith, *Eastern Persia*, i. 364 and Curzon, i. 162).

On the ceremonies which the pilgrims have to perform at their visit to the tomb of 'Alī al-Riḍā, we have accounts by Massy, *op. cit.*, and the notes supplied by Khān Bahādūr Ahmed al-Dīn Khān in Sykes, *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 144—45 and in the *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 240 sq. Special mention may be made of the three circumambulations (*ṭawāf* [q.v.]) of the tomb and the cursing of all enemies of the imām three times, especially the Caliphs Hārūn and Ma'mūn.

Every pilgrim who has performed the pilgrimage to 'Alī al-Riḍā's grave in the prescribed fashion is entitled to call himself *Meshhedī*.

Meshhed occupies first place among all the places of pilgrimage in Persia. Among the great sanctuaries of the Muslim world, Meshhed stands seventh in the view of Shī'a theologians, coming after, not only Mecca and Medina, but also the four specifically Shī'a sanctuaries of the 'Irāq, Nedjef, Kerbelā, Sāmarrā and Kāzīmāin, in this order (cf. Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p. xiii). According to a version current in Shī'a

circles which Curzon (i. 150) gives, Meshhed is entitled to the sixth place, coming between Kāzimāin as fifth and Sāmarrā which is put seventh.

The longing of every Shī'ī to find a last resting place in the shadow of one of the beloved Imāms caused extensive cemeteries to be laid out at an early date at the great centres of pilgrimage. Thousands of corpses are brought every year to Meshhed, mainly of course from Persia, but also from all the Shī'a lands, particularly India, also Afghānistān and Turkeṣtān. Nowhere in the whole of Persia are there so many tombs as at Meshhed. As the ground of the cemeteries must be used over and over again, the graves change their occupants every few years. Fine solid tombstones are not used, but simply rough blocks of granite or soapstone from the quarries of the neighbourhood (cf. also Conolly, i. 343—4 and Khanikoff, p. 105). Graves within the sacred quarter itself are naturally most desired. Every available space there is used for the purpose; the pavingstones in the courtyards are often tombstones for the dead below. The fees for graves within the Bāst, which vary with the distance from the Mausoleum of 'Alī al-Riḍā, bring a not inconsiderable revenue to the authorities.

Of the large cemeteries (*maḡbaras*) outside the Bāst the most important is the Maḡbara Kaṭl-i Gāh ("place of the killing") lying north of the sacred area. East of it is that of Saiyid Aḥmad in which three children of the seventh Imām, Mūsā al-Kāzim, are buried (cf. Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 8). In the Pa'in Khiyābān quarter is the Maḡbara Pir-i Pālāndūz. S. E. of the citadel is the cemetery of Gumbad-i Sābz ("green dome") which takes its name from a half ruined mausoleum there, now inhabited by dervishes (cf. Yate, p. 328; Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 9).

In the Nuḡān quarter is the Maḡbara Shāh-zāde Muḥammad (see Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 8). We may also mention that outside the Nuḡān gate on the site of the old town of Nuḡān (see above), are visible the remains of a gigantic cemetery on which, according to Sykes (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1116), there may be found stone sarcophagi with inscriptions carved upon them dating from 760 to 1099 (1359—1688).

Outside of Meshhed a good half hour's journey to the south, on rocky ground is the cemetery of Mirzā Ibrāhīm al-Riḍawī (see Mahdī, *op. cit.*, p. 8) and still further from the town, 3 miles north of it, that of Khwādja Rabī' (cf. Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 1124 and Ibn Sa'd, vi. 127 sq.). According to the popular view, he was a Sunnī in spite of his relations with 'Alī and is therefore in a way regarded as the patron of the Sunnīs in Khurāsān, of whom those who live in Meshhed are usually buried near his tomb. Rabī's mausoleum is one of the most interesting in the whole of Khurāsān: it is a large octagonal building crowned by a dome but now it is in a half ruined condition.

Meshhed is the centre of Muslim theological and legal studies in Persia. A number of colleges (*madrasas*) there are devoted to teaching these subjects. Lists of them with dates are given by Fraser (p. 456—460) who mentions 14 of the present 16 madrasas, also by Khanikoff (p. 107) who gives 13, and by Mahdī al-'Alawī (p. 9—12). The latter observes that there were 20 older colleges, of which he gives 15, and a number of more modern ones. Fraser also gives brief notes on the

possessions of the various madrasas and the clerics (*mullās*) attached to them. Yate (p. 329—330) simply mentions six of the best known. From these lists, which supplement one another in welcome fashion, we get the names of 20 colleges. From the dates of foundation we find that the oldest of the madrasas still standing in Meshhed is the Madrasa Dūdār, which was built in 823 (1420) by the Timūrid Sulṭān Shāh Rukh and restored by Sulaimān I. Under the same ruler was built the Pārizād Madrasa which was completely remodelled by Sulaimān I. From the time of 'Abbās II date the two almost contemporary colleges Khairāt Khān (1058 = 1649) and Mirzā Dja'far (1059 = 1650). The majority of the older colleges, no fewer than nine in number, date from the time of Sulaimān I, who also restored some buildings (1666—1694). As to the Kādjārs, one was founded in the reign of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh and two in that of Nāṣir al-Dīn, who also restored two that had fallen into ruins.

From the artistic point of view, the finest is the Madrasa of Mirzā Dja'far which was built and richly endowed in 1059 (1650) by a Persian of this name who had made a fortune in India. It is generally regarded as the third finest building in Meshhed, next to the Mausoleum of 'Alī al-Riḍā and the Djawhar Shādh Mosque. In its plan, with vaulted halls and courtyard with niches, and its rich decoration, it follows the style of the courts and mosques of the sacred area above described, typical of the ecclesiastical architecture of Persia (cf. above, iii. 439, 447 sq. and also Fraser, p. 466—467). Not only the Madrasa of Mirzā Dja'far but also other richly endowed colleges, like that of Pa'in-Pā (both of the time of Sulaimān I) owe their origin to Persians who had made fortunes in India (cf. on the foundation of the two last named colleges: Fraser, p. 457—459; Sykes, *The Glory* etc., p. 267—269). The most esteemed colleges are in the Bāst, namely the three already mentioned as the oldest, Dūdār, Pārizād and Khairāt-Khān, also Bālāsār and 'Alī Naḡī Mirzā. Others, like the above mentioned Mirzā Dja'far Madrasa and the Mustashār Madrasa have doors communicating with the Ṣaḥn-i Kūhna of the Ḥaram quarter.

Students also live in the madrasas, their maintenance being provided for by pious endowments. While in Khanikoff's time (1858) there were no outstanding teachers there and the number of students was small, the reputation of the Meshhed colleges went up again in the second half of the 19th century so that Sykes (*The Glory* etc., p. 267 sq.) in 1910 puts the attendance at 1,200 students, who came from Persia, India and other Shī'a regions. The student who wishes to take a higher theological training after the nine years' course at Meshhed must go to Meshhed 'Alī (Nedjef, q. v.) and attend the lectures of the teachers there, who are the first authorities on Shī'a theology.

We have no details of the libraries of the Meshhed colleges. Of the rich Faḍīl-Khān Madrasa, Fraser only says (p. 457) that it has a valuable library. The administration of the Ḥaram also has a large and valuable collection of books (on its location see the plan in Yate, p. 332, N^o. 65 and cf. N^o. 29), founded in the first half of the 19th century by Sulṭān Shāh Rukh. The treasures accumulated under him and his successors were for the most part lost when Meshhed was sacked by

the Özbegs under 'Abd al-Mu'min Khān (1589; cf. Yate, p. 318; Sykes, *The Glory* etc., p. 239; cf. also Herzfeld, in *Ephemerides Orientales*, 1926, No. 28, p. 7—8). A thorough examination of the manuscripts here might give valuable results.

In this connection we may mention the activity of the Meshhed printing presses (news-papers etc.), which began with the last decade of the sixteenth century; see thereon Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge 1914), p. 348 (Index, s. v. Meshed); Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, iv., Cambridge 1928, p. 223, 489; Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 12.

Meshhed is remarkably rich in mosques which are built in the sacred area, at cemeteries and at separate tombs, and are connected with madrasas and other buildings of a religious character.

Here we may also mention the Muṣallā which stands outside the town, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the Pā'in (Khiyābān) gate on the Herāt road. It is a hall (*aiwān*) about 30 feet high which opens into a gigantic arch about 60 feet high.

However picturesque Meshhed may look from outside, the impression one gets on entering it is far from pleasing, excepting the Bāst which forms a separate enclave. Except for the already described broad main street (Khiyābān), there are only narrow dark alleys the level of which is almost always considerably above that of the inner courts of the houses of brick, so that they can only be entered by long gloomy passages (cf. Khanikoff, p. 304; Yate, p. 328).

As to the population of Meshhed, — the permanent residents, excluding the many pilgrims, — it was at its highest in the reign of Nādir Shāh, who frequently held his court here and in every way contributed to the prosperity of the town. At that date Meshhed had not less than 60,000 inhabitants. But the half century of turmoil which followed the reign of Nādir Shāh brought about a great decline in the town so that only 3,000 houses were reckoned there in 1796 (cf. Yate, p. 330). In the sixteenth century began a slow but steady rise. Truilhier in 1807 estimated the number of houses at 4,000; Fraser in 1822 at 7,700 with 25–30,000 inhabitants. Conolly (1830) and Burnes (1832) estimate 40,000 inhabitants; Ferrier (1845) and Khanikoff (1858) at 60,000. In 1874 Khurāsān suffered a terrible famine and 24,000 in Meshhed alone died of starvation (see Goldsmid, i. 361). Baker is too high in putting the figure at 80,000 in 1873 and Curzon too low at 45,000 for 1889. Meshhed at the present day is said to have 100,000 inhabitants (see Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 4); it is in any case the third largest town in Persia.

The permanent population of Meshhed is a rather mixed one; in consequence of the great influx of pilgrims and the commerce which was very great at least in an earlier period, many foreigners (Turkomans, Afghāns, Indians etc.) settled in Meshhed. Except for a very small section, all the Muslims of the town are Shī'is. The small number of Sunnis are mainly Afghāns and Turkomans. We have already mentioned that the Masjdīd-i Shāh and the Makbara Khwādja Rabi' are used by the Sunnis. The number of Christians is infinitesimal and is confined to a few Armenian traders and the personnel of English and Russian consulates established in 1889.

Nādir Shāh settled 100 Jewish families in Meshhed whom he had transplanted from Kazvin.

After his death their position became a miserable one, especially after the catastrophe which overwhelmed them in 1839. When in this year, during the celebration of the Muslim Kurbān festival, a Jewess on medical advice placed her hand, which was suffering from an eruption, in the bowels of a freshly slain street dog, the Muḥammadans took this for an insult to their religious observances. The excited mob, seizing the excuse, fell upon the Jewish quarter, plundering and murdering as they pleased and destroyed the synagogue. The surviving Jews had to adopt Islām. These Jewish converts are called Djadīd, more fully Djadīd al-Islām = "new comers to Islām", because their forced conversion is of recent date. The change of faith was only an external one; it is true that these Djadīd to avert suspicion regularly attend the mosque, but not a few of them are said to observe their old rites in secret. The number of Judeo-Muslims in Meshhed at the present day who are small traders, physicians, etc., was put by Bassett (1878) at 300 families, by Yate at 200. On the Jews of Meshhed and their persecution in 1839 cf. Truilhier, p. 273; Conolly, i., p. 304—308; J. Wolff, *Narrative*, p. 177, 394—396; Ferrier, p. 122—123; J. J. Benjamin (see *Bibl.*), p. 189—190; Vámbéry, *Wanderungen*, p. 324—325; Bassett, p. 230—233; Yate, p. 322.

The clerical element is strong in the Muslim population; everywhere one sees mullās, tolbās (students) and dervishes. The town swarms with saiyids (alleged descendants of 'Alī) among whom the Riḍawīs, who claim descent from 'Alī al-Riḍā, enjoy special privileges. Meshhed is not only one of the most fanatical cities in the whole Muslim world but also one of the most immoral in Asia. Prostitution, the so-called pilgrim marriage (Pers. *sighe*; cf. MUI'A and iv., p. 353^a, 355^a), sanctioned by the Imāmi group of the Shī'a, flourishes here. Most pilgrims take advantage of this institute of temporary marriage (cf. Khanikoff, p. 98; Curzon, i. 164—165; Ibrāhīm Beg, p. 45; Yate, p. 419; Allemagne, iii. 86—87).

The people of Meshhed are described as very superstitious; see especially Bassett, p. 228 *sq.* and the *Meshhed Stories* in Conolly, i. 316—318. Many stories are told of miracles wrought in the 'Alid sanctuaries: see Fraser, p. 451—452; Bassett, p. 426—427; Massy, p. 992—993, 1002; Yate, p. 325, 337.

The population of the town lives partly by catering for pilgrims and partly on local industries and commerce.

The industries, once very flourishing, have now declined. The famous manufacture of sword blades, introduced by a colony of workers transplanted by Timūr from Damascus, has now almost entirely disappeared (cf. Truilhier, p. 275; Fraser, p. 124; Ferrier, p. 468; Curzon, i. 166).

A speciality of Meshhed is the manufacture of decorated vessels (household utensils, like jugs, pots, dishes etc.) out of serpentine and dark grey soapstone (Meshhed stone), from the quarries $\frac{1}{2}$ hours south of Meshhed. This stone industry is old and the Arabic sources of the middle ages mention it as native to the district of Tūs and especially to the town of Nūkān (the predecessor of Meshhed); cf. *B. G. A.*, i. 258; ii. 313; iii. 324, 326; al-Muhallabī in Abu 'l-Fidā', p. 452; Abū Ḥamid al-Charnāṭī, in *J. A.*, 1925, p. 203; Yāqūt, iv. 824 and cf. G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*,

p. 389. For the sixth century cf. Truilhier, p. 274-275; Fraser, p. 469; Ferrier, p. 124; Bellew, p. 366-367; Baker, p. 184; MacGregor, i. 291-292; Bassett, p. 234; Curzon, i. 167.

The celebrated turquoise mines east of Nishāpūr (about 1½ days' journey distant; cf. FIRŪZEH and Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 368; Fraser, p. 409-420; Ferrier, p. 106-107; Khanikoff, p. 90-92; Bassett, p. 216-217; Yate, p. 399-408) at one time were of special significance in Meshhed's trade and industry. Meshhed was the centre of the turquoise trade; for the whole output of these mines came to it and they were controlled by Meshhed merchants. The turquoises were sorted in Meshhed and put into commerce there. Now however, the finest specimens are usually sent directly abroad from the mines and only pieces of inferior quality come to Meshhed, to be worked there by the still very stilled stone cutters into ornaments and souvenirs for pilgrims. On the turquoise industry of Meshhed cf. Truilhier, p. 274; Bellew, p. 367; Goldsmid, i. 365; Baker, p. 184.

Weaving is another important industry in Meshhed. The carpets produced here were at one time of immensely greater value than those of the present day, which are produced in factory fashion. The modern shawls of Kashmīr style are especially prized and known as Meshhedī, as are the velvets, which in Fraser's time were regarded as the best in Persia. On weaving in Meshhed cf. Fraser, p. 468; Ferrier, p. 124; Goldsmid, i. 365; Baker, p. 184-185; Curzon, i. 167; Ibrāhīm Beg, p. 47; Schweinitz, p. 27-28; Allemagne, iii. 110.

Until the second half of the sixth century, Meshhed was one of the first emporia of Eastern Iran. At the intersection of important caravan routes, it was the entrepôt for the trade of Central Asia and especially of Afghānistān. Since however Russia has become established in Turkistān and built the Transcaspian railway, Meshhed's through trade has much declined. Nevertheless the town must still be described as an important centre of traffic and trade, not least on account of the numerous pilgrim routes that lead to it. Meshhed is 150 miles from the Russian railway station of Ashkābād [q. v.], the capital of the Transcaspian area; there is a good road between the two towns.

For the housing of the numerous pilgrims and other strangers who come to Meshhed, a considerable number of caravanserais are available. In Fraser's time (1822), there were at least 25-30 such places in use, apart from some that had been abandoned and allowed to fall into ruins (see Fraser, *Narrative*, p. 460). Khanikoff (p. 107-108) gives 16, four of which, intended for pilgrims only, were inside the Bāst; of these latter the oldest is the Sulṭān Caravanserai, built by Ṭahmāsp I; others date from Sulaimān I.

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As to descriptions of Meshhed by Europeans we owe the first full description to Fraser (1822); Conolly (i. 260) and Burnes (ii. 78) both say it is thoroughly reliable. Valuable notes on the town are given by Conolly, Ferrier, Khanikoff, Eastwick, MacGregor, Bassett, O'Donovan, Curzon, Massy, E. Diez, and especially by C. E. Yate and Sykes, each of whom spent several years (1893-1897 and 1905-1912 resp.) in Meshhed as British Consul-General for Khorāsān. — Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (1404), *Embassy to the Court of Timur*, ed. C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Society, vol. xxvi., London 1859), p. 109-110; Truilhier (1807), in *Bulletin de la Société de Géogr.*, vol. ix., Paris 1838, p. 272-282; J. B. Fraser (1822), *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan in the years 1821-1822*, London 1825, p. 436-548; A. Conolly (1830), *Journey to the North of India*, London 1834, i. 255-289, 296-368; A. Burnes (1832), *Travels into Bokhara*, London 1834, ii. 76-87; J. B. Fraser (1833), *A Winter's Journey from Constantinople to Teheran*, London 1838, i. 213-255; J. Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara in the years 1843-1845*³, London 1846, p. 177-196, 386-408; J. P. Ferrier (1845), *Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia*², London 1857, p. 111-133; J. J. Benjamin, *8 Jahre in Asien und Europa*², Hanover 1858, p. 189-190; N. de Khanikoff (1858), *Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie centrale*, Paris 1861, p. 95-111; N. de Khanikoff, *Méched, la ville sainte et son territoire*, in *Le Tour du Monde*, Paris 1861, No. 95-96; Eastwick (1862), *Journal of a diplomat's three years residence in Persia*, London 1864, ii. 190-194; H. Vámbéry (1863), *Reise in Mittelasien*², Leipzig 1865 (1873), p. 248-258; identical with H. Vámbéry, *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse in Persien*, Pesth 1867, p. 313-327; H. W. Bellew (1872), *From the Indus to the Tigris*, London 1874, p. 358-368; Fr. John Goldsmid (and Evan Smith, 1872), *Eastern Persia*, London 1876, i. 356-366; H. C. Marsh (1872), *A ride through Islam etc.*, London 1877, p. 96-112; V. Baker (1873), *Clouds in the East*, London 1876, p. 177-194; C. M. MacGregor (1875), *Narrative of a Journey through the province of Khorasan*, London 1879, i. 277-309; ii. 4; J. Bassett (1878), *Persia, the Land of the Imams*, London 1887, p. 219-247; E. O'Donovan (1880), *The Merw Oasis*, London 1882, i. 478-502; ii. 1-14; A. C. Yate, (1885, brother

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MESHHEH 'ALĪ. [See NEDJAF.]

MESHHEH ḤUSAIN (KERBELĀ'), a place of pilgrimage west of the Euphrates about 60 miles S.S.W. of Baghdād on the edge of the desert (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 249). It lay opposite Kaṣr Ibn Hubaira (al-Iṣṭakhri, *B.G.A.*, i. 85; cf. al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 287; al-Makdisi, *B.G.A.*, iii. 121).

The name Kerbelā' is probably connected with Aram. Karbelā (Daniel, 3, 21) and Assy. Karbalatu (a kind of headdress) (G. Jacob, *Türkische Bibliothek*, xi. 35, note 2). It is not mentioned in the pre-Arab period.

After the taking of al-Hira, Khālīd b. al-Walid is said to have encamped in Kerbelā' (Yāqūt, iv. 250). On the Āshūrā' day (10th Muḥarram) 61 (Oct. 10, 680) the Imām Ḥusain b. 'Alī (cf. ii., p. 339) on the march from Mecca to the Irāk, where he intended to enforce his claims to the caliphate, fell in the plain of Kerbelā' in the district of Ninawā (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2190; Yāqūt, iv. 870; now according to Massignon: Khaimat Kā'a; according to Musil: Ishān Nainwa) in a battle with the troops of the governor of al-Kūfa and was buried in al-Ḥā'ir (Yāqūt, ii. 188 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, iii. 752; E. Herzfeld, cf. above, ii., p. 221).

The place where the decapitated body of the

Prophet's grandson was interred (on the fate of the head which was cut off and sent to Damascus to Yazīd I, cf. van Berchem, *Festschrift*, Ed. Sachau gewidm., Berlin 1915, p. 298—310), called Kaḥr al-Ḥusain, soon became a celebrated place of pilgrimage for the Shī'is (cf. art. SHĪ'A).

As early as 65 (684—685) we find Sulaimān b. Ṣurad going with his followers to Ḥusain's grave where he spent a day and a night (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 545 sq.). Ibn al-Aṭhīr (*Tārīkh*, ed. Tornberg, v. 184; ix. 358) mentions further pilgrimages in the years 122 (739—740) and 436 (1044—1045). The priests of Meshhed Ḥusain at quite an early date were endowed by the pious benefactions of Umm Mūsā, mother of the Caliph al-Mahdī (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 752).

The Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 236 (850—851) destroyed the tomb and its annexes and had the ground levelled and sown; he prohibited under threat of heavy penalties visiting the holy places (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1407; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *Nuḥḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 32). Ibn Hawḳal (ed. de Goeje, p. 166), however, mentions about 977 A.D. a large meshhed with a domed chamber, entered by a door on each side, over the tomb of Ḥusain, which in his time was already much visited by pilgrims. Ḍabba b. Muḥammad al-Asadī of 'Ain al-Tamr, supreme chief of a number of tribes, devastated Meshhed al-Ḥā'ir (Kerbelā') along with other sanctuaries, for which a punitive expedition was sent against 'Ain al-Tamr in 369 (979—980) before which he fled into the desert (Ibn Miskawaih, *Taḏjārīb al-Umam*, ed. Amedroz in *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ii. 338, 414). In the same year, the Shī'ī Buyīd 'Aḍud al-Dawla (cf. above, i. 143) took the two sanctuaries of Meshhed 'Alī (= al-Nadjaḥ) and Meshhed al-Ḥusain (M. Ḥairi) under his special protection (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii. 518; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *loc. cit.*).

Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl, who died in 414 (1023—1024), built a wall round the holy tomb at Meshhed al-Ḥusain (Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nuḍjūm*, ed. Popper, ii. 123, 141), as he also did at Meshhed 'Alī (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 154).

In Rabi' al-awwal 407 (Aug./Sept. 1016), a great conflagration broke out caused by the upsetting of two wax candles, which reduced the main building (al-Kubba) and the open halls (al-Arwiḳa) to ashes (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 209).

When the Saldjūk Sultān Malik Shāh came to Baghdād in 479 (1086—1087) he did not neglect to visit the two Meshheds of 'Alī and al-Ḥusain (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 103). The two sanctuaries at this time were known as al-Mashhadān (al-Bundārī al-Iṣfahānī, *Tawārīkh al-Saldjūk*, ed. Houtsma, in *Recueil des textes...*, ii. 77) on the analogy of the duals al-Irākān, al-Baṣratān, al-Ḥiratān, al-Miṣrān etc.

The Ilkhān Ghāzān in 1303 visited Kerbelā' and gave lavish gifts to the sanctuary. He or his father Arghūn is credited with bringing water to the district by leading a canal from the Frāt (the modern Nahr al-Ḥusainiyya) (A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelā'*, Berlin 1909, p. 40).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 99) visited Kerbelā' in 727 (1326—1327) from al-Hilla and describes it as a small town which lies among palm groves and gets its water from the Frāt. In the centre is the sacred tomb; beside it is a large madrasa and the famous hostel

(*al-zāwiya*) in which the pilgrims are entertained. Admission to the tomb could only be obtained by permission of the gate-keeper. The pilgrims kiss the silver sarcophagus, above which hang gold and silver lamps. The doors are hung with silken curtains. The inhabitants are divided into the *Awlād Rakhik* and *Awlād Fāyiz*, whose continual feuds are detrimental to the town, although they are all *Shī'is*.

About the same date, Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī (*op. cit.*) gives the circumference of the town as 2,400 paces; he mentions there also the tomb of Hurr Riyā (b. Yazid), who was the first to fall fighting for Ḥusain at Kerbelā'.

The Ṣafawid Shāh Ismā'īl I (d. 930 = 1524) made a pilgrimage to al-Nadījaf and Meshhed Ḥusain.

Sulṭān Sulaimān the Magnificent visited the two sanctuaries in 941 (1534–1535), repaired the canal at Meshhed al-Ḥusain (al-Ḥusainiyya) and transformed the fields which had been buried in sand into gardens again. The Manārat al-'Abd (see below), formerly called Engusht-i Yār, was built in 982 (1574–1575). Murād III in 991 (1583) ordered the Wālī of Baghdād, 'Alī Pasha b. Alwand, to build or more correctly restore a sanctuary over the grave of Ḥusain. Soon after the capture of Baghdād in 1623, 'Abbās the Great won the Meshheds for the Persian empire. Nādir Shāh visited Kerbelā' in 1743; while he is credited with gilding the dome in Meshhed 'Alī, he is also said to have confiscated endowments intended for the priests of Kerbelā'.

The great prosperity of the place of pilgrimage and its large number of inhabitants is emphasised on the occasion of the pilgrimage of 'Abd al-Karīm, a favourite of Nādir Shāh. Radiya Sulṭān Bēgum, a daughter of Shāh Ḥusain (1694–1722), presented 20,000 nādiris for improvements at the mosque of Ḥusain.

The founder of the Kādījār dynasty, Agha Muḥammad Khān, towards the end of the xviii century, presented the gold covering for the dome and the manāra of the sanctuary of Ḥusain (Jacob in A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 65, note 4).

In April 1801, in the absence of the pilgrims who had gone to al-Nadījaf, 12,000 Wāhhabīs under Shaikh Sa'ūd entered Kerbelā', slew over 3,000 inhabitants there and looted the houses and bazaars. In particular they carried off the gilt copper plates and other treasures of the sanctuary and destroyed the shrine. But after this catastrophe contributions poured in for the sanctuary from the whole *Shī'ī* world.

After a temporary occupation of Kerbelā' by the Persians, Nedjib Pasha in 1843 succeeded by force of arms in enforcing the recognition of Turkish suzerainty over the town; the walls of the present old town were now for the most part destroyed. The governor Midhat Pasha in 1871 began the building of government offices, which remained incomplete, and extended the adjoining market place (references for the history of Meshhed Ḥusain are given in A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 35–50).

At the present day with over 50,000 inhabitants, Kerbelā' is the second largest and perhaps the richest town of the 'Irāk. It owes its prosperity not only to the great number of pilgrims who visit the tomb of Ḥusain, but also to the fact that it is the most important starting point for the Persian pilgrim caravans to al-Nadījaf and Mecca, and through its situation on the edge of

the alluvial plain it is an important "desert port" for trade with the interior of Arabia.

The old town with its tortuous streets is surrounded by modern suburbs. About half to three quarters of the citizens are Persians, the remainder *Shī'ī* Arabs. The most important tribes among them are the Banī Sa'ad, Salālme, al-Wuzūm, al-Tahāmze and al-Nāshiriye. The Dede family is the richest: for constructing the Nahr al-Ḥusainiyya it was rewarded with extensive estates by Sulṭān Selim.

The name Kerbelā' strictly speaking only applies to the eastern part of the palm gardens which surround the town in a semi-circle on its east side (Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 41). The town itself is called al-Meshhed or Meshhed al-Ḥusain.

The sanctuary of the third Imām lies in a court yard (*ṣahn*) 354 × 270 feet in area, which is surrounded by *livāns* and cells. Its walls are decorated with a continuous ornamental band which is said to contain the whole *Qur'ān* written in white on a blue ground. The building itself is 156 × 138 feet in area. The rectangular main building entered by the "golden outer hall" (picture in Grothe, *Geogr. Charakterbilder*, pl. lxxviii., fig. 136) is surrounded by a vaulted corridor (now called *djāmī*; A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 3) in which the pilgrims go round the sanctuary (*ṭawāf*) (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², p. 109–112). In the middle of the central domed chamber is the shrine (*ṣandūqa*) of Ḥusain about 6 feet high and 12 long surrounded by silver *maṣhrabiyya* work, at the foot of which stands a second smaller shrine, that of his son and companion-in-arms 'Alī Akbar (Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, viii. 303).

"The general impression made by the interior must be called fairy like, when in the dusk — even in the daytime it is dim inside — the light of innumerable lamps and candles around the silver shrine, reflected a thousand and again a thousand times from the innumerable small crystal facets, produces a charming effect beyond the dreams of imagination. In the roof of the dome the light loses its strength; only here and there a few crystal surfaces gleam like the stars in the sky" (A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 25 sq.).

The sanctuary is adorned on the Kibla face with magnificent and costly ornamentation. Two manāras flank the entrance. A third, the Manārat al-'Abd, rises before the buildings on the east side of the *ṣahn*; south of it the face of the buildings surrounding the court recedes about 50 feet; on this spot is a Sunnī mosque. Adjoining the *ṣahn* on the north side is a large medrese the courtyard of which measures about 85 feet square with a mosque of its own and several *miḥrābs* (on the present condition of the sanctuary: cf. A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 5–26, on its history p. 35–50 and on its architectural history, p. 51–66).

About 600 yards N. E. of the sanctuary of Ḥusain is the mausoleum of his half-brother 'Abbās. On the road which runs westward out of the town is the site of the tent of Ḥusain (*Khaimagāh*). The building erected there (plan in Nöldeke, pl. vii.; photograph in Grothe, pl. lxxxviii., fig. 145) has the plan of a tent and on both sides of the entrance there are stone copies of camel saddles.

On the desert plateau (*ḥammād*) west of the town stretch the graves of the devout *Shī'is*. North of the gardens of Kerbelā' lie the suburbs, gardens

and fields of al-Bķere, N.W. those of Qurra, S. those of al-Ghādhiriya (Yāķūt, iii. 768). Among places in the vicinity, Yāķūt mentions al-ʿAkr (iii. 695) and al-Nawāyih (iv. 816).

A branch line diverging north of al-Ḥilla connects Kerbelā with the Baghdād-al-Baṣra railway. Caravan roads lead to al-Ḥilla and Naḍjaf. The sanctuary of Ḥusain still has the reputation of securing entrance to Paradise for those buried there, wherefore many aged pilgrims and those in failing health go there to die on the holy spot.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

MESHHEḌ-I MIŞRIYÂN, a ruined site in Transcaspiana (Türkmenistān), N. W. of the confluence of the Atrak and its right bank tributary the Sumbar, or more exactly, on the road which runs from Čat at right angles to the road connecting Čikishlār with the railway station of Aydn.

The ruins are surrounded by a wall of brick and a ditch and have an area of 320 acres. The old town, situated in the steppes which are now peopled by Turkomans, received its water from a canal led from the Atrak about 40 miles

above Čat. Near the latter place the canal diverged northwards from the river, crossed the Sumbar by a bridge and finally followed an embankment 6 feet high on which the bed of the canal was 12 feet broad.

The ruins of a fine mosque can still be seen, the gateway of which, decorated with faience, has an inscription according to which this *ṭāq* was built by ʿAlāʾ al-Dunyā wa ʿl-Dīn Ghīyāth al-Islām wa ʿl-Muslimin Zill Allāhī fī ʿl-ʿĀlamin Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Takīsh Burhān Amir al-Muʾminīn. The Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad in question reigned 1200—1220. On one of the two towers (minarets?) is written: *bismillāh... barakatun min Allāhī nimma amara bihi Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Abi ʿl-Agharr ṣāhib al-ribāʿ, ʿazzahu ʿllāhu*. ʿAmal ʿAlī R... (?). The identity of this Aḥmad is unknown but the title “lord of the ribāʿ” which he gives himself, confirms the fact that M.-Mişriyān was a frontier fortress (ribāʿ). Near the east gate stood another white mosque.

Tradition (Conolly) ascribes the destruction of Mişriyān to the “Kalmuk Tatars”. The appearance of the Kalmuks in these regions may be dated about 1600.

The name Meshhed-i Mişriyān (variants: Mestorian, Mest-Debran, Mest-Dovran, Mastān) is obscure, unless Mestorian is to be explained as *Nestoriyan “Nestorian Christians”; it may be recalled that during his campaign in the Čöl (**صول*), to the east of the Caspian, Yazdagird II persecuted the Christians (Hoffmann, p. 50; Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, 1904, p. 126).

The site of the ruins (to the north of Djurdjan) is given the name Dihistān in Muslim sources, which recalls the name of the old Scythian people Dahi who led a nomadic life on the Atrak (Greek *Δάι* and *Δάου*; cf. Tomaschek in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* 2, iv., col 1945). From the Dahian clan of the Parnoi was descended the Arshakid dynasty which imposed its authority on the Parthians (cf. Minorsky, *Transcaucasia*, *J. A.*, 1930, July-Sept., p. 56).

The basin of the Atrak (the ancient *Σάπριος*) is at the extreme limit of the lands described in the classical and Muḥammadan geographers. The sources mention several settlements in Dihistān but in a somewhat confusing fashion. As the analysis by Hoffmann and by Barthold has shown, a distinction must be made between: 1. the settlement on the sea-shore, 2. the town of Dihistān and 3. the ribāʿ Dihistān.

1. The first of these was built on a promontory (*dakhla*) behind which ships could shelter. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 130, reads the name concealed in the variants in *Iṣṭakhrī*, p. 219, note 6, as “Dihistān Bayāsin” which he connects with the district of Bayāsān mentioned (in Djurdjan!) by Ṭabarī, ii. 1330; Balādhuri, p. 337 and Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 35. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* mentions a peninsula of Dihistān-Sūr on the coast of Dihistān. This *سر* may be an echo of the name of the

Turkish (?) princes *صل* or *صل* (Hoffmann, p. 281) who attacked Djurdjan from the north (Ibn al-Athīr, iii. 22). Lastly Ṭabarī, ii. 1325, locates an island of Buḥaira 5 farsakhs from Dihistān. Barthold identifies all these names with the cape of Ḥasan-Kuli which shelters the bay into which the Atrak flows. [Cf. also the article TÜRĀN, on the Diz-i Alānān mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma*].

A difficulty is raised by İştakhrî (p. 219) who puts at 50 farsakhs and p. 226 at 6 *marhala* (each of $82\frac{1}{3}$ farsakhs) the distance between Abaskun (at the mouth of the river Djurdjân, now Gümüş-tâpâ?) and the cape of Dihistân in question. If we follow this double indication literally, we ought (with Hoffmann, p. 279, who reads the name "Dihistân-Tabāshir") to move the cape of Dihistân considerably to the north, in the bay of Krasnowodsk, which is certainly a very important place. In this case the cape would be a different one from Buḥaira = Ḥasan Kuli (Hoffmann, p. 278).

2. The town of Dihistân, according to the middle Persian list of the towns of Ērân, was founded by a certain Narsahē the Arshakid (Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 73) and according to the *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, p. 166, by the Sāsānid Ḳubād b. Firūz. According to Muḳaddasī, the town of Dihistân was called Akhūr. Ṭabari locates (the town of) Dihistân 23 farsakhs from (the river of) Djurdjân and, as we have seen, 5 farsakhs from Buḥaira. This latter distance is by the way less than the actual distance between Ḥasan-Kuli and Meshhed-i Mişriyân.

3. The ruins of Meshhed-i Mişriyân (as the inscription on the mosque suggests!) must correspond to the ribāṭ of Dihistân which Muḳaddasī, p. 358 (cf. also p. 312, 367, 372) mentions distinct from Akhūr. This ribāṭ situated on the borders of the steppes had fine mosques and rich markets. Relying on Yakūt, i. 39, Barthold thinks that in the xiith century the ribāṭ (and not Akhūr to the east of the Djurdjân-ribāṭ road) was the capital of the district of Dihistân.

Bibliography: The Muslim sources in the text; *Hudūd al-Ālam* (anonym. geography of 372=983), ed. Barthold, Leningrad 1930, fol. 58; Conolly, *Journey to the North of India*, London 1838, i. 76—77; Vámbéry, *Reise in Mittelasien* 2, Leipzig 1873, p. 85 (fantastic statements on the Greek origin of the ruins); Lomakin, *Osmotr rasvalin Meshed-i Mesterian*, Izv. Kavk. Otd. Russ. Geogr. Obšč., iv., N^o. 1, p. 15—17; A. Kohn, *Die Ruinen d. alten Städte Mesched und (sic!) Mesterian*, Globus, 1876, N^o. 71; Blaraberg, *Die Ruinen d. Stadt Mestorian*, Pet. Mitt., 1876, xxii., N^o. 1; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, 1880, p. 277—281 (lucid analysis of the Arabic statements); Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 51, 73, 310; Barthold, *Istor.-geogr. obzor Irana*, 1903, p. 82; Semenov, *Nadpisi na portale mečeti v Meshed-i Mişrian*, Zap., xviii., p. 0154—0157; Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 31—37 (this little known work contains a minute description of the basins of the rivers of Turkestan).

(V. MINORSKY)

MESİHÎ (originally İsa), an important Ottoman poet of the time of Bāyazid II. Born in Prishtina (northern Albania), he came as a youth to Constantinople where he became a *sofîa* (theological student) and distinguished himself as a calligrapher. In the end he won the favour of the grand vizier Khādim 'Alî Pasha [q. v.] and became his diwān-secretary. But his irregular life and carelessness in the performance of his duties frequently irritated his patron ('Alî Pasha called him *Shehr oghlanı*). He held his post, however, till the death of 'Alî Pasha in 917 (1511) in battle against the Shî'î rebels under Shāh Kūllî. Mesîhî wrote an elegy on his death, full of the deepest emotion.

His attempts to find a new patron failed. He had to be content with a miserable fief in Bosnia where he soon died in 918 (1512), poor and forgotten and still quite young.

According to Ahmad Pasha [q. v.] and Nedjâtî (d. 914 = 1509), Mesîhî was regarded as the third great Ottoman poet and the greatest lyric poet before Bâkî. He is a most artistic and original figure. His output was not extensive, but of lasting influence. His *Diwân* has not yet been printed, a fate common to nearly all important Turkish poets. In his lyric poems he is above the average of contemporary poets. In addition to the grace and delicacy of his diction, there is a certain novelty in his style. New images and pictures are introduced with great boldness, perhaps a result of his Albanian blood. The best known of his poems, in Europe is his Ode to Spring (*murebb'â*) which Sir William Jones published with a Latin translation: *Poeses Asiaticae commentariorum libri sex*, Leipzig 1774 and has been repeatedly reprinted (by Toderini, by Wieland in the *Deutsche Merkur*, by J. von Hammer etc.). His *Diwân* is also of importance linguistically, for it bears the stamp of the Rumelian dialect.

Mesîhî's most original work is his *Methnewî*, *Shehr-engiz* (the "Thriller of the Town"), which is also the most original work in Turkish literature down to Mesîhî's time. It is original in subject also, as it did not have a Persian model. It introduced quite a new style of poem, which was frequently imitated. *Shehr-engiz* represents the first attempt at humorous verse in Turkey, and its language is very close to the spoken speech. Here Mesîhî could write Turkish to his heart's content, while in other forms he had to use the learned jargon. He laments in one passage that without Persian and Arabic there would be no room for him as a poet, even if he had come down from heaven.

Shehr-engiz is a burlesque catalogue of the beautiful "boys" of Adrianople — it is interesting to note that they are all Muḥammadan — and became popular on account of its unaffected language.

As a product of his activity as a secretary, we have also a collection of *inshâ*, elegant specimens of epistolary style, not without historical interest, entitled *Gül-i Şad Berg* (the hundred-leaved rose). I have a manuscript of this work, which seems to be rather rare, of 991 (1583) entitled *Inshâ-i Mesîhî*.

Bibliography: Sehi, *Hesht Bihisht*, Constantinople 1325, p. 109; Latîfî, *Tenkere*, Constantinople 1314, p. 309—311; Thureiyâ, *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, Constantinople 1311, iv. 369; Sâmi, *Kâmûs*, Constantinople 1316, vi. 4286; Ahmâd Rifât, *Lughât-i tâ'rikhiye*, Constantinople 1300, v. 80; H. Ḥusām al-Din, *Amasiya Tâ'rikhi*, Constantinople 1927, iii. 260; Nedjib 'Aşim, *Mesîhî Diwânı*, T.O.E.M., i. 300—308 (*Notices historico-sociologiques tirées du divan de Messihî*); Mehmed Tâhir, *'Othmânî Müellîferi*, Constantinople 1333, ii. 410 (the *Diwân* in the Ḥamidiya-Library is numbered N^o. 483 [not 473]; I could not find the copy of the *Inshâ* in the Cat. of the Nûr-i 'othmāniye); Hammer, *G.O.D.*, i. 297—302; *G.O.R.* 2, i. 679; Smirnov, *Očerki istorii*, St. Petersburg 1891, iv. 477 (Korš); Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1902, ii. 226—256; the Catalogues by Pertsch (Berlin, Gotha), Rieu a.o.

(TH. MENZEL)

METĀWILA. [See MUTAWĀLĪ.]

MEWLĀNĀ HUNKĀR, a title of the head of the Mawlawī Order [see MAWLAWĪYA]. The second word is the Turkish form of the Persian *khudāwānīgār*, the equivalent of *mawlā*, which according to Afāki (*Saints des Derviches Tournours*, i. 59) was bestowed on Djalāl al-Dīn by his father. Sāmī in his Turkish Lexicon states that the word, besides being used for "Sultān", "King", is applied to certain saintly personages, in such combinations as *pīr hunkār* or *mullā hunkār*. The underlying idea of such a title is probably that the saint has had committed to him the government of the world, if he choose to undertake it, an idea elaborated by Ibn 'Arabī (*Futūḥāt Makkiya*, i. 262; ii. 407), who regards such a saint as the true *khālifa*. The title *celebi* is more generally recognized as that belonging to the head of the Mawlawī Order (Sāmī, *loc. cit.*, p. 510a).
(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

MEZZOMORTO, an Ottoman Grand Admiral whose real name was ḤĀDJĪ HUSEIN PASHA.

Ḥādjī Husein Pasha, known as Mezzomorto, i. e. "half-dead" because he was severely wounded in a naval battle, came from the Balearic Islands, if A. de la Motraye's statement (*Voyages*, The Hague 1727, i. 206) that he was born in Mallorca is right. He probably spent his youth sailing with corsairs on the seas off the North African coast. He first appears as a desperate pirate in the summer of 1682 in the Barbary States. When France was preparing to deal a decisive blow at the pirates of Algiers, whose arrogance had passed all bounds, he was handed over as a hostage to the French after the bombardment of Algiers, but managed to return there, to strike down with his own hand, in a mutiny of the mercenaries which he had stirred up, the Dey of Algiers Baba Ḥasan, who was ready to make peace and to fight his way to the head of the state (summer of 1683, cf. Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, v. 51 sq.). Husein Re'is in the following year concluded with Louis XIV of France a truce for a hundred years, which however was only of brief duration. His own rule over Algiers was not long either (till 1688; cf. A. Bernard, *L'Algérie*, Paris 1929, p. 159). About ten years later, in Muḥarram 1107 (Aug. 1695), Husein Re'is, who had already distinguished himself as commander of a galleon (*kālīn kapudān*), was appointed Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (*kapudān-i deryā*) in succession to 'Amūd-jazāde Husein Pasha, who was appointed governor of Adana after the taking of Chios. He owed his promotion to his skillful seamanship at the capture of Chios where he distinguished himself in the battle with the Venetian fleet (spring of 1695). In 1697 Husein Pasha inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Venetian Captain General Alessandro Molino off the island of Lemnos, and in the following year in a naval fight on July 6 with Molino's successor, Giacomo Cornaro, near Mytilene it was very doubtful whether the Crescent on the Lion of St. Mark gained the victory (cf. Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, v. 183, from the account by the *inquisitore* Garzoni in his *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia*, Venice 1705, p. 644 sqq., 691 sqq., 748 sqq. and 775 sqq.). Ottoman authorities and the historian Rashīd (fol. 231; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 635) credit the victory to the Ottomans. In 1113, Mezzomorto was dismissed from his rank and re-

placed by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Pasha. He retired to Chios, where his adventurous life came to an end in the same year on the 13th Šafar 1113 (July 20, 1701, according to Šafwet, *op. cit.*), on the 14th Šafar 1114 (i. e. July 9, 1702) according to others. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 766 and vii. 624, gives the date as 15th Rabi' 1113 (Aug. 20, 1701). One of these dates is probably that of his dismissal.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text cf. Šafwet Bey, *Kapudān Mezmortā Husein Pasha*, Stambul 1327, Admiralty Press, 129 pp. small-8°, reprint from the periodical *Djerede-i bahriye*, documents and original sources relating to Mezmorto; cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 397 sq.; H. D. Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque*, Paris 1887; E. Planetet, *Correspondance des deys d'Alger avec la cour de France*, Paris 1890. (FR. BABINGER)

MİDHANA. [See MANĀRA.]

MIDḤAT PASHA, Ottoman statesman, twice grand vizier.

Midhat Pasha was born in Stambul in Šafar 1238 (beg. Oct. 18, 1822), the son of Ḥādjī 'Alī Efendi-Zāde Ḥādjī Ḥāfız Meḥmed Ešref Efendi, a native of Ruščuk. The family seem to have been professed Bektāshīs and Midhat Pasha also had a leaning towards them. His earliest youth was spent in his parents' home at Widdin, Lofča (Bulgaria) and later in Stambul, where his father held judicial offices. In 1836 he was working in the secretariat of the grand vizier and later he filled confidential posts in various governorships (including two years in Damascus), in 1844 he came to Konya and in 1849 became second, in 1851 first secretary to the Council (*medjlis-i wālā*). In 1854 the grand vizier Kibrizli Meḥmed Pasha gave him the difficult task of pacifying the provinces of Adrianople and the Balkans and clearing them of robber bands. Here he displayed for the first time his special talents for administration, which were not unnoticed by the Porte and soon afterwards brought him the appointment of governor of the Danube districts (Widdin, Silistria). In 1858 he spent six months travelling for study in western Europe, including Vienna, Paris, Brussels and London. In 1861 he was appointed governor (*wālī*) of Niš and Prižren with the rank of vizier, where he earned distinction by his pacification of the country, so that, when the new organisation of wilāyets was carried out in 1864, he was given the model province, Danube-Bulgaria (*Tuna Wilāyeti*). During his four years' governorship, he raised the province to a level rare in Turkey, although it was only under his successor that the people learned to thank him for it. He built schools and educational institutes everywhere, created funds to make advances to and support useful undertakings, built hospitals, granaries, roads (2,000 miles) and bridges (1,400) and improved communications in every way. As he required money for all these progressive undertakings, which the government could not give him and he would not raise by abuse of taxation, he raised the necessary funds by "voluntary contributions" from the people. The Bulgars, with whom for nationalist reasons he had no sympathy, suffered not a little from the enterprising spirit and unrestrained love of work of the young governor who, of unbending will and inexorable severity, was of a nature not attractive, but rather arrogant and conceited. At the same time he was quite modern in his views and had no scruples about

introducing absolute equality between Christians and Muslims in his province. He proceeded ruthlessly against agitators and rebels, dismissed incompetent officials and brought extortionists to book. His most rigorous steps were directed against the Russian Pan-Slav intrigues, the leaders of which he ruthlessly hanged. Although in a few years he made the Danube province the richest in Turkey without it costing the state a piastre, in 1869 Midhat Pasha, who had incurred the hostility of the Russians, was deprived of his office and sent to remote Baghdad as governor and commander of the vith Army Corps. Midhat Pasha was not dismayed, but went to work with renewed energy to develop his new governorship. He laid roads, started horse-tramways, built a technical school, founded a savings bank, instituted regular steamship traffic on the Tigris between Baghdad and several harbours on the Persian Gulf and urged the building of a "Euphrates railway". Under the pretext that he had taken part in a conspiracy against the Sultān, Midhat Pasha, who had already earned the gratitude of the Baghdad province and also won Nedjd for the Ottoman empire, was summoned to Stambul where his enemy, the grand vizier Maḥmūd Nedim Pasha, had chosen him for the office of wālī of Adrianople. Instead of this, on the fall of his rival, Midhat Pasha was appointed grand vizier on Aug. 1, 1872, only to be dismissed on October 19. It was clearly shown that his real strength lay in provincial administration. All possible elements combined to bring about his fall: Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz could not endure him because he opposed his mad whims; the Old Turks regarded him as an infidel because he planned his measures regardless of dogmatic objections; he was most unpopular with the Russians because he had taken sharp measures to deal with the Slav Bulgar intrigues. Midhat Pasha retired into private life as *persona ingrata*. In the grand vizierate of Es'ad Pasha, he became minister of justice on March 15, 1873 and held this office still under his successor Shīrwānī-zāde Meḥmed Rūshdī Pasha till Sept. 29, 1873. In the following October, the governorship of Salonika was given to him which he only accepted with reluctance and held for barely three months. On Feb. 17, 1874 he was again dismissed and retired once more to private life. He used the leisure thus forced upon him to work out the schemes which he later unfolded and which meant a decisive change in the orientation of the Ottoman empire. In August 1875 his old enemy Maḥmūd Nedim Pasha, who had again received the imperial seals, appointed him minister of justice but by November he had handed in his resignation, which was accepted. The empire was then in a state of complete confusion risings, famine, an empty treasury and a half mad sultān. Midhat Pasha then composed his famous memorandum of March 9, 1876, which was to have such momentous results. On May 20, 1876 he entered the cabinet of the grand vizier Müterdīm Meḥmed Rūshdī Pasha as minister without portfolio. In the night of May 30, Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz was deposed and Murad V raised to the throne of his fathers. On July 15, a proclamation issued in the name of the new sovereign used for the first time the word "constitution". Midhat Pasha was the soul of the new movement and he worked ardently with a few kindred spirits to give Turkey a constitution. Sultān Murad V became insane and was replaced by his brother 'Abd al-Ḥamid; on December 18,

1876 Midhat Pasha became grand vizier for the second time, and five days later, the constitution was solemnly proclaimed. The reactionary party and a powerful camarilla never ceased its endeavours to bring about the fall of Midhat Pasha and to bring his progressive schemes to nought. Under the pretext of high treason he was dismissed on Feb. 5, 1877 and banished to Europe. He was put upon a steamer and went via Rome and Paris to England. He was only permitted to return in 1878 and then only to Crete. In November 1878 under pressure from England, he was appointed governor-general of Syria. In 1880 he was transferred to Smyrna as governor. Here 'Abd al-Ḥamid's wrath overwhelmed him. In May 1881 he was arrested and brought to Stambul. The ludicrous charge of having caused the assassination of Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz was brought against him. Midhat Pasha was condemned to death but the sentence was not carried out. He was banished for life to Tā'if in Arabia. After repeated attempts to poison him, he was strangled on April 10, 1883 (Radjab 29, 1301) in prison. In this tragic fashion ended the life of one of the most notable and best statesmen of Turkey, perhaps the most important administrator that the Ottoman empire has produced in modern times. Midhat Pasha had a son, 'Ali Ḥaidar Midhat Bey, who after his death conducted a campaign to clear his memory and wrote a very full life of his father.

Bibliography: The main source for the life of Midhat Pasha is the work of his son 'Ali Ḥaidar Midhat Bey, which appeared in 2 vols. entitled *Midhat Pasha, Hayāt-i siyāsiyesi, khidmātī, menfā hayātī* at Stambul in 1325 (1909) (vol. 1: *Tabşire-i 'ibret*; vol. 2: *Mir'āl-i Ḥairat*, Hilāl press). — He had previously published *The Life of Midhat Pasha. By his son Ali Haydar Midhat*, London 1903, xii., and *Midhat-Pacha, sa vie — son œuvre. Par son fils Ali Haydar Midhat Bey*, Paris 1908, xxiii. A kind of translation of these works is: Yūsuf Kamāl Bey Hātāta, *Mudhakkirāt Midhat Bāshā*, Cairo 1331 (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 395, note). Of the wealth of literature on Midhat Pasha we may mention: Léouzon-le-Duc, *Midhat Pacha*, Paris 1877; Bénéit Brunswick, *La vérité sur Midhat Pacha*, Paris 1877; A. Clician Vassif Effendi, *Son Altesse Midhat-Pacha, Grand Vizir*, Paris 1909, vii.; *Un horrible assassinat commis sur l'ordre spécial du Sultan Abdul-Hamid II. Assassinat de Midhat Pacha d'après les documents officiels de la Jeune Turquie, publ. par le Comité Ottoman d'Union et de Progrès*, Geneva 1898, also *Midhat Pasha we-Dāmād Maḥmūd Pasha Ḥaḍretiniñ Sultān 'Abd ul-Ḥamid-iñ Emrile Kaifiyet Şehādettleri*, Geneva 1314 (1896); Thuraiyā Rif'at, *Midhat Pashaniñ Kātilleri*, Stambul 1324; of importance for the political ideas of Midhat Pasha are his own publications: *Feryād we-Fighānlar*, Stambul 1326, political apology; *Akwāl al-Dawla al-'othmāniya al-siyāsiya bi 'l-Nazar ila 'l-Mādī wa 'l-Hāl wa 'l-Istiḳbāl. La Turquie, son passé, son avenir. Ta'lif Midhat Bāshā wa-ḥad tarḍamahā* Khālil Efendi al-Khūrī, Bairūt 1879; thereon Meḥmed Rūshdī, *Midhat Pashaniñ Waḡiyet-Nāmesī we-Şehādettī*, Stambul 1325. — Of European works on the life and work of Midhat Pasha may be mentioned: [A. D. Mordtmann sen.], *Stambul und das moderne Türkenthum*, New Series,

Leipzig 1878, p. 82 sqq.; [Gg. Dempwolff], *Serail und Hohe Pforte*, Vienna 1879, p. 237 sqq.; Carl. v. Sax, *Geschichte des Machtverfalls der Türkei*, Vienna 1908, p. 375 sqq. But the western sources have mainly to be used with caution, as the very varying statements about his origin, date and place of birth show.

(FR. BABINGER)

MIDILLÜ, Turkish form for Mytilene, name of the island of Lesbos, which in the middle ages had already taken the name of its capital. The island is about 650 sq. m. in area and has two large gulfs, the Gulf of Kalloni (Kālānia) and that of Jeros (Kelemia).

When the Muslims first became acquainted with the island, it belonged to the Byzantine empire. Its conquest in the reign of the emperor Alexios Comnenos in 484 (1091) by the Emir of Smyrna, Tzachas, father-in-law of the Seldjūk Kılıdji Arslan I b. Sulaimān, was only temporary. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins (1204), the island passed for a time to the Venetians. In 1355, the emperor John Palaeologos, on the marriage of his sister with the Genoese Francesco Gattilusio, granted the island to the latter as a fief. It belonged to this family when Mehmed II the Conqueror took Constantinople in 1454. The islands of the Aegean had to pay tribute to the Turks, to which the Gattilusio in the hope of retaining their position readily agreed; and when the grand vizier Hāmza Pasha in 1456 anchored off Lesbos on the voyage to Rhodes, the prince Dorino Gattilusio sent rich gifts to the Turkish commander through the historian Ducas. After the death of Dorino, his son and successor Domenico sent an embassy under the same Ducas to try to gain the good graces of the Sultān, but the Turks imposed rather harsh conditions. In 1458 Domenico was slain by his brother Nicolas who had escaped from Lemnos and the latter seized the island. On the pretext that he had given shelter to the pirates who harassed the Asia Minor coast and had committed other acts hostile to the Sultān, Mehmed in 1462 set out against Lesbos. The grand vizier Mahmūd Pasha conducted the siege of the capital. It was taken after 27 days' bombardment and the Sultān received the surrender of the island in person ('Ashik Pasha Zāde, ed. Giese, Leipzig 1929, p. 156 sq.; Hādjdji Khalifa, *Tuhfet al-Kibār fi Esfār al-Bihār*, Constantinople 1141 [1728-1729], fol. 6b; Hammer, ii. 15, 67; Zinkeisen, ii. 226, 239 sqq.). A mosque in the citadel of Midillü was built by Fātiḥ; cf. Newton, i. 117; Koldewey, p. 11.

Attempts of the Venetians under Orsato Giustiniani (1464) to take the island from the Turks failed (v. Hammer, ii. 83 sq.). An expedition against the island in 1500 of the allied French and Venetian fleets was thwarted by the Turkish forces (v. Hammer, ii. 327; Hādjdji Khalifa, *op. cit.*, fol. 10a). Since that date the island had been in undisturbed possession of the Turks until during the Balkan War it was handed over to the Greeks on Nov. 24, 1912 and finally conceded to them by the Peace of London of May 30, 1913, although with certain reservations by Turkey.

The island, the largest in the Archipelago, belonged to the "wilāyet of the Archipelago" (*Djessir-i Bahr-i sefid*) and formed in it the sandjak of Midillü with 5 kaza's: Midillü (with the capital, in the east of the island), Pilemar (= Plomary, in the south), Molowa (= Moliwo, the an-

cient Methymna, in the north), Sighri in the west of the island; and lastly the Junda Islands (Moskonisi) east of Midillü; cf. Sami, *Qamūs al-'A'lām*, col. 1894, 4243; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 449-472; cf. also: Suleimān Fa'ik, *Rehba-i Deryā*, i. (Stambul 1299), p. 55-59. — According to Bae-deker 1914, the island had 140,500 inhabitants of whom $\frac{6}{7}$ th were Greeks and $\frac{1}{7}$ th Muḥammadans.

Bibliography: On the island in ancient times and most of the questions connected with it, see the very full article by Bürchner on *Lesbos* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, xii. (1925), col. 2107-2133.

A full description for the earlier Turkish period is given by the Turk Piri Re'is in his *Bahriye* written in 1521: this section has been translated by Maximilian Bittner in Paul Kretschmer, *Der heutige Lesbische Dialekt* (= *Schriften der Balkankommission*, III/i.), Vienna 1905, col. 579-584 and in my ed. of the *Bahriye* of Piri Re'is (Berlin and Leipzig 1926), chap. ix.: *Midillü*, text p. 21-26, transl. p. 32-42. — The most important later descriptions are those by Pococke, *Description of the East*, II/ii., London 1745; Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, London 1865, i. 37 sqq.; A. Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, Hanover 1865 and R. Koldewey, *Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos. Im Auftrage des Kaiserlich-Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts untersucht und aufgenommen*, Berlin 1890. This book gives details of early explorations of the island and accurate maps on a larger scale of sections of it.

(P. KAHLE)

MIDJMARA, the censer, from *djāmra*, "glowing coal", the Arabic name for the constellation of the Altar which lies south of the Scorpion (δωμήριον in Aratus, *ara* in Cicero, Manilius etc.) or censer (δωματήριον in Ptolemy, *turibulum* in Geminus).

Bibliography: al-Qazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 41; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, p. 280; A. Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, Strassburg 1916, p. 193-199.

MIDRĀR BANŪ. [See SIDIJLMĀSA.]

MIHNA (A.), noun derived from the root *m-h-n*, appearing in the Arabic verb *maḥana*, "to smooth", and in some Aethiopic derivations, trial (e.g. the trials to which the prophets and especially the family of Muḥammad, the 'Alids, are exposed in this world; cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 212 sq., 261), inquisition. In the latter sense it is usually applied to the Mu'tazilite inquisition and persecution extending from 218-234 (833-848). On the viiith form of the verb, *imtahana*, "to torture", cf. especially Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, I/ii., p. 81, note 101.

The first Mu'tazilite inquisition was instituted towards the end of his reign by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ma'mūn (q. v., 198-218 = 813-833), who was a Mu'tazilite by conviction, especially with regard to the creation of the Qur'an [cf. the articles AL-QUR'ĀN and MU'TAZILITES]. He sent a letter to the governor of Baghdād, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, ordering him to cite before him the qādi's under his jurisdiction in order to test them with regard to their opinion on the Qur'an (Ṭabari, iii. 1112 sqq., transl. by Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 57-61; *Kitāb Baghdād*, p. 338 sqq.; cf. Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, i. 636

sqg.; *Fragmenta Hist. Arab.*, p. 465). Those who declared their opinion in conformity with that of the caliph, should cite the legal witnesses under their jurisdiction and institute a similar inquisition.

This letter was sent to the provinces. In Egypt little was done. At Kūfa the general feeling was against yielding to the order of the caliph. In Damascus, the latter, probably on his way to Asia Minor, personally conducted the testing of the doctors of the town.

In a second letter he ordered Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm to send to him seven of the leading theological authorities of Baghdād, that he might test them himself. The name of the chief champion of the orthodox view, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal [q. v.], which was at first in the list, was cancelled at the instance of the chief kādī Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād [q. v.], the most vigorous advocate of the miḥna under al-Ma'mūn and his successors. Among the seven who were summoned to the court was Muḥammad b. Sa'd [q. v.], the secretary of al-Wakīdī [q. v.], and author of the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt*. All of them gave way to the pressure, assented to the view forced upon them and were sent back to Baghdād, where Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm had them repeat their confession before the theologians (Ṭabarī, iii. 1116 sq.; *Kitāb Baghdād*, p. 343 sqg.). The success of the caliph moved him to cling to the method inaugurated by him. In a third letter which is interwoven with theological arguments (Ṭabarī, iii. 1117 sqg.; Patton, *op. cit.*, p. 65 sqg.) he enjoined Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm to test all the kādīs under his jurisdiction, who in their turn should test all witnesses and assistants in matters of law. Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm cited before him a number of the most notable doctors of Baghdād (Ṭabarī, iii. 1121 sqg.; Patton, *op. cit.*, p. 69 sqg.), among them Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. The result of the test was that some of them yielded and others remained steadfast; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal belonged to the group of the latter.

In a fourth letter to Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm (Ṭabarī, iii. 1125 sqg.; Patton, *op. cit.*, p. 74 sqg.), the caliph discussed the attitude of each of the doctors in connection with his character and way of life, and ordered those who had given unsatisfactory answers to be sent to his camp in Ṭarsūs. After a further examination by Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm two of them only remained steadfast, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Muḥammad b. Nūḥ. They were sent to Ṭarsūs as prisoners. On the way thither the report of the caliph's death reached them. They were sent back to Baghdād; Muḥammad b. Nūḥ died before he had reached the capital.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal remained in prison. Although he was urged to make use of *taḳīya* [q. v.] as others had done, he stuck to his attitude. Cited before al-Ma'mūn's brother and successor al-Mu'tasim (218—227 = 833—842), there originated lively debates on the nature of the Qur'an and other theological subjects between him, the caliph, Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād and others, which lasted three days. No change, however, being brought about in Aḥmad's attitude, he was scourged at the order of the caliph, and afterwards, from fear of an insurrection (for Aḥmad was very popular), set free. Little more is heard of the miḥna under al-Mu'tasim (Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, i. 649; Patton, p. 113), who had neither the interest nor the training of his predecessor in theological matters.

His son al-Wāthik bi'llāh (227—232 = 842—847) who succeeded him, returned to the methods

of al-Ma'mūn (Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, i. 683; Patton, p. 115 sqg.), although it is said that he had restrained his father from prosecuting the miḥna any farther. He ordered the governors of the provinces to test the notables under their jurisdiction. Little is known of the consequences of this order. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in the meanwhile had become a favourite teacher; when, however, he heard of the renewed activity of Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād he refrained of his own will from teaching, and was henceforth left alone.

Al-Wāthik personally intervened in the trial of one person of note, the theologian Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Mālik al-Khuzā'ī who had moreover taken part in a conspiracy (Weil, ii. 341; Patton, p. 116 sq.; cf. Ṭabarī, iii. 1343 sqg.; de Goeje, *Fragmenta hist. arab.*, p. 529 sqg.). Questioned about the Qur'an, al-Khuzā'ī replied that he believed it to be the word of God. The trial had not proceeded much farther, when the caliph put an end to it and personally made an attempt to behead his victim, in which he did not succeed without the assistance of some one more skilled than himself (Shā'bān 231 = 846).

Other persons of note who remained steadfast under al-Wāthik were Nu'aim b. Ḥammād and the well known Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Yahya 'l-Buwaifī, the pupil of al-Shāfi'ī and editor of some of his works (Patton, p. 119). Both died in prison. As an instance of the fanaticism of Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād it is related that, when in 231 (846) it was proposed to ransom 4,600 Muslim prisoners from the Byzantines, he proposed to abandon those who would not admit the creation of the Qur'an; this was actually done (Ṭabarī, iii. 1351 sqg.; *Fragmenta hist. arab.*, ii. 532; Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, i. 684; Patton, p. 120). It is said that al-Wāthik gave up his Mu'tazilite views before his death. The miḥna continued to exist during the first years of the reign of his successor al-Mutawakkil (232—247 = 847—861), but in 234 this caliph stopped its application and forbade the profession of the creation of the Qur'an on pain of death.

Bibliography: al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, ed.

Houtsma, ii. 491, 500—509, 521, 528, 575, 582; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii., as cited in the article; al-Mas'ūdī, Paris ed., vi. 283 sqg.; vii. 101; viii. 300 sqg.; x. 45, 51, 70; *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ii., ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1871, as cited in the article; Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Taifūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, ed. Keller, Leipzig 1908; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vi. 297—301, 314; vii. 14 sq.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1286, ii. 31 sqg.; Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn b. Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, as cited in the article; Tādj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, Cairo 1324, i. 205 sqg.; W. M. Patton, *Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*, Leyden 1897; A. von Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, Leipzig 1868, p. 233 sqg.; M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islām tot op el-Ash'ari*, Leyden 1875, p. 107 sqg.; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 262 sqg., 297 sq., 340 sqg.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland* (*Allgem. Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*), i., II/iv. 514 sqg., 523 sqg.; W. Muir, *The Caliphate*³, ed. T. H. Weir, Edinburgh 1924, p. 507, 512, 520 sqg., 525; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910, as cited in the article; do., in *Z.D.M.G.*, lii. 155 sqg. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MIHR, the seventh month of the Persian solar year which runs from Sept. 17 to Oct. 16 and therefore begins the autumn. Mihr is also the name of the 16th day of each month. To distinguish between the month Mihr and the day, the former is called *Mihr Māh* and the latter *Mihr Rūz*. On the 16th Mihr, the day when Mihr Māh and Mihr Rūz coincide, called *Mihr-gān*, one of the great feasts begins, which is also called Mihrgān and lasts till the 21st of the month. The first day of the feast is called *Mihr-i Āmma*, the general Mihr, the last *Mihr-i khāssa*, the special, proper Mihr. The associations of this feast partly relate to the beginning of autumn, partly to the sun, whose name the month indeed bears, and partly to heroic legend: Mihrgān is the feast of Feridūn's accession after his victory over Ḍaḥḥāk. On the rites observed at the feast see the sources mentioned below.

Bibliography: Ginzel, *Handbuch d. math. u. techn. Chronologie*, i., § 67 sqq.; al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 42, 43, 70, 222 sqq.; Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum*, s. v. مهرگان; al-Kāzwinī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 81 sq. (M. PLESSNER)

MIHR-I MĀH SULTĀN, daughter of Suleimān the Magnificent. Mihr-i Māh (sometimes also written Mihr-u-māh: cf. Karačelebi-zāde, *Rawḍat ul-Ebrār*, p. 458) was the only daughter of Suleimān the Magnificent [q. v., as well as F. Babinger, in *Meister der Politik*, ii.2, Berlin 1923, p. 39—63]. While still quite young she was married to the grand vizier Rustem Pasha (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 81 sq.) in the beginning of December 1539 (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in *M. S. O. S.*, Year xxii., Part 2, p. 37), but the marriage does not seem to have been a happy one. She used her enormous wealth — St. Gerlach in 1576 estimated her daily income at not less than 2,000 ducats (cf. *Tagebuch*, Frankfurt 1674, p. 266) — for many pious endowments. Among these the most important were the two mosques built by her, one in Istanbul at the Adrianople gate (*Edirne Kapusu Djami'i*; cf. Ewliyā, *Seyāhet-nāme*, i. 165; Hāfiz Husein, *Hadikat al-Djawāmi'*, i. 24 and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 50, No. 1) and the other (*Mihr-i Māh Sultān Djami'i*; cf. Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, i. 472 sq.; Hāfiz Husein, *op. cit.*, ii. 186 and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 128, No. 741) near the landing-stage in Scutari. The second was the work of the great architect Sinān [q. v.] who built it in 954 (1547) and also erected a palace for Mihr-i Māh in Scutari near this mosque. After her husband's death (July 8, 1561) Mihr-i Māh Sultān intervened in political matters on several occasions; for example she continually urged upon her father that the conquest of Malta should be one of the main undertakings of the Holy War and offered to equip 400 galleys for this campaign at her own expense. She was still alive at the reconciliation with her brother Selīm and his accession. The correct date of her death, Jan. 25, 1578 is given only by Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, p. 449; the date in Karačelebi-zāde, *op. cit.*, p. 458, namely *Dhu l-Ḳa'da* 984 (Jan. 20—Feb. 18, 1577), is a whole year out. She was buried beside her father in his *türbe* (tomb-mosque) in Istanbul. From her marriage with Rustem Pasha two sons and a daughter ʿĀ'isha Khanum were born; the latter married the grand vizier Ahmed Pasha.

Bibliography: In addition to the references

in the text, cf. Meḥammed Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmāni*, i. 83; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 393, 425 and pass.; a description of the circumcision festivals of her sons Dījhāngir and Bāyazīd is given in the Turkish MS., No. 34, fol. 43^a sqq. in the Pruss. State Library (cf. W. Pertsch, *Verzeichnis*, 66). (FR. BABINGER)

MIHRĀB (see also MASDJD I, D, c). Derivation of the niche. The mihrāb niche has been given a twofold origin by Orientalists and historians of art: from the Christian apsis and the Buddhist niche. "Tout ce qui reste de la basilique dans le sanctuaire de la mosquée c'est la qibla, sorte d'abside atrophie" says M. v. Berchem in his *Notes d'archéologie arabe* (*J. A.*, vol. xvii., 1891, p. 427). The introduction of the niche mihrāb into the mosque is no doubt rightly ascribed to the Omayyads, who were the first to build mosques of any size, under the influence of the Christian architecture of their lands. The simple Arabian and Persian village mosques have no niches even at the present day. According to tradition, Walid I, when he visited the mosque built for him with the help of Byzantine masons in Medina, was reproached with having built the mosque in the style of Christian churches (Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, ix., 1861). When ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in his Syrian buildings had the qibla made in the form of a niche, he provoked the opposition and anger of the zealots on account of the similarity which was thus produced between the mosques and churches. H. Lammens has collected a number of references, in which the mihrāb is roundly asserted to be copied from the Christians and to have become naturalised only with difficulty and not till the second century (*Ziyād*, p. 94, note 1 quoted by C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus, Islamstudien*, p. 493). Perhaps the custom of placing several niches in the qibla wall of large mosques was also a gesture against the appearance of imitating the Christian custom. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that the semicircular niche was one of the most widely disseminated forms of ornament in Mediterranean architecture and its adoption was much more natural than an imitation of the much larger Christian apsis. The derivation of the mihrāb from the Buddhist or Hindu niche for idols has as much or as little in its favour as the other. For it was only exceptionally that the Indian idol stood in a niche, but regularly it was in a separate quadrangular cell. The separate phenomenon of the eastern polygonal mihrāb developed by the Turkish peoples, which was brought by the Seldjūks and other Turkish peoples to Asia Minor and is found in Mesopotamia from the end of the xiiith century can only be explained satisfactorily as a deliberate creation of its makers. As the heart of the house of worship, the mihrāb forms the culminating point in the equipment of the mosque, and as the carrier of the varied forms of decoration and continually changing systems of Muslim decorative art through the centuries is of considerable importance in the history of art. As a barometer of culture and art the mihrāb, if properly read, shows the prevailing tendency of art and its changes as a result of social changes. The writing of its history is a task for the future and it can only be outlined here.

History. The qibla was originally indicated not by a niche but by some mark such as a strip of paint or a flat stone marked in some way. Ac-

cording to Abū Huraira, it was introduced into the first mosque of the Prophet in Medina: "Instead of a mihrāb or prayer niche a block of stone directed the congregation; at first it was placed against the northern wall of the mosque and it was removed to the southern when Mecca became the Kiblah" (R. F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, 1874, ii. 72). The oldest mosque of 'Amr in Fustāt of 21 (642) had no niche, but the kibla, accurately calculated, was marked (Corbett, *J.R.A.S.*, 1890, p. 757-800). The Arabian use of slabs to indicate the kibla instead of a niche survived, alongside of the mihrāb and in spite of it, for several centuries within and without Arabia. The mosques in Arabia proper are still unknown and only a few buildings on the borders enable us to draw some conclusions. The ruins of the xth-xiith century on Bahrain (Diez, *Eine shiitische Moscheerueine auf der Insel Bahrein*, *Jahrb. d. asiat. Kunst*, 1925, II. Halbband) and the mosque of Kisimkazi on Zanzibar (*J.R.A.S.*, 1922, pl. iii.) show examples of a type later well known. Such slabs of stone or stucco were frequently built into the front pillars of the ḥarām down to the xiiith century to indicate the kibla. They are to be found in Mōsul (Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 277, 280) and they would certainly have been found in Baghdād for example had the old mosques survived there. They gave the caliph and his representatives the opportunity, so limited in Islām, of perpetuating their names and boasting themselves helpers of Islām by presenting such flat mihrābs. Examples are the richly ornamented stucco slab presented by the vizier al-Afdāl in the name of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir (485 = 1092) to the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn and its counterpart ordered by Sulṭān Lādjin (696-698 = 1296-1298) (illustr. in F. Flury, *Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar-Moschee*, 1912, pl. xvi.). When Muslim architecture is deliberately developed on a grand scale however we find the mihrāb in the viiith century as a semi-circular shell-shaped niche flanked by pillars, and this is the form that has survived essentially with local variations to the present day.

Mesopotamia. The oldest example here is the mihrāb of the Djāmi' al-Khāṣṣakī in Baghdād. It consists of a single marble block 5' 4" inches high and 3' 1" broad with a semi-circular niche in it 12' deep. The columns have spiral grooves in them and Corinthian-like capitals upon which the horseshoe shaped shell is directly placed without an abacus. The niche, otherwise smooth, has in the central axis a perpendicular strip of ornament as its sole decoration, which is quite devoid of any structural function and is quite in the textile-like style of later Islamic decoration. Herzfeld supposes that this mihrāb was brought by water about 145 A.H. for the newly founded Baghdād from North Syria or Diyār Bakr and suggests for this and similar mihrābs of Northern Mesopotamia, the similar niches in Christian churches as models (*Isl.*, i. 35 sqq.). The Khāṣṣakī type of mihrāb is found again in the walls of Āmid, which were built in 297 (910) by al-Muqtadir (M. v. Berchem, *Inchriften aus Syrien* etc., coll. by Frh. von Oppenheim; De Beylie, *Prome et Samarra*, fig. 42; v. Berchem-Strzygowski, *Amida*, fig. 12, 292, pl. III sq.). The change to the pointed arch however took place here probably by the tenth century, certainly in the xiith A.D. Instead of the

semicircular we find also flat niches cut out in the form of a rectangle e.g. in the tomb of a holy man in Abū Huraira (Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, i. 133 sq.). The use of stucco, which is so easily worked, hastened the development of the form of the niche in the xiiith century. In the mausoleum of the Forty Faithful (al-Arba'in) in Takrīt there is a stucco mihrāb of 660 (1261-62) with a stepped arch in profile. The tomb of Zainab in Sindjār of about 657 (1288) contains a richly decorated stucco mihrāb completely covered with ornaments and scrolls (*Arch. Reise*, p. 308 sq., pl. iv.). This wealth of decoration may in turn have reacted on the niches of stone, as the rich mihrāb of the great mosque of 543 (1148) and other niches in Mōsul show (*Arch. R.*, pl. v. xci. xciii.). In contrast to Persia, stone remained the usual material here. We now find twisted little pillars with vase bases and vase capitals, zigzag arches and richly fluted bands with plumed furcations (mihrāb of Badr al-Dīn in Mōsul). The Hellenistic mussel-shell, so far as it still survives, lost its naturalism by turning the sphincteral structure into ornament. The rectangular frame of the arch of the niche completed the adaptation of an originally Hellenistic type to the oriental spirit of architecture. In the vacant field below the conch we here frequently have a mussel shell carved in relief. We find variations like the flat rectangular niches with the base of the couch protruding as in the Djāmi' al-'Omariya (*Arch. R.*, pl. cxxxv.). When however we find in Pandjah 'Alī in Mōsul in 686 (1287) i.e. under the Ilkhān Arghūn, a polygonal mihrāb with stalactite canopy, we have apparently eastern, Seljūq influence, which produced the abstract stereometric crystallisation of the details and general form. Their seeming structural function is taken from the flanking pillars by direct continuation around the arch. Finally we may mention the occurrence of corner mihrābs in Mesopotamia when the kibla demanded it and it was not possible to orient the whole building properly. Such exceptions were confined to sepulchral domes (Mashhad Imām 'Awn al-Dīn in Mōsul: cf. Herzfeld, *Arch. R.*, pl. cxxxv.).

Syria. The Mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus has twelve mihrābs in all (cf. the plan by A. Dickie, supplemented by C. Watzinger and K. Wulzinger, *Damaskus, Die islamische Stadt*). If systematically studied, they would probably give a conspectus of the development of the mihrāb in Syria. Only the principal mihrāb appears, at least in its architectonic development, if not in its embellishment to go back to the time of the foundation of the mosque. The other niches were put up mainly in the xivth century and later (*J. A.*, 1890, ser. vii., p. 185). The two favourite styles of decorating the walls in use among Byzantine workmen under Walid were *opus sectile* and glass mosaic. They must have been used almost exclusively for the early mosques along with carved mouldings. The description by Ibn Djubair, who visited the mosque in 580 (1184) i.e. not till after the first great fire of 461 (1069), gives us an idea of the mihrāb as it then was, probably still predominantly Omayyad. The mihrāb wall was covered with marble slabs; the arch of the niche had inscriptions in gilt letters on a blue ground, probably in mosaic, and had a quadrangular frame. The wedges between arch and frame were decorated with the famous "vineyard of Walid", as we may safely assume, in mosaic. The vaulting of the niche was probably adorned in the same way. The frame

of the mihrāb was crowned by a miniature arcading, a motive which with others was taken to Spain (see below) and above this the wall was adorned with views of celebrated towns and trees in mosaic, the Ka'ba in the centre. Remains of these mosaics still survive and the mosaics discovered a few years ago in the mosque by the French give us an idea of the splendour of their colouring. The mihrāb destroyed in the fire of 1893 had a miniature arcading (illustr. in Saladin, *Manuel*, fig. 35); it had also an arch encircling it above, which also suggests an Omayyad origin. (According to Marçais, *La mosquée d'el-Walid à Damas et son influence sur l'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, R. A., L, where the dependence of the mosque of Cordova on that of Damascus is discussed, in Damascus all arches were originally horseshoe-shaped — and as in the rebuilding — arranged in two stories as we see from old descriptions). Of the mihrāb of the Djamī' al-Akṣā we know that it was covered with marble in 583 (1187) by order of Saladin. It has a wide niche formed of segments, with a pointed arch. The two sets of pillars with acanthus capitals are earlier than Saladin (Saladin, *op. cit.*, fig. 28). Le Bon mentions two peculiar mihrāb niches in the transept of the mosque (*La civilisation arabe*, p. 148 and fig. 68). Under the Aiyūbids the use of interlacing patterns in stone was popular in Northern Syrian architecture. They are sometimes rectilinear, sometimes rounded interlacings of textile origin which were used on the fronts of doors and prayer niches either in profile or as bands of stone in alternating colours. The decoration of the mihrāb thus received a remarkable stimulus, as the prayer niches of the Madrasa al-Sulṭāniya and the Djamī' and Madrasa al-Firdaws of 633 (1235), both in Aleppo, and the mihrāb restored by Baibars of the Qubbat al-Silsile in Jerusalem, shew (picture in Creswell, *The Works of Sultan Baibars*, B. I. F. A. O., pl. xxvi., pl. 28, 29). Another peculiarity of the Syrian mihrāb is the occasionally found adornment of the vaulting of the niche with — it is true very rounded — views of buildings and trees in opus sectile, as an example of which we may take the mihrāb of the great mosque of Tripoli founded in 693 (1294) (pict. in *M.I.F.A.O.*, vol. xxv. 1909, pl. 5). The later Syrian mihrābs continued the traditional encrusting with different coloured marbles to which Turkish influence added the stalactitic conch.

Egypt. The principal mihrāb of the oldest mosque that has survived in Cairo, the mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, is thought to be the original one in its general structure. The mosaic frieze with inscription at the level of the capitals and the marble covering below belong either to the restoration by Qalā'ūn or more probably to that of Lādīn. Thus a type was created in Cairo in the middle of the third century which is characterised by the double stepping of the niche with two pillars on each side, in this case taken from old Christian buildings and by the stilted pointed arch and rectangular frame; this form became the Egyptian model. In place of the Mesopotamian conch, the top of the niche was smooth and probably, as in Qairawān, painted. The narrow top continued through the Fātimid period while the double recess of the niche with pillars gives all later Cairene mihrābs their character. A stucco mihrāb of the fourth (tenth) century, only the upper third of which has survived in its original form, of

which there is a copy in the Arab Museum, had the same structure with two pairs of pillars. The conch was imposed later (Flury, *Ein Stuckmihrāb des IV. (X.) Jahrhunderts*, *Sarre-Festschrift*, 1925, *Jhb. d. as. K.*). The stucco mihrāb of the sepulchral mosque of Dīyūshī on the Muḥattam in Cairo, a century later (478 = 1085) and particularly richly decorated, has a similar niche with a high pointed top (pict. in Flury, *Ornamente loc. cit.*, pl. xvii.; Springer, *Hdbch. d. Kg.*, vi., fig. 400). It is to be assumed that the original mihrābs of the Fātimid mosques of Ḥākim and al-Azhar also belonged to this group. The al-Aḥmar mosque, completed in 519 (1125) introduced a new motif in its façade, which was much imitated in Cairo, the placing of a row of ribs like the corrugation of a shell along the top of the niche. The stucco mihrāb already mentioned, a copy of which is in the Arab Museum, must have been embellished about this time by a mussel shell. The mihrāb in the sepulchral chapel of Shādjarat al-Durr [q. v.] the widow of Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ Naḍīm al-Dīn Aiyūb of c. 648 = 1250 (fig. in R. L. Devonshire, *Some Cairo Mosques*, London 1921, p. 32) shows this fashion in a much more decided and more advanced mugharnasised stage. Such variations were however the exception. On the other hand the stucco mihrāb survived down to the Mamlūk period. Creswell, for example, ascribes the stucco mihrāb on the outside of the north wall of the mosque of 'Amr, rebuilt by Sulṭān Baibars, to the time of Baibars on grounds of style (658—676 = 1260—1277) (*The Works of Sultan Baibars*, B. I. F. A. O., xxvi. 1926). The splendour of the exceedingly thick stucco ornamentation in relief is here increased by the *mugharnaḥ* in the miniature arcading of the upper part of the niche. Stucco decoration thus reached its last effective possibilities. With the Mongol invasion of Syria, Syrian influence on Egyptian art was renewed (Cairo also benefited by the taking of Mōṣul by the Mongols in 653 = 1255 and the resultant migration of the celebrated coppersmiths of Mōṣul to Cairo, where from this time on the art of the metal-worker flourished, cf. Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 182). Syrian influence also brought the Syrian mihrāb overlaid with marble slabs and stone mosaic to Egypt, where it drove out the other types and became predominant. The oldest prayer niches of this new kind appear in the buildings of Qalā'ūn at the end of the viith (xiith) century. The flanking double pillars give them their Gothic grace and elevation. The arches are usually composed of alternating coloured wedge shaped stones serrated in various ways. The walls of the niches are decorated with mosaic in geometric patterns between miniature arcading and the conch vaulting overlaid with light and dark strips of colour alternating (often zigzag). Exceptionally we also find glass mosaic, as in the masjid of the Muristān of Qalā'ūn. Under the late rulers of the Circassian Mamlūks the decoration of the niche reached its height. The inlaying was done with all kinds of costly materials such as mother-of-pearl, turquoise, agates, ivory (Madrasa of Abū Bakr b. Muzhir and al-Ḡhūrī: cf. Briggs, *Muh. Arch.*, fig. 119 and 127).

A small group by itself is formed by the three portable mihrābs of the viith (xiith) century from al-Azhar, Saiyida Ruḳaiya and Saiyida Nafisa which are now preserved in the Arab Museum.

Maghrib. The history of the mihrāb in the

western lands of Islām begins with the prayer niche in the great mosque of Ǧairawān. It was not the direct model for the later mihrābs — this was reserved for the portal of the library of this mosque — but with its wide semi-circular niche and the slightly rounded but still pointed arch it forms the transition to the western form of mihrāb. The pillars of mottled red and yellow stone rest on late antique bases and support pseudo-Byzantine porphyry capitals the abacuses of which are decorated with Kūfic inscriptions. The wall of the niche is covered with marble slabs, some perforated, some carved in relief, the frames of which also bear inscriptions. Behind is a recess. The vaulting of the niche still shows traces of having been painted with vine tendrils arranged in circular patterns, which remind one of Mshattā (pictures in G. Marçais, *Coupoles et plafonds de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, 1925, pl. viii.). The frieze separating the recess and the vaulting of the niche, and the surrounding walls are covered with the famous lustre tiles made, some in Baghdād and some by a Baghdād artist in Tunis, and presented in 281 (844) by Ibrāhīm b. Aghlab. This remarkable mihrāb of the early period, when Islām was still in search of a style, thus combines all that the empire could produce in decoration, sculpture, painting, both richly brightened by gold and shining tiles. The fully developed western style is found a century later in the mihrāb of the Mezquita in Cordoba. This mihrāb, built by Ḥākim II about 970, consists of an isolated heptagonal space 12 feet broad and 23 to 26 feet high. One side is formed by the wall containing the door. The floor and walls are covered with rectangular pieces of white marble, above are a frieze of inscriptions and the cornice, on which a richly carved niche wall with clover leaf arch on marble pillars with gilt capitals forms the upper part, which again terminates in an inscribed frieze and is covered by a single piece of marble in the shape of a mussel shell. In the inscription on the outer wall the artist is mentioned: "the work of Badr b. al-Ḳhaiyān". The historically important part here is the entrance wall to this chamber, which consists of a horseshoe-arch gateway with rectangular frames and miniature arcading at the top. This form of wall, which now becomes typical for mihrābs and portal walls in most lands of the Maghrib and shows its own course of development, has been traced to the portal wall of the library of the great mosque in Ǧairawān as the earliest model, or both go back to a common Syrian original (cf. Marçais, *Manuel*, i. 264 sq.). In Cordoba we meet with a special shape of the mihrāb recess, the origin of which is doubtless different from that of the niche and goes back to an original with special functions connected with the cult of relics and of the dead. According to tradition, a relic of the Prophet was actually preserved in this space and the believers used to pay reverence to it in a sevenfold circumambulation. A quite singular, similar, isolated mihrāb is found in the madrasa in Ḳhargird, Ḳhurāsān (cf. MAS-PIJID and below PERSIA). (Whether here we have the influence of the *pradakṣhina* of the Indian cult of relics cannot be settled. The circumambulation of altars, tombs of saints, and other sacred objects was of course a widespread custom in northern lands also). Horseshoe-arches, multiple rectangular border and miniature arcade

are the typical elements of the henceforth canonical mihrāb wall. The wedge-shaped stones of the horse-shoe arch are not serrated in complicated fashion, as in Egypt and Syria, but usually alternate in colour and are all smooth, as in Cordoba, or alternately smooth and carved in relief. In Cordoba the spandrels are still filled with palm-branches and acanthus-like tendrils in relief and the two borders decorated with Kūfic inscriptions (cf. R. Amador de los Rios, *Inscripciones arabes de Cordoba*, Madrid 1892). The niches of the miniature arcading with clover-leaf arches are covered with mosaic (pict. in E. Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst. K. d. O.*, pl. 13, 14). The wall of the pentagonal mihrāb niche in the great mosque of Tlemsen of about 1135 A.D. is similarly formed (pict. in Kühnel, *op. cit.*, pl. 24). But we already find here in the spandrels the isolated rosettes which first appear on the mihrāb of the Aljaferia in Saragossa of the second half of the eleventh century (pict. in Marçais, *Manuel*, fig. 215). The mihrāb wall of the Almohad mosque in Tinnāl in the Atlas (1153 A.D. shows, instead of the tendrils, a woven pattern such as is often found on carpets (pict. in Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 216); and in place of the miniature arcading we have round arched windows alternating with flat niches. A divergence from the canonical type is found in the mihrāb of the mosque in Tozeur built in 590 (1194) in the oasis of Djerid (pict. in Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 218). It has a double arch and profuse ornamentation, on the wall of the niche also. Marçais explains the divergence by saying that the mosque was built by a conqueror of Almoravid descent in the Almohad period by workmen from Andalus. The niche bears the stamp of hurried improvisation. The mihrāb here reproduced, in the Sidi Oḳba mosque in the Siban oasis at Biskra which is considered the oldest mosque in Algeria, may be regarded as an example more in the popular tradition, therefore particularly interesting. The date is unknown. The decoration belongs to the field of *Kleinkunst*. Under the dynasties which succeeded the Almohads from the xiii.—xvth century the Cordoba type remains the model in principle. Only the proportions are more slender, the horseshoe arches more elegant and, instead of the miniature arcading, windows with coloured glass in a stucco framework have become naturalised. The isolated mihrāb chambers have given place to semicircular or polygonal niches. Examples are the *maḥārib* of the mosques in Taza, Sidi bel Ḥasan and al-'Uḳād in and near Tlemsen, in Fās and the Ḥamrā of Granada, the latter covered with mosaic (pict. in Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 336—338 and P. Ricard, pl. x., xi.). In Tunis of the xv.—xviiith century also the mihrāb with flat round niche and horseshoe arch of alternately coloured and ornamented stones and rectangular frame continued to predominate. The plinths are regularly covered with marble or tiles, while the niche vaultings are fluted like a mussel shell.

Persia, Turkestan, Afghānistān. The two earliest prayer niches in Persia, so far as is known, are in the mosque at Nāyin, east of Iṣfahān, of the ix.—xth century A.D. (Viollet and Flury in *Syria*, 1921, pl. xxx. and S. Flury, in *Syria*, 1930) and in the *Iwān* at Ḳhargird, Ḳhurāsān, of the xi.—xiiith century (Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, pl. 30).

In spite of their different ornamentation, these

two stucco mihrābs are very similar. Both are rectangular niches flanked by inset $\frac{3}{4}$ pillars with leaf capitals, with pointed conches diagonally set and thickly decorated with tendrils in a rectangular frame. The back wall under the conch presents a repetition of the architecture of the niche so that we have a niche in a niche. In Persia therefore, if Flury is right in his early dating, perhaps as early as the third (ninth) century, a rich double framed style of mihrāb had been developed, which lasted down to the xivth century, as is shown by the next surviving monument of this group, the stucco mihrāb in the Masjid-i Djum'a in Isfahān of 710 (1310) (Diez, *K. d. Isl. Völker*, p. 109; 2nd ed., p. 85). In the interval however the decoration, at first purely floral, had become mainly epigraphic, a transition that can be followed step by step from the xith century. The stucco mihrāb of the mosque of Djiyūshī on the Mukattam in Cairo of 478 (1085) is also of importance for this sequence of development (pict. in Flury, *Ornamente* etc., pl. xvii).

But in Persia a second type developed alongside of the stucco mihrāb, the mihrāb decorated with lustre faience, with which this part of the decoration of the mosque and with it Persian faience reached its zenith. The lustre mihrāb of Kāshān of 624 (1226) in Berlin (pict. in Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, vi. 438) and a similar niche from Warāmin in the possession of the firm of Kelekian (*Cat. of the Exhib. of Persian Art*, London 1931) may be quoted as examples. These mihrābs show the same double niches as their stucco counterparts but are flatter, more framework than niche. In place of the curved arch, the canopy is a rectilinear gable, a change in shape probably mainly due to the material. The colours are predominantly a light blue ground with letters in dark blue relief and decorations in brown lustre. By the combined effect of the colours and the profuse ornamentation, these mihrābs have a truly fairylike suggestion and reach the highest ideal of Islāmic decorative art. The mihrāb assumed a new form in the Timūrid period. Instead of the semi-circular or flat rectangular niche we now find under Turkish influence the polygonal — pentagon constructed out of an octagon — of larger dimensions than previously, broader and deeper. The ornamentation proceeds parallel with the usual Timūrid wall decoration. In the same way the plinth is covered breast-high with polygonal tiles and the walls above usually with flat miniature arcading, which pass into vaulted mugharnaṭ painted or covered with tiles. Finally the frames and the scrolls of inscription filling them are frequently inlaid with that finely executed tile-mosaic which forms the glory of Timūrid architectural ornament. As examples may be mentioned the mihrābs in the praying chambers of the madrasa in Khargird (Diez, *Chur. Baudenkmäler*, pl. 33, 1), the mihrāb of Ziyāret Abī Walid near Herāt (Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, fig. 174), the splendid prayer niche in the mosque of Djawhar-Zāde in Mashhad (Diez, *K. d. Isl. Völker*, v. fig. 146 and 108) all of the ixth (xvth) century. The mihrāb in the splendid medrese in Herāt, now destroyed, must have been similar to that in Meshhed, here reproduced, having been founded by the same princess and probably built by the same architect (cf. above iii. p. 387^b). In the Ṣafawid period, we find alongside of mihrābs with mosaic and mugharnaṭ also painted niches,

which show intertwining tendrils standing out in white from a brick red ground. Mihrābs like this are to be seen in the ruins of the Muṣallā outside Isfahān and in Reshhar, Khurāsān (fig. Diez, *Chur. Baudenkmäler*, pl. 22, 3). They seem to have been very widely disseminated. It may be mentioned in conclusion that in place of a prayer niche in the *Kibla-iwān* of the Timūrid madrasa in Khargird, there is a rectangular windowless chamber, accessible by a doorway through the *iwān*. The similarity with the mihrāb chambers frequently found in the Maghrib is remarkable and is discussed under Spain.

India. No mosques earlier than the xiiith century have survived in India. In the mosques of the xiiith—xvth centuries the prayer niches are built in Indian fashion, that is to say flanked by decorated Indian pillars and adorned with Indian ornamentation. The gable-shaped panels over the niches are particularly ornamental. The wall of the niches is usually adorned in relief with a lotus rosette and a pendant vase out of which grow tendrils. Numerous niches of this kind are to be found in mosques of Guḍjarat and Aḥmadābād of the xivth—xvth centuries. An Indian peculiarity is the placing of three to five, sometimes even seven mihrābs in the kībla wall in keeping with the architectonic units of the main building, each marked by a dome (Djāmī Masjid in Bharoch, and Champanir, Guḍjarat etc.). There are also mosques with mihrāb chambers, which we can assume with Havell to be adaptations of the former cells for idols (Dholka, Guḍjarat, Khans Masjid and Aḥmadābād). It is therefore not impossible that isolated mihrāb chambers outside of India, as in Khargird, Persia, or even in the Maghrib, should be traced to Indian influence, although this feature is not found in the earliest mosques in Adjmīr and Dehli. In Guḍjarat however these chambers might have been used as mihrābs in the oldest mosques and provinces with a sea coast and international trade may have had influence abroad (cf. *Arch. Survey of India, Western India*, vol. vi., vii., Guḍjarat, Aḥmadābād). When Persian influence began to be felt under the Moghul emperors, the Indian elements gradually disappeared from the mihrābs and their place was taken by the polygonal niche in the wall incrustured with coloured marble. Under Akbar Indian detail still survived. The arches of the mihrāb of the great mosque in Faṭhpur Sikrī, for example, are edged with a lacework of carved palmette friezes; the material is stone but the inlay work imitates the Persian tiled mihrābs (pict. in V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India* and Diez, *K. d. Isl. Völker*, p. 229 and p. 141). In the court mosques of Agra and Dehli we find dazzling white marble mihrābs with coloured intarsia of flowers. The most splendid mihrāb in India and indeed in all the lands of Islām is the niche of the Friday mosque in Bidjāpūr, the former capital of the 'Ādil Shāhs in the Dekhan. The only rival that it can ever have had is Walid's mihrāb in Damascus. Framed by a gigantic arch resting on double pillars, the pentagonal niche recess constructed out of an octagon goes deep into the wall on whose surfaces the motif of the niche is three times repeated. The central of the three niche areas is mystically marked by a gilt eight-pointed star as the real kībla. In gigantic letters of gold the two sacred names Allāh and Muḥammad in the spandrels of the arch impress themselves on the hearts of the worshipper, and chime in

afresh in the drumshaped flanking pillars, which in Bidjāpūr decoration are frequently used as conventional ornament but are here of structural importance. Manāras and sepulchral domes crown the structure and their principal motive is again a niche in the centre. This imposing decoration is carried out in shallow relief and is painted with red, blue and black colours heightened with gold. In the rectangular fields on both sides and in the arches are inscriptions on bands and in medallions of which we give Cousens translation of one because it sums up Muslim philosophy in a nutshell:

"Place no trust in life: it is but brief".

"There is no rest in this transitory world".

"The world is very pleasing to the senses".

"Life is the best of all gifts but it is not lasting".

"Malik Ya'qūb, a servant of the mosque and the slave of Sulṭān Muḥammad, completed the mosque".

"This gilding and ornamental work was done by order of the Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh, 1045" (1636 A.D.).

Asia Minor, Armenia and Turkey. The mihrāb took a development quite of its own among the Seldjūks of Rūm. Instead of the descendant of the high, Hellenistic round niche, we find here a prayer niche which rather resembles a hearth and is probably to be explained as an adaptation of the prayer carpet to this form of building. The appearance of these niches, which are thus of no structural significance, is however made up for by their stereometrically crystallised cone-shaped vaulting formed of cells. The Turkish art of the Seldjūks brought as its dowry to the art of the Muslim world the Muḡharnāṭ, the suggestion of which, it in turn owed to Buddhist art, for the Seldjūks came from Central Asia where Buddhist art had long prevailed. During the short period of Seldjūk architecture in Asia Minor, the xiiith century, the form of the niches remained unaltered. They are low rectangular shallow niches with pillars built in without bases, which bear rhombohedral crystal bodies as capitals and come to a point with the conical cells of the vaulting. The spandrels and frames are inlaid with the usual Seldjūk white, blue and black tile mosaic (pict. in Löytved, Sarre, Springer-Kühnel and Diez, *op. cit.*).

The most important change undergone by this early Turkish mihrāb in Ottoman architecture was the raising of the supporting niche to its full height. The niche assumed polygonal form, i.e. it has three or five surfaces constructed out of the octagon, such as we find in India and Persia from the xvth century; it was however raised higher and looks more slender and regularly ends in a muḡharnāṭ cone. The decoration consists mainly of marble and Turkish tiles. A moulded tinfoil frieze formed the usual framework for the whole. The combination of Byzantine and early Turkish elements, the hard forms and a certain rationalism in execution give these mihrābs that cold appearance which is peculiar to Ottoman art.

Worthy of mention is the splendid mihrāb of the Ulū Djāmī' in Wān in the Persian style with mosaics of glazed brick terracotta reliefs and inscriptions; a niche with a muḡharnāṭ (xiith—xiiith centuries, pict. in Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien*, pl. 62).

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MANĀRA and MASJID apply also to MIHRĀB. The mihrāb has not yet had separate studies devoted to it. The following works have been specially used here: F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, 4 vols.; E. Herzfeld, *Die Genesis der islamischen Kunst und das Mschattaproblem* (for the Khāssakī Mihrāb), in *Ist.*, i.; M. v. Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*; H. Viollet and S. Flury, *Un monument des premiers siècles de l'hégire en Perse*, in *Syria*, 1921; S. Flury, *La mosquée de Nayin*, in *Syria*, 1930; do., *Die Ornamentik der Hakim und Ashar Moschee*, Heidelberg 1912; do., *Ein Stuckmihrāb des IV. (X.) Jahrh. (Jahrb. d. as. Kunst, 1925)*; E. Diez, *Eine schiitische Moscheerüine auf Bahrain (Jahrb. d. as. Kunst, 1925)*; do., *Die Kunst der isl. Völker, Handbuch d. Kunstwissenschaft*; do., *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*; K. A. C. Creswell, *A brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to A. D. 1517, B I F A O*, xvi.; do., *The Works of Sultan Bibars in Egypt, B I F A O*, xxvi.; P. Ravaisse, *Sur trois mihrābs en bois sculpté, Mém. Inst. Egypt.*, ii. 1889; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 2 vols., 1926; E. Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst, K. d. Orient*, vol. ix.; H. Saladin, *La mosquée de Sidi Oḡba à Kairouan*; G. Marçais, *Coupoles et plafonds de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*; J. H. Löytved, *Konia, Inschriften der seldschugischen Bauten*; C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*; *Arch. Survey of India, Western India*, vols. vi. and vii.; H. Cousens, *Bijapur, a Guide to its Ruins*, Poona 1923. (E. DIEZ)

MIHRĀN, the name given by Muslim writers to the Indus (Sanskrit *Sindhu*), called by the Greeks *Σίνδω*s and *Ἰνδω*s, by the Romans *Sindus* and *Indus*, and by early Muslim writers *Ab-i Sind* (the Water of Sind). The name is more particularly applied to the lower reaches of the river, after it enters Sind. Pliny writes of "Indus, incolis Sindus appellatus".

The Indus rises in 32° N. and 81° E., receives the Kābul river almost opposite to Ātak, and the Pandjnad, the accumulated waters of the five rivers of the Pandjāb, just above Mithankot. Near Kashmor, in 28° 26' N. and 69° 47' E., the river enters Sind, and below Bakkar is locally known as *Daryā*, "the Sea". It falls into the Arabian Sea in 23° 58' N. and 67° 30' E. Its drainage basin is estimated at 372,700 square miles and its length at a little over 1,800 miles.

The courses of the Indus and its tributaries have undergone, even in historical times, extensive changes of which it is impossible to give details in this article, and which have misled historians who have disregarded them. They have been minutely and elaborately described in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxi. (1892) by the late Major H. G. Raverty, who has illustrated his scholarly monograph by a series of admirable maps.

(T. W. HAIG)

MIHRGĀN. [See MIHR.]

MIHRĪ KHATUN (originally Mihr-i Māh), an important Turkish poetess of the end of the xvth and beginning of the xvth centuries. She belonged to Amasia, which produced a number of poets, and spent her whole life there. She was one of the family of Pir Ilyās. Her father was a *kaḏī* and wrote poetry under the *makhlas* of Belāi. She inherited from him her poetic gifts and also

received from him the poetic and theological training ascribed to her by Ewliyā.

Not much is known of her life. This is in part to be explained by the reticence of the East regarding women. That in the East boys rather than girls are sung of in love songs is due not so much to a preponderance of paederasty as to a disinclination to talk of women at all. She died in 912 (1506). Her tomb in Amasia is a place of pilgrimage. She belonged to the literary circle of prince Aḥmad, the second son of Sultān Bayazīd, who was governor of Amasia in 886-918 (1481-1512). Of a circumcision festival in the *konak* of the prince in 911 (1505), it is recorded that Mihri was the chief of the poets present.

In spite of the love affairs credited to her and sung by her (with Iskender, son of Sinān Pasha, with Mu'ayyad-zāde [born 860 = 1456] and others), the Turkish biographers emphasize besides her beauty her virgin life, in spite of the glowing fervour with which she described her nights of love. Her nature was evidently not quite clearly understood by the *tezkere* editors. Contrary to the Oriental custom, Mihri remained unmarried in spite of many wooers. It is not improbable that the experiences described by her are not quite inventions but evidence of her passionate nature which drove her to unfettered love. Mihri's great merit is that she did not suppress her femininity, so that in her poems she reveals a truly womanly soul. In this respect, she is the most personal among Turkish poetesses.

As a woman she found it doubly difficult, in view of the restrictions on her sex at the time, to win a place as a poet, as the study of the Persian poets was absolutely necessary for this. The energy with which she managed to achieve her aim is remarkable. Her chief model was Nedjāti (d. 914 = 1509), the most important poet of the period, with whom she tried to compete. Most of her pieces are written in Nedjāti's manner. She is not very original, but very few Turkish poets are. In language and in images she is conventional. But her freshness, directness and passionate feeling, in which no other poetess equals her, are remarkable. Her eloquence and brilliant style were proverbial.

She left a *Diwān* (edition in preparation by Martinovitch) and several treatises in rhyme. A number of her poems have been made accessible to us by Smirnow. According to Ewliyā's statement (in MSS., not in the printed text), she also composed *risāla*'s on *fiḥh* and *farā'id*.

Bibliography: Latīfī, *Tezkere*, Constantinople 1314, p. 319-322; Sehi, *Tezkere*, Constantinople 1325, p. 122; Ewliyā, *Seyāhat-Nāme*, Constantinople 1314, ii. 192 (my MS. of the year 1176 gives ii., f. 91r full details of her works which are not in print); Zihni, *Mashāhir Nisā*, Constantinople 1295, ii. 240-241; Mu'allim Nadji, *Esāmī*, Constantinople 1308, p. 310; Aḥmad Mukhtār, *Shā'ir Khanīmlarımız*, Constantinople 1311, p. 59; Thureiyā, *Sidjill*, Constantinople 1311, iv. 527; Reshād, *Ta'rikh-i Edebiyāt-i 'Othmāniye*, p. 225-227 (n. d.); Shihāb al-Dīn Suleimān, *Ta'rikh-i Edebiyāt*, Constantinople 1328, p. 58; do. and Köprülü-zāde M. Fu'ād, *'Othmānī Ta'rikh-i Edebiyāt*, Constantinople 1332, p. 248-253; M. Tāhir, *'Othmānī Mükellifleri*, Constantinople 1333, ii. 408; 'Alī Emīrī, *Ta'rikh-i we-Edebiyāt*, Constantinople 1335, ii.

508-510; Ibrāhīm Nedjmī, *Ta'rikh-i Edebiyāt Dersleri*, Constantinople 1338, i. 79; Hammer, *G.O.D.*, i. 306-309; iii. 73; *G.O.R.*², i. 191; Smirnov, *Očerki istorii tureckoi literatury*, St. Petersburg 1891, iv. 478-481; do., *Obrazovaniya proizvedeniya osmanskoj literatury*, St. Petersburg 1891 and 1903; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. 123-135. (TH. MENZEL)

MİKÂL, the archangel Michael [cf. MALĀ'IKĀ], whose name occurs once in the *Qur'ān*, viz. in *sūra* ii. 92: "Whosoever is an enemy to Allāh, or his angels, or his apostles, or to Gabriel or to Michael, verily Allāh is an enemy to the unbelievers". In explanation of this verse two stories are told. According to the first, the Jews, wishing to test the veracity of the mission of Muḥammad, asked him several questions, on all of which he gave the true answer. Finally they asked him who transmitted the revelations to him. When he answered, Gabriel, the Jews declared that this angel was their enemy and the angel of destruction and penury, in opposition to Michael whom they said to be their protector and the angel of fertility and salvation (Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, i. 324 *sqq.*). — According to the second story, 'Umar once entered the synagogue (*midrās*) of Madīna and asked the Jews questions concerning Gabriel. They gave of that angel as well as of Michael an account similar to the one mentioned above, whereupon 'Umar asked: What is the position of those two angels with Allāh? They replied: Gabriel is to His right and Michael to His left hand, and there is enmity between the two. Whereupon 'Umar answered: If they have that position with Allāh, there can be no enmity between them. But you are unbelievers more than asses are, and whosoever is an enemy to one of the two, is an enemy to Allāh. Thereupon 'Umar went to meet Muḥammad, who received him with the words: Gabriel has anticipated you by the revelation of: "Whosoever is an enemy" etc. (*sūra* ii. 92; Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, i. 327; Zamakhsharī, p. 92; Baiḍāwī *ad sūra* ii. 91).

We do not know of any Jewish traditions which ascribe to Gabriella a hostile attitude towards the Jews. For the statements regarding Michael as communicated above, there is sufficient literary evidence. In Daniel xii. 1 Michael is called the great prince, the protector of the people of Israel; cf. *Targum Canticum*, viii. 9: "Michael, the lord of Israel"; Daniel x. 13, 21 where Michael is said to have protected the Jews against the kings of Persia and Greece; further 1 Enoch xx. 5 where he is called the protector of the best part of mankind; *Testamentum Levi*, xv. 6; *Test. Dan*, vi. 2.

In *Vita Adae et Evae*, chap. xii. *sqq.*, it is Michael who orders Satan and the other angels to worship Adam. Although the story is mentioned several times in the *Qur'ān* [cf. IBLIS], there is no trace in Muslim literature of the role ascribed to Michael in *Vita Adae et Evae*; the only mention of Michael in the Muslim legend is that he and Gabriel were the first to worship Adam, in opposition to Iblīs who refused to do so (al-Kisā'i, p. 27).

Neither does Muslim literature seem to have preserved other features ascribed to Michael in Jewish Apocrypha (mediator between God and mankind, 1 Enoch xl. 9; *Test. Dan*, vi. 2; 3 Baruch, xl. 2), or in the New Testament (Ep. Jude, vs. 9: Michael disputing with the devil about the body of Moses; Revelation xii. 7 *sqq.*: Michael and his angels

fighting against the dragon and the final discomfiture of the latter). Perhaps a faint recollection of Michael as the protector of mankind (the Jews, the Christians) may be found in the tradition according to which Michael has never laughed since the creation of Hell (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 224). Further, however, Michael is rarely mentioned in *ḥadīth* (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalq*, b. 7, where he, together with Mālik, the guardian of Hell, and Gabriel, appears to Muḥammad in a dream; Nasā'ī, *Istīṭāḥ*, b. 37 where Michael incites Gabriel to urge Muḥammad to recite the Qur'ān according to seven *aḥruf*).

al-Ya'qūbī mentions a story of which we have no counterpart in Jewish or Christian literature either, which is not amazing, the story bearing an outspoken Shi'ite tendency. One day Allāh announced to Gabriel and Michael that one of them must die. Neither however was willing to sacrifice himself in behalf of his partner, whereupon Allāh said to them: Take 'Alī as an example, who was willing to give his life on behalf of Muḥammad (the night before the *hidjra*; Ya'qūbī, ii. 39).

Michael is further mentioned by name as one of the angels who opened the breast of Muḥammad before his night journey (Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, I, 1157—59; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, ed. Tornberg, ii. 36 sq.), and as one of those who came to the aid of the Muslims in the battle of Badr (Ibn Sa'd, ii. 9, 18).

In the text of the Qur'ān as well as in a verse cited by Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, I, 329), the form of the name is Mīkāl as if it were a *mif'al* form from *wakala* (Horowitz). A direct reminiscence of the Greek, probably also of the Hebrew and Aramaic, forms of the name is to be found in the tradition preserved by al-Kisā'ī (p. 12), which calls Mikhā'il the attendant of the second heaven, in contradistinction to Mikā'il, who is the guardian of the sea in the seventh heaven (p. 15). Other forms of the name are Mīkā'il, Mīkā'il, Mīkā'il, Mīkā'in and Mīkā'ill. It is hardly necessary to say that in the magical use of the names of the archangels that of Mikā'il is on the same level as that of his companions (e.g. Zwemer, *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, p. 193, 197).

Bibliography: al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma; al-Kisā'ī, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, Leyden 1922; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 329 sq.; *Lisān*, xx. 159 (on the form of the name and its meaning); Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 328, 624; Rhodokanakis, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xvii. 282; Umayyā d. Abi Ṣalt, ed. Schulthess, in *Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, vii, N^o. lv., l. 8 (spurious); Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig-Berlin 1926, p. 243.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MİKĀT (A., *mif'al*-form from *w-k-l*, plural *mawākīt*) appointed or exact time. In this sense the term occurs several times in the Qur'ān (sūra ii. 185; vii. 138, 139, 154; xxvi. 37; xliv. 40; lvi. 50; lxxviii. 17).

In *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* the term is applied to the times of prayer and to the places where those who enter the *ḥaram* are bound to put on the *ikrām*. For the latter meaning of the term cf. *IKRĀM*, I.

Although some general indications for the times at which some *ṣalāts* are to be performed occur in the Qur'ān (cf. sūra ii. 239; xi. 116; xvii. 80; xxiv. 29), it may be considered above doubt

that during Muḥammad's lifetime neither the number of the daily *ṣalāts* nor their exact times had been fixed and that this happened in the first decades after his death.

A reminiscence of that period of uncertainty may be preserved in those traditions which apply a deviating nomenclature to some of the *ṣalāts*. The *ṣalāt al-ḡuhr* e.g. is called *al-ḥaḍīr al-ūlā*; the *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, *ishā'*; the *ṣalāt al-ishā'*, *atama*; the *ṣalāt al-faḍr*, *ghadāt* (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 13, 19). In other traditions the term *al-atama* as applied to the *ṣalāt al-ishā'* is ascribed to the Beduins and prohibited (Muslim, *Masāḍid*, trad. 228, 229; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 78; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 10 etc.); cf. on the other hand Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, bāb 20; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 129 etc., where the term *atama* is used without censure.

From some traditions so much may be gathered, that the — or at least some of the — Umayyads showed a predilection for postponing the times of the *ṣalāt* (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b. 7; Muslim, *Masāḍid*, trad. 166, 167; al-Nasā'ī, *Imāma*, b. 18, 55; Zaid b. 'Alī, *Madmū' al-Fiḥh*, N^o. 113).

In opposition to this a *ṣalāt* in due time is declared the best of works (Bukhārī, *Ḍiḥād*, b. 1; *Mawākīt*, b. 5; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 138, 139; Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, b. 13; *Birr*, b. 2). In other traditions this is said of a *ṣalāt* at its earliest time (Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, b. 13).

This early state of things is reflected in several respects in a tradition according to which 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz once postponed one of the *ṣalāts* and was rebuked for this by 'Urwa b. al-Zubair, who related to him that al-Mughira b. Shu'ba had once been rebuked for the same reason by Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī, on account of the fact that Gabriel himself had descended five times in order to perform the five *ṣalāts* at their exact times in the presence of Muḥammad. Thereupon 'Umar admonished 'Urwa to be careful in his statements (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b. 1; Muslim, *Masāḍid*, trad. 166, 167; al-Nasā'ī, *Mawākīt*, b. 10).

Some early groups of traditions affect to reproduce reminiscences of the practice in Madīna in Muḥammad's time.

a. The *ṣalāt al-ḡuhr* was performed at noon, when the sun was beginning to decline (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b. 11);

b. the *ṣalāt al-aṣr* when the sun was shining into 'Ā'isha's room, no shadows being yet cast there (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b. 13; Muslim, *Masāḍid*, trad. 168). After this *ṣalāt* people had still time to visit the remotest parts of the town, while the sun was still "alive" or "pure" (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b. 1, 13, 14, 18, 21);

c. the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* was finished at a time when people could still perceive the places where their arrows fell down (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b. 21);

d. the *ṣalāt al-ishā'* was sometimes postponed till a late hour, sometimes till the first third of the night had passed (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b. 11, 20, 21, 24);

e. the *ṣalāt al-faḍr* was performed by Muḥammad at a time when a man could discern his neighbour (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b. 13); but the women on their way home could not yet be recognised (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b. 27).

In a second layer of traditions these general indications are specified by the mention of the first and the last limits allowed for the different

prayers (cf. e.g. Muslim, *Masāḍid*, trad. 176, 177). On one day Muḥammad performed:

a. the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* when the sun began to decline;

b. the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* when the sun was still high, white and pure;

c. the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* immediately after sunset;

d. the *ṣalāt al-ʿiṣhāʾ* when the twilight had disappeared;

e. the *ṣalāt al-faḍr* at daybreak.

On the following day Muḥammad performed:

a. the *ẓuhr* later than the day before;

b. the *ʿaṣr* later than the day before, the sun being still high up;

c. the *maghrib* before the twilight had disappeared;

d. the *ʿiṣhāʾ* when the first third of the night had passed;

e. the *faḍr* when sunrise was near (*asfara biḥāʾ*).

In a tradition communicated by al-Shāfiʿi (*Kitāb al-Umm*, i. 62) the fixing of the mawākīt just mentioned is ascribed to the example of Gabriel (cf. Zaid b. ʿAlī, *Maḍmūʿ al-Fiḥh*, No. 109). These mawākīt have for the most part passed into the books of *fiḥh*. We cannot reproduce all details here. The following scheme may suffice:

a. *ẓuhr*: from the time when the sun begins to decline till the time when shadows are of equal length with the objects by which they are cast, apart from their shadows at noon. The Ḥanafites alone deviate in one of their branches in so far as they replace the ultimate term by the time when the shadows are twice as large as their objects. In times of great heat it is recommended to postpone the *ẓuhr* as late as possible;

b. *ʿaṣr*: from the last time allowed for *ẓuhr* till before sunset. According to Mālik the first term begins somewhat later;

c. *maghrib*: from the time after sunset till the time when the red twilight has disappeared. Small deviations only, in connection with a predilection for the first term;

d. *ʿiṣhāʾ*: from the last term mentioned for the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* till when a third, or half of the night has passed, or: till daybreak;

e. *faḍr*: from daybreak till before sunrise.

Side by side with these mawākīt we find in the books of Tradition and of Law the times on which it is not allowed to perform prayer, viz. sunrise, noon, and sunset (Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, b. 30—32; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirin*, trad. 285—294; cf. al-Nawawī's commentary for controversies regarding this point, and further Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muh. Trad.*, p. 192a). According to ʿĀʾiṣha it is only forbidden to await sunrise and sunset for prayer (Muslim, *Musāfirin*, trad. 296). In Makka prayer is allowed at all times (Bukhārī, *Ḥaḍīdī*, b. 73; Tirmidhī, *Ḥaḍīdī*, b. 42).

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited: Zaid b. ʿAlī, *Maḍmūʿ al-Fiḥh*, ed. Griffini, Milano 1919, p. 23—26; Abu ʿI-Ḳāsim al-Muḥakkik, *Kitāb Sharḥ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, p. 26; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, p. 50 sqq.; Mālik, *al-Muwattaʾ*, ch. *Wuḳūt al-Ṣalāt*, i. 12 sqq.; Khalil b. Ishāq, *al-Muḥkhaṣar fi ʿl-Fiḥh*, Paris 1318 (1900), p. 13 sq.; Guidi and D. Santillana, *Il Muḥṭasar o Sommario dell' diritto malechita di Ḥalil ibn Ishāq*, Milano 1919, i. 45 sqq.; al-Shāfiʿi, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321—25, i. 61 sqq.; Th. W. Jäynboll, *Hand-leiding tot de kennis van de Moh. Wet*, Leyden

1925, p. 53 sq.; Burhān al-Dīn Abu ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Marghinānī, *al-Hidāya wa ʿl-Kifāya*, Bombay 1280, i. 83—89; al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Mizān al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1279, i. 158—160.

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MĪKHĀʾIL ŠABBĀGH, an Arabic author born of Catholic parents in Akko in 1784, was educated in Damascus and then came to Egypt. Here he joined the French army of Napoleon's expedition, had to leave the country with them and came to Paris. The State printing works employed him as a proof-reader and the Bibliothèque Nationale as a copyist of Oriental manuscripts; his irregular habits prevented him leading a comfortable or settled existence, although de Sacy and his pupils appreciated his thorough knowledge of his mother tongue. He himself only used it to compose *qaṣidas* in the old style in praise of great men of the period and to make some money thereby. For example in 1805 he addressed a poem to the Grand Juge when he visited the printing works, in 1805 to Pope Pius VII, in 1810 to Napoleon on his marriage, in 1811 to the King of Rome, in 1814 to Louis XVIII. These poems were printed at the government press, that to Pius VII with a Latin translation by de Sacy, that to Louis XVIII with a French one by Grangeret de Lagrange. He also published a work on carrier pigeons entitled *Kitāb Musābaḳat al-Barḳ wa ʿl-Ḡamām fi Suʾāt al-Ḥamām*. *La colombe messagère, plus rapide que l'éclair, plus prompt que la nue*, par M. S. traduit de l'Arabe en Français par Silv. de Sacy, Paris 1805; based on the preceding: *Die blitzgeschwinde Briefpost, oder sinnreiche Kunst des Orients, Tauben zum Bestellen der Briefe abzurichten*, nach dem Arab. des M. S. Herborn 1806; *Beschreibung der Kunst der Taubenpost, welche seit der Zeit der Erlösung gebraucht wird*, aus dem Arab. von Dr. Th. J. K. Arnold, Frankfurt 1817; *La colomba messaggiere ratta piu del lampo*, trad. di S. A. Cataneo, Mailand 1822; *Die Brieftaube schneller als der Blitz*, aus dem Arab. von C. Löper, Strassburg 1879. — He left in manuscript a history of the Arab desert tribes of Syria, a history of Syria and Egypt and, important for its lexicographical information: *al-Risāla al-tamma fi Kalām al-ʿAmma wa ʿl-Manāhidī fi Aḥwāl al-Kalām al-dāridī*, M. S.'s Grammatik der arab. Umgangssprache in Syrien und Ägypten, nach der Münchener Hs. herausg. von H. Thorbecke, Strassburg 1886.

Bibliography: Humbert, *Anthologie Arabe*, p. 291 sqq.; *Biographie Universelle*, xxxix. 427.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

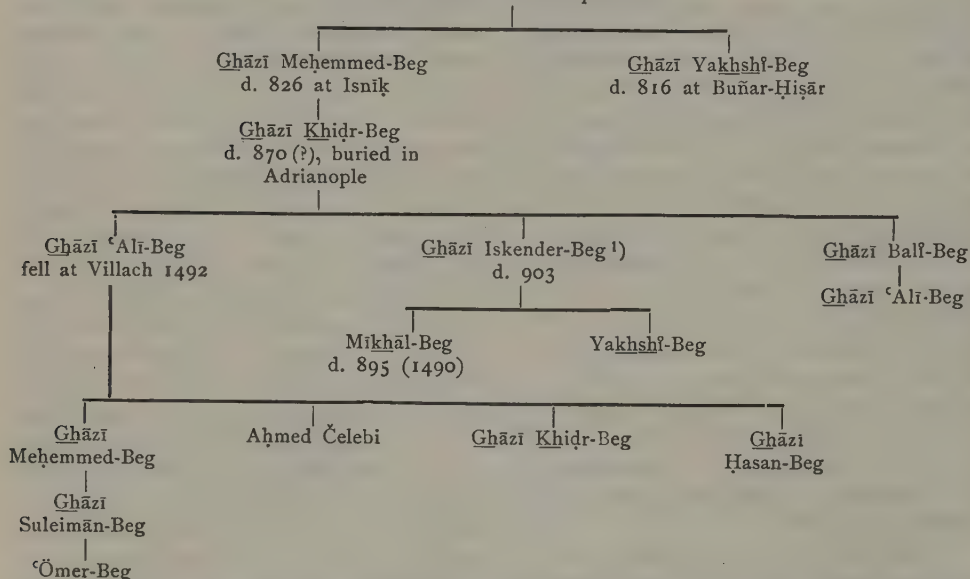
MĪKHĀL-OGHLU, an old Ottoman noble family. This family traces its descent to the feudal lord Köse Mikhāl ʿAbd Allāh, originally a Greek (cf. F.-A. Geuffroy in Ch. Schefer, *Petit traite de l'origine des Turcs par Th. Spandoun Cantacasin*, Paris 1696, p. 267: *L'ung desdicts Greca estoit nommé Michali... Dudit Michali sont descendus les Michalogli*), who appears in the reign of ʿOṯmān I as lord of Chirmenkia (Khirmendjik) at the foot of Olympus near Edrenos, and later as an ally of the first Ottoman ruler earned great merit for his share in aiding the latter's expansion (cf. J. v. Hammer, in *G.O.R.*, i. 48, 57, following Idris Bitlisi and Neshri). Converted to Islām, Köse Mikhāl appears again in the reign of ʿOṯmān's son Urkhan. The rank of commander of the *aḳindī*'s [q.v.] became hereditary in the family of Köse Mikhāl,

which is even said to have been related to the royal house of Savoy and of France (cf. Paolo Giovio: *Michalogli di sangue Turchesco e per via di donna si fa parente del Duca di Savoia e del Re di Francia*; in this case Mikhāl [Μιχαήλ] alias Köse Mikhāl must have been descended from the Palaeologi; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.* i. 582), and along with the Malkoç-oghlu (properly Malković, i. e. Marković), the Ewrenos-oghlu [q. v.], Timūrtash-oghlu [q. v.] and Turakhan-oghlu [q. v.] was among the most celebrated of the noble families of the early Ottoman empire. Köse Mikhāl, called 'Abd Allāh, died in Adrianople and was buried in the mosque founded there by him in the western Yildirim quarter.

As Adrianople was certainly not conquered till 1361 (see F. Babinger, in *M.O.G.*, ii. 311) he must therefore have lived into the reign of Murād I. What J. H. Mordtmann has said in the article *GHĀZĪ EWRENOS* [q. v.] would therefore be true about his remarkably long life. Köse Mikhāl had two sons, namely Mehemmed Beg and Yakhshī (Bakhshī?) of whom only the former acquired some renown. He was vizier under Mūsā Çelebi and a close friend of Sheikh Bedr al-Dīn of Simaw [q. v.]. Under Mūsā he was Beglerbeg of Rümell, and died in 825 (1422) at İsnik at the hand of the judge Tādī al-Dīn-oghlu and is said to have been buried at Plevna in Bulgaria (cf. Ewliyā Çelebi, *Siyāhet-*

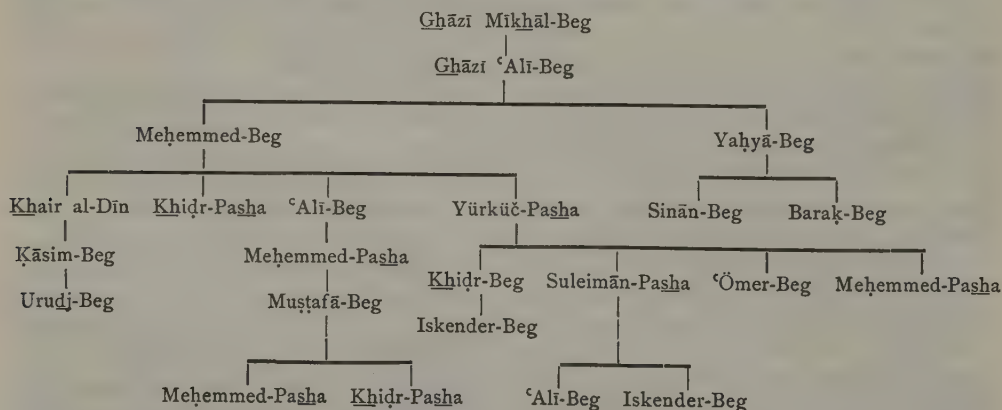
The following genealogical table shows the order of succession of the Mikhāl-oghlu:

'Abd Allāh, called Köse Mikhāl, son of "Aziz", d. at Adrianople, buried in his own mosque there



According to the genealogy published by Ismā'il Ḥaḳḳī, *Kitābeler* (Stambul 1345 = 1927), p. 25 which is based on a *Silsilenāme* in the Ewḳāf-

office, *Wakfiye Defterī*, N^o. 247, in Siwās, the genealogy of the Mikhāl-oghlu is as follows:



If we compare the article Yürküç Pasha in *Sidjill-i 'osmānī*, iv. 652, where the descendants of this general are given, we get a different picture of the genealogy.

1) According to Mehemmed Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 101, Iskender-Beg had four sons, 'Alī, Mehemmed, Khidr and Suleimān. This must be wrong and the genealogy is as above.

nâme, iii. 305), after being previously (816 = 1413) detained as a state prisoner in the prison of Bedewi Çardak near Tokat. His son was Khidr-Beg who distinguished himself in the wars of Murād II's reign. He died in 870 (1465) and was buried at Adrianople beside his ancestor Köse Mikhāl. Khidr Beg seems to have had three sons, namely Ghāzī 'Alī Beg, Ghāzī Iskender Beg and Ghāzī Balı Beg, of whom only the first two are of any historical importance. Ghāzī 'Alī Beg in 1461 distinguished himself in the battle against Vlad (see J. v. Hammer, ii. 64), in 1473 ravaged the lands of Uzun Hasan (*ibid.*, ii. 118), invaded Hungary in 1475 (*ibid.*, ii. 144) with his brother Iskender Beg, in 1476 (*ibid.*, ii. 156) was in command of the *aķindī*'s before Scutari in Albania and appears once again in Transylvania (*ibid.*, ii. 172); in the next 13 years nothing is heard of him. In 1492 he seems to have met his death at Villach in Carinthia, defeated by Count Khevenhüller, although other sources mention him at a still later date. According to them, he died in Plevna. His brother Iskender Beg in 1476 commanded the light cavalry at the siege of Scutari, as *sandjakbeg* of Bosnia (880, 885 and 890) (J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 156); in 895 (1490) in the Karamanian campaign, in which he lost his son, the governor of Kaişariya Mikhāl Beg (see J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 300), who was taken prisoner and sent to Egypt. He seems to have lived till 903 (1498). The military exploits of Ghāzī 'Alī Beg were celebrated by Süzi Çelebi (d. 930 = 1530 at Prizren; cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 34 sq.) in a long epic, (said to have been 15,000 couplets) fragments of which have recently been discovered (one in Berlin, MS. Or., N^o. 1468 containing 1,700 *baît* and the other in Agram, South Slav Academy of Sciences, Coll. Babinger, N^o. 535, i., with 212 *baît*). In some sources a Mehemmed Beg, who was distinguishing himself at that time, is described as a fourth son of Ghāzī Khidr Beg; in others however, he appears as the son of Ghāzī 'Alī Beg, which is not at all probable, if he really was twice governor of Bosnia, namely as early as 897 (1492) and again in 949 (1542) and did not die till 950 (1543). The family of the Mikhāl-oghlu now begins to fall into the background. About the middle of the xvth century an Ahmed Beg is again mentioned, perhaps as the last of the Mikhāl-oghlu holding the hereditary office in the family of leader of a body of *aķindī*'s (see J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 293), and lastly a Khidr Pāshā is mentioned in history as a descendant of Köse Mikhāl (see J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv. 512). The family at a later date had estates in Bulgaria (around Ihtiman; cf. Ewliya Çelebi, iii. 390 and C. Jirček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Vienna 1891, p. 138 and Philippopolis, *ibid.*, p. 379 sq.) and survived down to modern times. As we learn, however, from the *Sālnāme* of Adrianople for 1309, p. 82 sq., the Mikhāl-oghlu had already at an early date large estates around Adrianople. They had the country round Buñar-Hişār, Tirnovo, Kırk Kilise and Wize as a hereditary fief. The Anatolian district of Mikhālidi (Μιχαηλίδειον, Μιχαηλίδιον in Chalkondyles, p. 225; cf. Ewliya Çelebi, v. 293 sq.; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, in *S.W.A.W.*, *Phil.-hist. Kl.*, vol. ccxiv, Vienna 1891, p. 95 and J. H. Mordtmann, in *Z. D.M.G.*, vol. lxxv, 1911, p. 101) seems to be connected with the family of the Mikhāl-oghlu.

Bibliography: The well-known histories of J. v. Hammer, Zinkeisen, Jorga. Under the title *Ahwāl-i Ghāzī Mikhāl* (pr. Stambul 1315; cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 35, note 1) Nuzhet Mehemmed Pasha published a work glorifying a Köse Mikhāl and his descendants. — Al. A. Olesnickij in Agram is preparing an edition of the work of Süzi Çelebi and at the same time a history of the Mikhāl-oghlu. (FR. BABINGER)
MIKNĀS. [See MEKNES.]

MIKYĀS, any simple instrument for measuring, e.g. the pointer on a sundial; in Egypt the name of the Nilometer, i.e. the gauge on which the regular rise and fall of the river can be read. To get an undisturbed surface, the water was led into a basin; in the centre of this stood the water gauge, a column on which ell and fingers were carefully measured off. The level of the water was ascertained by an official daily and proclaimed by criers.

Originally the rising of the Nile was measured by the gauge (*al-raşāşa*). According to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, al-Kuḍā'i, and others, Joseph, the son of Jacob, built the first Nilometer at Memphis; at a later date, the "aged Dalūka" built Nilometers at Ahmim and Anşinā (Antinoë). These were the Nilometers in use throughout the Greek period till the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr b. al-'Ās. The latter erected a Nilometer at Assuan and a second at Dendera. Others were built in the reigns of Mu'awiya and 'Abd al-'Aziz. Finally the Caliph al-Mutawakkil had a large Nilometer built and instead of the Christian officials appointed Abu 'l-Raddād to look after it, and the office remained hereditary in his family down to the time of al-Makrizī (d. 1442).

The ancient Egyptians are said to have drowned a virgin in the Nile at the beginning of its rise as a sacrifice. 'Amr compelled the Nile to rise and fall at God's command by means of a writing which he threw into the water.

Bibliography: al-Mukaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 206; al-Kazwini, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 186; H. Ethé, *el-Kazwini's Kosmographie*, 1868, p. 379; al-Dimishki, *Cosmographie*, ed. M. A. F. Mehren, p. 90; al-Makrizī, *K. al-Khiṭaṭ*, Bulak 1270, i. 57 sqq.; U. Bouriant, *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, in *Mém. de la mission archéol. française du Caire*, vol. i., 1921, p. 162 sqq.; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islām*, 1922, p. 427; Ali Bey, *Travels*, London 1816, ii. 23 sq. (J. RUSKA)

MİLĀD (A.). According to some Arabic lexicographers the meaning of this term is time of birth in contra-distinction to *mawlid* which may denote also "place of birth". The latter is the usual term for birthday, especially in connection with the birthday of Muḥammad and Muslim saints [cf. the art. MAWLID]; *milād* denotes also Christmas. For other special meanings cf. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, s.v.

Bibliography: the Arabic lexicons.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MILAS, the ancient Mylasa, capital of Caria and famous in antiquity for its sanctuaries of the Carian Zeus (in mediaeval and modern western sources: Milaso, Milaxo, Melaso, Melaxo), a town in S.W. Anatolia, 15 miles from its seaport, Küllük (on the Gulf of Mendelia). It is the capital of the *kaẓā* of the same name in the wilāyet of Mughla (formerly the sandjak of Men-

teshe) and has 7,346 inhabitants (census of 1928) compared with 7,261 (of whom 3,200 were Greeks who were removed by the exchange of 1922, 739 Jews, who still flourish, and 71 foreigners) in 1908 (*Sālnāme Aidin*, of 1326 A. H.).

Milas lies on a low eastern spur of the Södra Dagħ (Gr. St. Elias) in the centre of a very fertile plain surrounded on all sides by hills, and watered by the Şarī Çay which flows round the Södra Dagħ on north and west. The road to the sea however does not follow this marshy water-course but crosses the hills south of the Södra Dagħ, here commanded by the once powerful mediaeval fortress of Peçin (three miles S. of Milas). The bay itself was in the middle ages defended by the island citadel of Asīn Kaḫesi (Judeich, Iasos; *Athen. Mitteil.*, xv. 139) and later by a castle at the harbour built by Mehmed II (Piri Re'is, *Bahriye*, ed. P. Kahle, chap. 21). At Milas met the old, and although difficult, only roads to the west to the important mediaeval port of Balāt (Miletus), to the north into the fertile plain of Karpuzlu Ovası and Çine and into the Maeander valley, and eastward to Muğla, the other important town of the district. This and its protected situation near the sea within a broad fertile plain destined the town to be once more a capital when the region again attained political independence under the Turkish dynasty of the Menteshe [q. v.].

The region first passed temporarily under Turkish rule when, after the victory of the Seldjūks at Mantzikert in 1071 the western Anatolian coast with Nicaea, Smyrna and Ephesus and even islands like Samos and Rhodes were occupied by the Turks. Although we have no definite information about Milas itself we know that the monks of the neighbouring Latmos had to leave their monasteries on account of the Turks (in 1079; cf. Th. Wiegand, *Milet*, III/i. 185). But Byzantine rule was soon restored. It was only when the centre of the imperial government was withdrawn to Constantinople after the victory over the Latins in 1261 that this region finally passed into Turkish hands. When and how the final conquest took place we do not exactly know. Melanudion, which with Milas formed a theme from the period of the Comnenoi (W. Tomaschek, *Z. hist. Topographie Kleinasiens im MA.*, Vienna 1891, *Abh. d. Ak. d. W.*, p. 38), and is therefore to be located in the neighbourhood of Milas and was Byzantine till 1273 at least, was again taken for a time from the Turks of Menteshe in 1296, so that it must have been occupied by them a few years before (Wiegand, *op. cit.*). That Menteshe is called Σαλπάνις (= Sāhīl Bāgi, Emir al-Sawāhīl) in Pachymeres (i. 472; ii. 211, Bonn ed.), in Sanudo (Hopf, *Chron. græco-romaines*, p. 145) Turquenodomar (read: Turquenodomar = "Turkoman of the sea") suggests a conquest from the sea. There is no longer any record at this period of the bishopric of Milas, which as a church of the eparchy of Caria (see G. Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et notitiae graecae episcopatum*, p. 32, 112 etc.) was under the metropolis of Stavrūpolis which still existed in the xvth century (A. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrh.*, p. 34 sqq.) (Stavrūpolis, the ancient Aphrodisias, at the village of Gere, twenty miles west of Denizli).

Milas appears as the capital of the principality of Menteshe about 1330 in al-ʿUmārī (ed. Taesch-

ner, p. 21; ملاش, corrupted from ملاس, while

Fōkeh = Phocaea which appears as a capital in the Genoese report, *ibid.*, p. 47 is probably an error of the writer and is not to be corrected to Muğla) and in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 278 sqq.) also, who here enjoyed the hospitality of the Akhī gild (on a *Futūwetnāme* written in Milas at the end of the xvth century see Taeschner, in *Islamica*, iv. 40) and admires the wealth of the town in gardens and orchards and gives the name of the lord of the country as Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Urkhan b. Menteshe, whom he visited in his capital Peçin, not far away. The Menteshe built very little in Milas as they were engaged in embellishing their residence. It is noteworthy that the two mosques of this period lie outside the old town, still largely enclosed in its old walls; one to the south, in the Hādjdjī Ilyās quarter, the little Şalāh al-Dīn Djāmiʿi with outer court and stepped minaret, built under Urkhan Bey in 1330; the other just outside the walls to the east, the mosque of Ahmed Ghāzi built in 1378, which with its entrance in the narrow side (without an outer court) and the stepped minaret built above it (Ismāʿīl Hakkī, *Kitabeler*, Istanbul 1929, fig. 47) looks as if it had once been a church (cf. Wulzinger, *Die Piruz-Moschee zu Milas*, in *Festschr. d. Techn. Hochschule in Karlsruhe*, 1925, p. 10 of the reprint). The minbar of this mosque also dated 780 (1378) is now in the Çinili Kiosk in Constantinople. From the position of these mosques, it may be deduced that the old town remained in the occupation of the Christians, who still held the most of it in quite recent times. The only mosque in the old town, just in its centre, and in the highest part of it, the Bülden Djāmiʿi, seems also to have been a church and was probably used by the garrison, if it is old. The medrese of Khodja Bedr al-Dīn, which dates from the period of the Menteshe, unfortunately cannot be exactly dated (*Rev. Hist.*, v. 58).

Milas received its first important building from the first Ottoman governor Firūz, whom Bāyazid I appointed over Menteshe-ili (*Düsturnāme-i Enveri*, ed. Mükrimin Hilal, Istanbul 1928, p. 88) after the conquest (792 = 1390) (the date given by most Turkish sources is supported by Bāyazid's confirmation of the Venetian privileges for Balāt of May 21, 1390, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, Venice 1899, ii., N^o. 134). The Menteshe who fled to Egypt (*Düsturnāme*, i. c.) was probably the prince of the house ruling in Balāt, while the senior Ahmed Ghāzi may have held out in Milas and Peçin till July 1391 (according to his tombstone he died in Peçin in Shaʿbān 793 as *shahid*). In 1394 Firūz built to the north of the old town and outside of it a splendid mosque in the style of the Brusa private mosques (cf. Wulzinger's monograph). Ottoman rule was interrupted by Tīmūr who passed through Milas on his return from Smyrna in the winter after the battle of Angora (1402) (Ducas, p. 76, Bonn ed.), for about twenty years by the restoration of the former dynasty. This last period of the Menteshe-oghlu has left no memorials in Milas or Peçin. The Ottoman commanders then made their headquarters in Peçin, after which this kaza of the Menteshe sandjak was long called (Abū Bakr b. Bahrām in Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 638, i. e. the second half of the xviii century) and only moved

to Milas at a later date, when a magnificent official residence was erected, with defensive towers, and is still partly inhabited.

From the second half of the xviii century we have Ewliyā's description of the town (in the unprinted vol. ix. of his *Siyāhet-nāme*, MS. Beshir Agha, N^o. 452, fol. 51). He says the town had 4 mosques, 3 masjids and two large khāns. At this time the garrison was still in Peçin. He praises the gardens of the town but rightly describes the climate as unhealthy. Among the products he mentions tobacco, with which Milas supplied the whole of Anatolia. Among the holy places mentioned by him, we may note that of Shaikh Shushterī because it probably belongs to the Baba al-Shushterī met here by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Ewliyā's description of the old ruins is much exaggerated, although he saw a good deal more than now exists. Pococke (*Travels*, ii./2, ch. 6) at the end of the eighteenth century was still able to sketch a temple of Augustus and Roma here. All that now survives in addition to the town walls is the Balta Kapu (a Corinthian gateway with the Carian double-axe) and a mausoleum called Gümüşhkesen (filigree-worker) (Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman*, i. 234 sqq., pl. 85—92). In the adjacent village of Shaikh Köy is the *türbe* of Shaikh Bedr al-Dīn b. Shaikh Kāsīm, who died at Brusa in 884 (1479) and is buried here, a *khālifa* of Saiyid Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (see *Rev. Hist.*, v. 311 sqq.), on the site of a church of St. Xene, who died here (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, xiv. 616 sq.).

The capital of the Menteshe, already mentioned several times, Peçin (Gr. Petsona) consists of an imposing citadel built over ancient foundations and Byzantine masonry and an extensive town lying south of it. The citadel with its walls and towers crowns a steep rock that rises out of the southern end of the plain of Milas (Ismā'il Ḥakki, fig. 40) and is accessible only at the south side by a great door flanked by a tower adorned with lions carved upon it. Inside the fortress, where there now is a miserable little village, the only architectural remains are the foundations of a church. Opposite to the entrance to the citadel, on a plateau surrounded by walls, some of which still stand, lie the palace and its annexes, now mostly in ruins. All that survives is the charming medrese, built of stone, of Ahmed Ghāzī of 777 = 1375 (Ismā'il Ḥakki, fig. 51—54). In the *ṭiwān*, the arch of which is flanked in the spandrels by reliefs of lions holding flags, the founder is buried (see above); opposite the medrese stands a mosque built by Urkhan Bey in 732 (1332), in ruins except for the gateway of Byzantine doorbeams and fragments of ambros (the inscription is given in Ewliyā), probably the one that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw being built on his visit to Peçin (Bardjin). There is also a mosque and medrese, a bath and a palatial serai, all in ruins. Exceptionally finely carved tombstones give the names of important people who lived here down to the xvth century. Ewliyā, who still found about one hundred houses here, thought there must once have been a great town here. Peçin is mentioned by Kaḷāshandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, viii. 18, as the possession of a certain Emir Mūsā, lord of Balāt and Bardjin (بحر) (who is known from a coin in the collection of J. H. Mordtmann). A native of Bardjin was Mahmūd b. Mehmed, who about the middle of the xvth

century dedicated his "Book of the Falconer" (*Bāznāme*) written in Turkish to a Menteshe-oghlu (v. Hammer, *Falknerklee*, Vienna 1840; Thüry, *Török nyelvemlékek a XIV. sz.*, p. 29). On October 17, 1414 in Pezona the Menteshe-oghlu Ilyās Bey concluded a treaty with the Venetians (*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ii., N^o. 166).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 666 sqq.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1872, p. 648; Heyd, *Gesch. d. Levantehandels im MA.*, i. 584 (Fr. ed., i. 535). I was unable to consult the work mentioned by Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, ii. 596 entitled I. Koukoulis, *Tà Nēu Múxara*, in *Εσποφάνης*, iii. 448 sqq. For the Muslim inscriptions see A. Tewhīd, in *Rev. Hist.* (Constantinople), ii. 761; iii. 1146, also Ḥāfīz Qadrī (*ibid.*, v. 57, 308) and Ismā'il Ḥakki, *Kitabeler*, Istanbul 1929, p. 155 sqq.

(P. WITTEK)

MILK (A.), possession, property. The word is not found in the Qur'an, but is in regular use in legal terminology. The double meaning of the word shows that the usual distinction in our legal language between the conceptions of possession and property are not found in the *fiqh*. There is, it is true, a special term for the actual power over a thing, what we call possession in the narrower sense, namely *yad*, lit. "hand", but the distinction between a judicial ownership and the actual control is not found in Muslim jurisprudence and there is not a word for property which takes into account the actual ownership, either from the positive or the negative point of view. As a result we find, for example, that the ownership of a thing passes directly by an agreement if this was intended, even if the thing in question is not at once handed over. On the other hand, not only things but also rights can be owned.

The following are excluded from the possibility of being property and subject to legal regulations: 1. useless things (e.g. wild animals); 2. things the use of which is prohibited by religion (e.g. wine-grapes); 3. things which are ritually impure or have become polluted to such an extent that they cannot be purified (e.g. swine, dung etc.) so long as they are not essential parts of a pure or permitted thing. If such things, however, are acquired, one talks not of *milk* but of *ikhtisās*, a special claim upon them; legal transactions relating to such things have a special vocabulary of their own.

Kamāl al-milk is a necessary preliminary for the property of an owner being liable to *zakāt* [q.v.].

Bibliography: The articles 'ABD, BA', MĀL, SHIRKA, TIDJĀRA and the literature there given; Juynboll, *Handleiding* (1930), § 60 and the references there given; al-Ghazzālī, *al-Waḍi'a*, i. 85 sq. (M. PLESSNER)

MILLA (A.), religion, rite. However obvious it may be to connect this word with the Hebrew and Jewish- and Christian-Aramaic *milla*, *mella*, "utterance, word", it has not been satisfactorily proved how and where it received the meaning which is taken for granted in the Qur'an: religion or rite. Nor is it known whether it is a purely Arabic word or a loanword adopted by Muḥammad or others before him (Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, lvii. 413 seems to hold that it is Arabic for he refers to the 4th form *amalla* or *amla* "to dictate"). In the Qur'an it always means (even in

the somewhat obscure passage, Sūra xxxviii. 6) "religion" and it is used of the heathen religions (vii. 86 sq.; xiv. 16; xviii. 19) as well as of those of the Jews and Christians (ii. 114), and of the true religion of the fathers (xii. 38). The word acquired a special significance in the Medina sections where the Prophet in his polemic against the Jews speaks of "Abraham's *milla*", by which he means the original revelation in its purity, which it was his duty to restore (ii. 124; iii. 89; xvi. 124; xxii. 77 sq.; cf. iv. 124; vi. 162; xii. 37). Muslim literature follows this Qur'anic usage but the word is not in frequent use. With the article, *al-milla* means the true religion revealed by Muḥammad and is occasionally used elliptically for *ahl al-milla*, the followers of the Muhammadan religion (Ṭabari, iii. 813, 15, 883, 4), just as its opposite *al-dhimma* is an abbreviation for *ahl al-dhimma*, the non-Muhammadans who are under the protection of Islām; e. g., Ibn Sa'd, iii. 1, 238, 21; cf. also the derivative *milli* opposed to *dhimmi*, client (Baihaqi, ed. Schwally, p. 121 infra).

Bibliography: Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, p. 40; Z. D. M. G., lvii. 413; Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, *Glossar*, s. v.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 30 sqq. (F. BUHL)

MIM, 24th letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of forty. On different forms of the letter cf. ARABIA, plate 1. In some dialects of Southern Arabia and of tribes coming from that region, mim was and is used as the article of determination, side by side with *l*. A well known tradition is put into the mouth of a man from Southern Arabia in the following form: *Laisa min am-birri am-ṣiyāmu fi 'm-saṣar*. Cf. Ibn Ya'ish, ed. Jahn, ii. 1331; Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, II/ii. 281—290. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MINĀ, later often pronounced *Munā*, a place in the hills east of Mecca on the road from it to 'Arafa [q. v.]. The distance between the two is given by Muḥaddasī as one parasang, while Wavell calls it five miles and says the continuation to 'Arafa is nine miles. Minā lies in a narrow valley running from west to east, 1,500 paces long according to Burckhardt, surrounded by steep barren granite cliffs. On the north side rises a hill called *Ṭhabir*. Travellers from Mecca come down into the valley by a hill path with steps in it; this is the '*Akaba* [q. v.] which became famous in connection with Muḥammad's negotiations with the Madinians. The town consists of stone houses of fair size which form two long streets. Close beside the '*Akaba* is a rudely hewn short pillar leaning against a wall; this is the "great *djamra*" or the '*Akaba djamra*', at which the pilgrims cast stones [cf. *DJAMRA*]. A little to the east in the middle of the street is the "middle *djamra*" also marked by a pillar and lastly at a similar distance the third (the so-called "first *djamra*"). As one approaches the east end of the valley, there is on the right of the road a square mosque surrounded by a wall, the *Masjid al-Khaif*, which was rebuilt by Saladin and in 874 (1467) reconstructed by the Mamlūk Sulṭān Qā'it Bey. Along the west side of the surrounding wall is a colonnade with three rows of pillars, but there is none on the other sides. It was different earlier, for Ibn Rusta (c. 300 A. H.) tells us that the mosque had 168 pillars of which only seventy-eight supported the west wing. The north side of the wall

is pierced by several doors. In the centre of the court of the mosque is a little domed building with a minaret built over a fountain. There is another dome over the colonnade on the west side (see the illustrations, ii. 256).

The most striking feature of Minā is the very great difference, noted already by Muḥaddasī, between the quiet and empty streets of the greater part of the year and the tremendous throng and bustle of the pilgrimage month when, as Wavell says, half a million people with heavily laden beasts of burden hope to cover nine miles in the period between sunrise and 10 a.m. Every spot in the valley is then covered with tents in which the pilgrims spend the night. Muḥaddasī talks of fine houses built of teak and stone (among them was a frequently mentioned *Dār al-Imāra*), and large stone buildings are still to be found in Minā; but these are usually empty and are only let at the pilgrimage to the more wealthy pilgrims and even among these many prefer to live in tents. This depopulation of the city has been a subject for discussion among the legists, for some held that this circumstance enables Minā and Mecca to be regarded as one city (*miṣr*), a view which others reject. But another circumstance must have contributed to prevent a permanent settlement of the town, which is also true of other places on the pilgrims' route, namely the incredible filth and dreadful stench which is caused by such masses of humanity at the Ḥajj. Complaints are made even of the uncleanness of the *Masjid al-Khaif* and at Minā there are further the decomposing remains of the countless animals sacrificed.

The Ḥajj ceremonies in Minā date back to the old pagan period [cf. *HADJ*], for Muḥammad, as usual in taking over old customs, contented himself with cutting out the too obviously pagan elements, the result being that we can no longer reconstruct the old forms with certainty. The old poets make only passing references to them (cf. *DJAMRA*); that they were similar to the Muslim practices is evident, for example, from an interesting passage in the Medina poet Kais b. *Khatim* (ed. Kowalski, No. 4, p. 1 sqq.) where there is a reference to the "three days in Minā" and where we further learn that the festival held there offered an occasion for entering into and carrying on love-affairs. The stone throwing is certainly very ancient; its significance is quite unintelligible in Islām, although it is doubtful if there were already three heaps of stones in the pre-Islamic period [cf. *DJAMRA*]. It is also clear that the ceremonies in Minā formed the conclusion of the Ḥajj even in ancient times. Muḥammad however made some serious alterations here, for he inserted a visit to Mecca before the stay in Minā, whereby the ceremony first received its legitimate Muhammadan character; but the old elements remained the important factors, for the Ḥajj ends not in Mecca but, as before, in Minā, to which the pilgrims return after the digression to Mecca. A survival of the pagan period probably exists in the slaughtering place preferred by the majority on the southern slopes of *Ṭhabir* "the place of sacrifice of the ram" (cf. Sūra xxxvii. 101 sqq.), as its association with the story of Abraham probably enabled an old pagan sacred spot to be adopted into Islām. From Burton's description it is a square-rocky platform reached by a few steps. Muḥammad himself did not directly forbid the use

of the pagan place of slaughter, but deprived it of its importance by saying that all Minā is a place of sacrifice: a clever procedure which he also followed at 'Arafāt and Muzdalifa.

According to the law of Islām, the pilgrims who arrive in Mecca on the 8th *Dhu 'l-Hijjā* should leave this town in time to be able to perform the mid-day ṣalāt in Minā and remain there till sunrise on the 9th and only then go on to 'Arafāt. The majority however do not do this but go on the 8th straight on to 'Arafāt where they arrive in the evening. After performing the ceremonies of the pilgrimage in 'Arafāt and Muzdalifa [q. v.], they go before sunrise on the 10th to Minā to celebrate the day of the great sacrifice (*yawm al-aḥḥā* or *yawm al-naḥr*) (in contrast to the pre-Islāmic practice, which was to start only after sunrise). Here the concluding rites are gone through, the slaughtering, the clipping of the hair and nails and the lapidation. There is not complete agreement on the order of these ceremonies, which one tradition (Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, p. 429) makes Muḥammad declare to be quite irrelevant. The modification of the stone throwing is noteworthy, for on the day of sacrifice it is only done at the 'Aḳaba heap, while on the three following days each pilgrim daily throws seven little stones on all three heaps (cf. the illustrations above, ii. 256 and Burton, ii. 205). The conclusion of the whole pilgrimage is the three Minā or *tashriḳ* days, the 11th, 12th and 13th *Dhu 'l-Hijjā* (cf. above, ii. 199 and the article *TASHRIḲ*). They are days of rejoicing which are celebrated with great jubilation, illumination and the firing of shots. All the pilgrims however do not wait for these three days but set off on their return journey before then.

Bibliography: Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, p. 423, 426, 428; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, II/i. 125; al-Mukaddasi, *B.G.A.*, iii. 76; Ibn Rusta, *ibid.*, vii. 55; Yāḳūt, *Muḥḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 642 sq.; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 415—431; Burton, *A Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, Memorial Edition, 1893, ii. 203—222; al-Batanūni, *al-Riḥla al-Hidjāziya*, Cairo 1329; Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim*, p. 153—171; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 80, 88; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leyden 1880, esp. p. 158—167; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 151—157; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 1923, p. 238—295; cf. the Bibl. to the article *DIAMRA*, and add: Houtsma, *Het Skopelisme en het Steenwerpen te Minā*, in *Versl. Med. Ak. Amst., Afd. Letterkunde*, 4. Reeks, vi. 104—217; Chauvin, *Le jet de pierres et le pèlerinage de Mecque*, in *Annales de l'Acad. d'Archéologie de Belgique*, ser. v., vol. 4, p. 272 sq.; Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v. where also are given the passages from Ḥadīth referring to the prohibition of fasting during the days of Minā, and to the order to stay in Minā during the "nights of M.". (FR. BUHL)

MINARET. [See MANĀRA.]

MINBAR (A.), pulpit [cf. MASBJID]. On the origin of the form of the minbar the reader may be referred to C. H. Becker's exhaustive study *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam (Nöldeke-Festschrift und Islamstudien)*. Becker refers to the earliest historical statement which says that the Prophet in the year 7 A. H. made his minbar

on which he used to preach to the people; it had two steps and a seat (*maḥḥad*). The minbar was therefore originally a raised seat or throne. On the morning after the death of the Prophet, after stormy disputes, Abū Bakr took his seat on the Prophet's minbar in a solemn assembly and received the general homage here. The later caliphs followed this tradition, as did the governors, who ascended the pulpit on their accession to office and on their resignation. The minbar in the early period was therefore not at all specially associated with worship but was the seat of the ruler in the council. The pulpit only gradually grew out of it with the development of public worship. According to Becker, the date of the change from the ruler's or judge's seat to the simple pulpit coincides with the end of the Omayyad dynasty. In 132 A. H. all the mosques in the provinces of Egypt were provided with minbars, about the same period probably in the other lands of Islām also. At the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period the minbar was already a pulpit exclusively. The first tendency to its use as a pulpit is seen by Becker in the introduction of the minbar into the divine service at the Muṣallā in Medina, which is ascribed to Mu'āwīya or to his governor. The Prophet did not have a minbar at the Muṣallā and nothing but divine service could have been held there.

The typical form of the minbar as a pulpit, which is placed to the right of the miḥrāb and of the spectator, is an erection on steps with a portal with or without a door at the entrance to the steps and a ciboriumlike canopy to the platform. This form is peculiar to the minbar of wood, which is the most usual. The variants in stone and brick are more simple and frequently are only a bare platform reached by three to five steps. The fine series of minbars of wood begins with that most famous of all in the history of art, the minbar in the great mosque in Kairawān. On the occasion of the extension of the mosque by Ibrāhīm II Ibn Aghlab (261—289 = 874—902) it is said to have been brought with the lustre tiles of the miḥrāb wall from Baghdād and set up. It is made of plane-tree wood and is in the canonical minbar shape with a staircase—here of 17 steps—to the preacher's platform. The pulpit, however, has not yet the stylized structure of the later wooden minbar. It has not the portal nor the canopy at the top. Its composition of about 200 carved panels and narrow strips of unequal size, is simply a primitive agglomeration of profuse ornamentation, still very nomadic in feeling, such as would hardly ever have been found in Baghdād, and even in Kairawān can scarcely be regarded as original. Saladin has pointed out that the pulpit must have been restored after Kairawān had been sacked by the troops of the Fātimid Mustansir Abū Tamīm in 441 (1049). In any case it has several times suffered damage and undergone restoration so that its present general appearance cannot be dealt with critically until we have a thorough monograph based on exact investigation on the spot. The ornamentation must, as Kühnel observes, be regarded as Omayyad (Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, vi. 385).

The vine branches of the frame-strips and the panels filled with floral patterns and leaves resemble the decoration at Mshattā² [q. v.] and some of the geometrical patterns, which are of all imaginable combinations, are already found on the shafts of

pre-Islāmic columns in Diyār Bakr (cf. van Berchem-Strzygowski, *Amida*). The archaistic combination of designs on the minbar has no connection with the decoration which since Sāmarrā we call 'Ab-bāsid. We have here a phenomenon comparable to Mshatta' since here also ornamentations from different sources are combined to form a general scheme whose common denominator is formed by the formal quality of the chiaroscuro common to them all. We do not even know how long the nucleus of these carved strips and latticed panels may have previously existed in Baghdād and they may have there belonged to an Omayyad minbar before the pieces were brought to Kairawān and supplemented by copies and additions of local workmanship.

The few pulpits that have survived from the Fātimid period follow the Syro-Egyptian style of woodwork of the period with their system of frames filled with foliage. The tendrils were prevented from over-running the whole surface by being placed within small polygonal areas which were grouped together in cassettes (Kühnel, Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, vi. 406). The wooden mihrāb of the xiith century from Cairo illustrated in the article MIHRĀB illustrates this style, which is also represented by the minbar made in 1091 A.D. for the mosque in 'Aṣḳalān and now in Hebron, and by the pulpit of 1155 A.D. in the mosque of 'Amr in Kūs on the upper Nile.

During the Fātimid period the pulpit developed its canonical form as represented in the minbar of the Masjid al-Aḳṣā in Jerusalem, which was gifted in 1168 A.D. by Nūr al-Din to Aleppo and later taken by Saladin to Jerusalem (Saladin, *Manuel*, fig. 28). It henceforth appears with the door way and the domed canopy. The main decorative motives are 8-pointed stars and the polygonal and star-shaped subsidiary panels show carving in relief inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl. Of the minbar of Sultān Lādīn in the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn of the year 1269 A.D. little more is left than the framework, while the panels are preserved in the Arab Museum in Cairo and in the South Kensington Museum (cf. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Arab Museum*, Cairo). That wooden minbars were sometimes copied in stone is shown by the stone pulpit in the mosque-madrassa of Sultān Ḥassān (757—764 = 1356—1363). The muḳarnas on the door case and soon after found on the dome also, here as in the mihrāb goes back to Turkish influence transmitted through Syria. Like the mihrāb, the minbar also attained its finest workmanship in Cairo under the second Mamlūk dynasty in the xvth century and later. No essential alteration was later made in its canonical form and its embellishment remained standardised and varied only in details. A fine example of this fully developed Cairo type is in the South Kensington Museum. According to the inscription, it was presented by Ḳā'it Bey (1468—1495) and has finely carved ivory panels and traces of painting on the wooden parts. The usual star pattern is replaced by a smooth surface. The gilt onionshaped dome with its finial and crescent on the stalactite cornices are, as Briggs observes, characteristic of the period (Briggs, *Muslim. Archit. in Egypt and Palestine*, p. 217).

After the Turkish conquest, the general deterioration in craftsmanship in Cairo affected the minbar also, but exceptions, like the finely-worked pulpit of the mosque of al-Burdaini, however show that the good old tradition still survived. Ḥakam II's

minbar in Cordoba has not survived but from the descriptions of the Arab writers it must have been a peculiarly valuable piece of work, for according to al-Maḳḳarī it cost 35,705 dinars. It could be moved on wheels and contained the caliph 'Omar's Ḳur'ān. In the mosque of 'Alā' al-Din in Ḳonya is a minbar of hazelwood, according to an inscription on the posts supporting the upper part, the work of an artist of Aḳhlāt of the year 550 (1155). Two inscriptions on the door of the pulpit mention Sultān Mas'ūd I (510—551 = 1116—1156) and Kilidj Arslān II (551—584 = 1156—1188) (cf. J. H. Lojtvēd, *Konia* and F. Sarre, *Seldschukische Kleinkunst*, p. 27 sq., pl. vi.—viii.). Inscriptions from the Ḳur'ān decorate the frames of the balustrades of the steps. The pulpit is of the traditional Syro-Egyptian form, but is, however, distinguished from them by its vigorous structure. Polygons and star-shaped panels fill the sideframes, together with the same tendril patterns symmetrically interwoven, as we find naturalised in all the eastern lands of Islām from the beginning of the eleventh century (detailed illustration in Sarre, *op. cit.*, fig. 24).

In Persia and Afghānistān all the old minbars seem to have been destroyed during the Mongol invasion. On the other hand, the minbar illustrated here in the mosque of Djawhar Shāh Agha in the sanctuary of the Imām Riḍā in Meshhed which was built about 840—850 (1436—1446) is original in ornamentation and an example of the Timūrid minbar. The structural motive is thrust into the background by the profuse covering of small pentagonal and star-shaped wooden panels with tendrils carved in relief after the style of the contemporary tiles; the effect is that of a carpet. Nothing is known of old minbars in Turkestan. In India, pulpits were built almost exclusively of stone. Many, some of them richly carved, still exist in the Muslim provinces and towns of India. The pavilion on four pillars, common and popular in India, which gives a charm to buildings for Muslim worship as a decorative finish to the roof, was also used here for the stone minbar. Indeed one might even wonder whether this originally Indian structure was carried by the Eastern Turks to Central Asian lands and adopted by them for the minbar. Minbars with such canopies are frequently found in the mosques of the province of Guḍjarat and in Aḥmadābād (cf. these volumes in the *Arch. Survey of India, Western India*). The mosque of Hilāl Khān Ḳādī of 1333 A.D. in Dholka, for example, has a stone minbar with seven steps and a canopy on pillars on the roof, but no entrance gate. The triangular side walls are divided into square areas which are carved in relief (*Arch. Survey of India, Western India*, vol. vi., Guḍjarat, pl. xxviii., xxx.). In Haidarābād, the Muslim state of the south, on the other hand, the minbars are more simple and heavier, and have no canopy (cf. illustration from Osmanābād).

Bibliography: M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924; E. Kühnel, *Die islamische Kunst*, Springer's *Handbuch der Kunstgesch.*, vol. vi.; J. H. Lojtvēd, *Konia, Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten*, Berlin 1907; F. Sarre, *Seldschukische Kleinkunst*, Leipzig 1909; J. Strzygowski, *Alt-Iran* (ornamentation of the minbar in Kairawān); *Arch. Survey of India, Western India*, vol. vi., Guḍjarat, vol. vii., Aḥmadābād.

(E. DIEZ)

MINTAQA or **MINTAQAṬ AL-BURŪDĪ** also **MINTAQA FALAK AL-BURŪDĪ** or (more rarely) **NIṬĀḲ AL-BURŪDĪ** means, like the technical term **FALAK AL-BURŪDĪ** most frequently used in scientific literature, the circle (*mintaka*) of the twelve signs of the zodiac ("towers", Greek *πύργοι*), then the zone of the ecliptic formed of the twelve signs each covering 30°.

The *Kurʾān* contains references to *mintaka* in three different passages, viz:

Sūra xv. 16: "We have placed towers (*burūdġ*) in the heavens and adorned them for the spectators".

Sūra xxv. 61: "Blessed be he that placed towers (*burūdġ*) in the heavens and who placed a lamp in them and a light-giving moon".

Sūra lxxxv is entitled *al-Burūdġ* and verse 1: "By the heavens with its towers (*burūdġ*)".

Babylonia may with great probability be assumed to be the original home of the zodiacal circle. The period of its origin cannot be fixed with certainty: the first attempts at a grouping of the constellations on the path of the sun and the planets, however, date from before the period of Hammurabi and in any case into the third millennium B. C. Almost all the names familiar to us are already found in Sumerian inscriptions. The Boghaz-Köi list of about 1300 B. C. gives all the signs of the zodiac with the exception of Leo and Libra.

The only pictorial representation of the starry heavens of the early Muslim period, the fresco on the dome of Kuṣair ʿAmra shows the ecliptic as a broad band, along which are arranged the twelve *burūdġ*; it also shows the pole of the ecliptic and the 12 (ecliptical) degrees of longitude, as well as the equator and a series of parallel circles. The peculiarity of the arrangement of the heavens with considerable southern latitudes shown beyond the equator on the hemispherical inner surface of the dome results in the equator and ecliptic not being shown as the largest circles. The method of representing the separate constellations on the fresco, especially the *mintaka*, is, broadly speaking the same as that on the Atlas Farnese. (N. B. It should be noted that the fresco of Kuṣair ʿAmra represents the heavens reflected as in a mirror).

The twelve *Burūdġ*. Preliminary Note: The names of the *burūdġ* are given in Arabic literature with many variations: those quoted below are the most usual. With the fixed stars a distinction is made between those which form the outline of a constellation (*Kawākib min al-šūra*), i. e. the essential stars and such as "go beyond the constellation" (*khāriḍġ al-šūra*) and are regarded as only being loosely connected with it, i. e. the unessential stars.

The account here given is based in its main features on the statements in the first part of al-Ḳazwīnī's *Cosmography*.

1. *al-Ḥamal* or *al-Kabsh*, the Ram (*Aries*). It consists of 13 essential stars, 5 unessential lie in its immediate vicinity; its fore-part is turned to the west and its hind-part to the east. It has its face on its back. The two bright stars on the horn (β and γ) are called *al-Sharaṭānī* or *al-Nāṭīḡ* ("the butter"); they form at the same time the first of the 28 stations ("mansions") of the moon (*manāsil*). According to another reading the name *al-Nāṭīḡ* is given to the unessential star α Arietis situated above the figure of the Ram. The three stars ϵ , δ and ρ Arietis form the second station of the moon and are called *al-buṭān* ("little paunch").

2. *al-Thawr*, the Bull (*Taurus*). 32 essential and 11 unessential stars; its forepart faces the east. The bright star at the point of the northern horn (presumably β Tauri) is also included in the Waggoner (*Auriga*) as well as in the Bull. α is called *al-Dabarān*, *ʿAin al-Thawr*, *Tāli ʿl-Naḍīm*, *Ḥādi ʿl-Naḍīm* and *al-Fanīḡ* ("large camel"), while the Hyades which surround it are called *al-Kilās* (the "young camels"). The Pleiades are called *al-Thurayyā*, κ and ν together *al-Kalbānī* ("the two dogs") of *al-Dabarān*. The Pleiades form the third, *al-Dabarān* and the Hyades together the fourth station of the moon.

3. *al-Tawʾamānī* or *al-Djarwāʾ*, the Twins (*Gemini*). 18 essential and 7 unessential stars. The Twins are in the form of two men whose heads are turned to the northeast and feet to the southwest. Castor and Pollux (α and β) are called *al-Dhirāʾ al-mabsūṭa*; they form the seventh station of the moon. γ and ξ are called *al-Hanʾa*; together with three other stars of the Twins they form the sixth station of the moon. The name of η and μ Geminorum is *al-Bakḥāʾī*.

4. *al-Saraṭān*, the Crab (*Cancer*). 9 essential and 4 unessential stars. ϵ Cancrī with γ and δ form the eighth station of the moon and have the peculiarly Arab name of *al-Nathra* ("the cartilage of the nose") or in keeping with the *Almagest*, *al-Maʿlaf* (= *praesepe*). The star β on the south hind-foot is called *al-Taraf* ("the extremity"). ξ Cancrī and λ Leonis form the ninth station of the moon, *al-Tarf* ("the glance").

5. *al-Asad*, the Lion (*Leo*). 27 essential and 8 unessential stars; he is conceived of as looking to the west. α (Regulus), γ , ζ and η are called *al-Djabha* ("Forehead of the Lion") and form the tenth station of the moon; δ and ϑ are the eleventh station of the moon, *al-Zubra* ("back-hair" or "mane of the Lion") or *Kāhil al-Asad*. β Leonis is called *Ḳunb al-Asad* or as the twelfth station of the moon *al-Ṣarfa*. According to another reading, the name *Ḳunb al-Asad* is given to small stars in the vicinity of *al-Ṣarfa*.

6. *al-ʿAdhrāʾ* (only in the catalogue of fixed stars taken from the *Almagest*), the Virgin (*Virgo*) or *al-Sunbula*, the ear of corn. 26 essential and 6 unessential stars; the head of the Virgin lies south of β Leonis, her feet west of α and β Librae. The five stars in the shoulders β , η , γ , δ and ϵ Virginis, form the thirteenth station of the moon *al-ʿAwwāʾ*; α Virginis forms the fourteenth station of the moon, *al-Simāk al-ʿaṣal* or *al-Sunbula* (cf. *Spica*) which name is applied to the whole constellation of the Virgin. (N. B. The name *Sāk al-Asad* for α Virginis is not quoted as a name of the fourteenth station of the moon). The fifteenth station of the moon consists of the stars ϕ_1 , ι , κ and λ on the left foot; it is called *al-Ghafr*.

7. *al-Mizān*, the Scales (*Libra*). 8 essential and 9 unessential stars. α and β Librae on the pans of the balance form the sixteenth station of the moon which is called *al-Zubānā* or *Zabāniyā al-ʿAkrab* ("claws of the Scorpion") (cf. Sumerian ZI.BA.AN.NA., Akkadian *Zibanita* as the name of the constellation *Libra*).

8. *al-ʿAkrab*, the Scorpion. 21 essential and 3 unessential stars; it has its head to the west and its tail to the east. β , δ and π Scorpii mark the seventeenth station of the moon *al-*

Iklil, α the eighteenth station of the moon *Ḳalb al-ʿAkrab*, λ and ν the nineteenth station of the moon *al-Ṣawla* ("Sting of the Scorpion"). The stars σ and τ to the right and left of *Ḳalb al-ʿAkrab*, are called *al-Niyāṭ*.

9. *al-Rāmī*, the Archer (*Sagittarius*) or *al-Ḳaws*, the Bow or *al-Sahm*, the Arrow. 31 essential and no unessential stars; the face with bow and arrow is turned to the west, the hind-part of the horse's body to the east. (The fresco on the dome at Ḳusair 'Amra on the other hand shows the upper part of the body of the archer turned towards the hind-part of the horse's body, and aiming with the bow over this to the west. The stars γ (on the point of the arrow), δ (on the bow-grip) ϵ (at the south end of the bow), η (on the right fore-foot) are called *al-Naʿām al-wārid*, σ (on the left shoulder), ϕ (on the notch of the arrow), τ (on the shoulder blade) and ζ (under the shoulder) *al-Naʿām al-ṣādīr*. Both constellations together form the twentieth station of the moon, *al-Naʿīm*. μ and λ Sagittarii on the northern bend of the bow are called *al-Ḳalimānī*, α (on the knee), and β_1 β_2 (on the shin-bone) are together called *al-Ṣuradānī*. The space almost void of stars at π Sagittarii marks the twenty-first station of the moon, *al-Balda* or *Baldat al-Thaʿlab*.

10. *al-Djady*, the Goat (*Capricornus*). 28 essential, no unessential stars: the figure is conceived of as looking to the west. α and β on the eastern horn form the twenty-second station of the moon *Saʿd al-Dhābiḥ* γ and δ on the tail are called *al-muḥibbānī*.

11. *Sākib al-Māʾ* or *al-Sākī*, the water-carrier (*Aquarius*) or *al-Dalw*, the pail. 42 essential and 3 unessential stars; the head of Aquarius points to the N. W., the feet S. E. α and σ on the right shoulder are called *Saʿd al-Malik* or *Saʿd al-Mulk*. The two (or three) stars on the left hand (μ , ν or μ , ν , ϵ) form the twenty-third station of the moon. *Saʿd al-Bulaʿ*, β and ζ on the left shoulder together with c_1 and c_2 Capricorni form the twenty-fourth station of the moon *Saʿd al-Suʿūd*. The four stars γ , ζ , π and η on the right fore-arm and the right hand are called *Saʿd al-Akḥbiya* and form the twenty-fifth station of the moon.

12. *al-Samakātānī*, the two Fishes (*Pisces*) or *al-Ḥūt*, the Fish. 34 essential and 4 unessential stars; the figure is conceived as two fishes, the western in the south of the back of Pegasus, the eastern in the south of Andromeda. The two fishes are connected by a band of stars. *al-Ḳazwīnī* does not mention any outstanding stars.

It is evident, then, that by far the greater part of the 28 *manāzil* fall into the area of the 12 *burūdī* and form part of them. Only the following four do not belong to them: N^o. 5 *al-Ḥaḳʿa* (λ , ϕ_1 , ϕ_2 Orionis), N^o. 26 *al-Fargḥ al-awwal* (α , β Pegasi), N^o. 27 *al-Fargḥ al-thānī* (γ Pegasi, α Andromedae), N^o. 28 *Baṭn al-Ḥūt* or *al-Rishāʾ* (a large number of stars forming a fish in the neighbourhood of β Andromedae).

The zodiacal figures N^o. 1, *al-Ḥamal*, N^o. 4, *al-Saraṭān*, N^o. 7, *al-Mizān* and N^o. 10, *al-Djady* are known together as *Burūdī munḳaliba*, Greek *ζώδια τροπικά*; N^o. 2, *al-Thawr*, N^o. 5, *al-Asad*, N^o. 8, *al-ʿAkrab* and N^o. 11, *al-Dalw* under *Burūdī ḫābīta*, *ζώδια σπρεπά*; N^o. 3, *al-Djawsāʾ*, N^o. 6, *al-Adḥrāʾ*, N^o. 9, *al-Rāmī* and N^o. 12, *al-Sama-*

katānī under *Burūdī Dhawāt al-Djasadain*, *ζώδια δίσωμα* (i.e. "Signa bicorpora", "Double figures": Twins, Virgin and Ear of corn, Archer with Horse's body and the two Fishes).

al-Ḳazwīnī gives from Ptolemy the extent of the *Mintaqa* as $486.259.721\frac{1}{7}$ *Mil*, the length of each *Burūdī* as $39.388.310\frac{2}{3}$ *Mil*, and the breadth as $1.322.943\frac{1}{3}$ *Mil*.

Mintaqa in Astrology.

Muthallathāt.

By *al-muthallathāt* (sg. *al-muthallatha*) are meant in Arab astrology the Greek *τρίγωνα*, Lat. *trigona* or *triquetra*, which in the middle ages were usually translated by *triplicitates*.

The twelve signs of the zodiac are here arranged in threes at the angles of four intersecting equilateral triangles of which one is allotted to each of the four elements. Each triangle is given two of the seven planets as its rulers (*rabb*, pl. *arbab*, Greek *οικοδεσπόται* or *τριγωνοκρατορες*), one for the day and another for the night; a third is associated with the two others as "companion".

The arrangement is as follows:

1. *Muthallatha* — Element: Fire.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Ḥamal*, *al-Asad* and *al-Rāmī* (N^o. 1, 5 and 9).

Ruler: by day *al-Shams* (Sun), by night *Mushtari* (Jupiter).

Companion: *Zuḥal* (Saturn).

2. *Muthallatha* — Element: Earth.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Thawr*, *al-ʿAdḥrāʾ* and *al-Djady* (N^o. 2, 6 and 10).

Ruler: by day *Zuhara* (Venus), by night *al-Ḳamar* (Moon).

Companion: *Mirrikh* (Mars).

3. *Muthallatha* — Element: Air.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Djawsāʾ*, *al-Mizān* and *al-Dalw* (N^o. 3, 7 and 11).

Ruler: by day *Zuḥal* (Saturn), by night *ʿUḫria* (Mercury).

Companion: *Mushtari* (Jupiter).

4. *Muthallatha* — Element: Water.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Saraṭān*, *al-ʿAkrab* and *al-Samakātānī* (N^o. 4, 8 and 12).

Ruler: by day *Zuhara* (Venus), by night *Mirrikh* (Mars).

Companion: *al-Ḳamar* (Moon).

The distribution of the *Muthallathāt* has been settled since the time of Ptolemy (*τετραβιβλος*). *Wudjūḥ* or *Ṣuwar*. By dividing each *burūdī* into three we get 36 decans each of 10°, which in Arabic are called *wudjūḥ* (sing. *wadḥ*), *ṣuwar* (sing. *ṣūra*) or *daridjān* (from the Indian *drekkāṇa*, a loanword from the Greek) or *dahadī* (Pers.), in Greek *δεκαβοί* or *πρόσωπα*, in mediaeval Latin *facies*, more rarely *decani*. The astrological significance is the same as with the Greeks, who in their turn go back to Egyptian models. The decans are not mentioned in Ptolemy. *al-Ṣuwar* means properly the *paranatellonta* of the Babylonian Teukros, the constellations which rise at the same time as the separate decans according to his list. Abu Maʿshar and other Arab authors took over the list of the *paranatellonta* from Teukros un-

altered, but not the astrological interpretations associated with them.

Buyūt. The Greek οἶκοι or τόποι, Lat. *domicilia* or (mediaeval) *domus*, are called in Arabic *buyūt* (sg. *bayt*). The sun and moon are each ruler (*sāhib*, *rabb*, Greek οἰκοδεσπότης [cf. above *muthallathāt*]) over one sign of the zodiac; each of the other five planets rules over two signs at the same time, according to the following scheme, also already laid down in the τετράβιβλος:

Lion — Sun	Archer	Jupiter
Crab — Moon	Fishes	
Scales } Venus	Goat	Saturn
Bull } Saturn	Water-carrier	
Scorpion } Mars	Virgin	Mercury
Ram } Mercury	Twins	

The *burūdī* from the Lion to the Goat are day-houses, the rest night-houses. If a planet is in its day-house during the hours of day or in its night-house at night, it is credited with particularly powerful astrological influence.

Sharaf and *Hubūt*. By *sharaf* (pl. *ashraf*) we understand the ὑψωμα of the Greeks, *sublimitas* of Pliny, *altitudo* of Firmicus Maternus, *exaltatio* in mediaeval Latin; *hubūt* is the Greek ταπεινώσις, *ταπεινώμα*, more rarely κοίλωμα, class. Lat. *directio*, med. Lat. *casus*.

A planet attains its maximum astrological influence in its *sharaf*; its influence is least in the *hubūt*, i.e. the point in the heavens diametrically opposite the *sharaf* on the circle of the ecliptic.

Planet	<i>Sharaf</i>	<i>Hubūt</i>
Sun	Ram 19°	Scales 19°
Moon	Bull 3°	Scorpion 3°
Saturn	Scales 21° (20°)	Ram 21°
Jupiter	Crab 15°	Goat 15°
Mars	Goat 28°	Crab 28°
Venus	Fishes 27°	Virgin 27°
Mercury	Virgin 15°	Fishes 15°

The only inaccuracy in the list of exaltations, already fixed in ancient times, is giving 20° instead of 21° to the Scales for Saturn, which however goes back to a very old error; it is also found in Pliny, Firmicus and in the Hindu astronomer Varāha-Mihira.

al-Bal'amī assumed that at the time of the creation of the world the planets were in their *ashraf*.

Various Arab writers since Abū Ma'shar also ascribe exaltations and dejections to the nodes of the moon (*aḥdātāni* or *uḥdatāni*, scil. *al-ahmar*): ascending node (*ra's*) as *sharaf* the Twins 3°, and as *hubūt*, the Archer 3°; *vice versa* to the descending node (*dhanab*) as *sharaf* the Archer 3°; as *hubūt* the Twins 3°. This allocation is not known to the Greek astrologers.

Hudūd. Each of the five planets (excluding the sun and moon) possesses in each of the 12 *burūdī* a sphere of influence covering several degrees (Arab. *ḥadd*, pl. *hudūd*, Greek ὅριον, Lat. *finis*, med. Latin *terminus*) which has the same astrological significance as the planet itself and can represent it at any time in horoscopes. On the distribution of these spheres of influence within the zodiacal circle opinions differed widely and unanimity could never be attained. Ptolemy added one more to the Egyptian and Chaldaean divisions already in existence. (The various systems are

fully expounded in the τετράβιβλος, i. 20, fol. 43: Boll has studied this question very fully in *Neues zur babylonischen Planetenordnung*, Z. A., xxxviii. [1913], p. 340 sqq.). The Arab astrologers used almost exclusively the Egyptian system, which makes the different spheres of very unequal sizes.

Mintaka in Astronomy.

The Mintaka is, as in the Greek astronomy, the fundamental basis for all calculations. It is divided into 360° degrees (*djuz'*, pl. *adjūā'* or *daradja*, coll. *daradj*, pl. *daradjāt*), each degree into 60 minutes (*daḥika*, pl. *daḥā'ik*), each minute into 60 seconds (*thāniya*, pl. *thawāni*), each second into 60 thirds (*thālitha*, pl. *thawālith*) and so on.

The points of intersection of the ecliptic with the equator (*dā'ira* or *falak mu'addil al-nahār*) define the two equinoxes (*al-i'tidālāni*), the points of the greatest northerly and southerly declination the two solstices (*al-inḡilābāni*). The position of a fixed star or planet with respect to the Mintaka is defined by giving its longitude (*ṭūl*, pl. *aṭwāl* or in al-Battānī *al-djuz'* *alladhī fihi al-kawkab*) and latitude (*arḍ*, pl. *'urūd*). The longitudes are numbered from the vernal point (*al-nuḡḡat al-rabī'iya*). The axis erected perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic meets the sphere of the fixed stars in the two poles of the ecliptic (*ḡuḡbā dā'irat al-burūdī*).

On Arab star-maps and -globes, we frequently find a mixed ecliptical and equatorial system of coordinates used (cf. the remarks above on the fresco on the dome at Ḳusair 'Amra), which consists of ecliptical circles of longitude through the poles of the ecliptic and equatorial parallel circles.

Precession (in al-Battānī *Ḥarakat al-kawākib al-ḡābiṭa*, in later authors more precisely *Mubādarat nuḡḡat al-i'tidāl*). Among the Arab astronomers supporters were found for the theory of Ptolemy, who explained the precession as a continual revolution of the whole heavens around the pole of the ecliptic with a period of 36,000 years, as well as for that handed down by Theon of Alexandria (*Thāwun al-Iskandarānī*) from older sources, according to which the process of the precessions consisted of an oscillation to and from around the "nodes of the path of the sun". The greatest amount of the precession according to this theory is 8° west or east of the nodes; the retrogression amounts to 1° in 80 years so that the whole phenomenon repeats itself after 2,560 years. The latter theory found particular approval in India and was further developed there. Thābit b. Ḳurra gave an explanation for it which at the same time took into account the (more suspected than observed) diminution in the obliquity of the ecliptic and calculated the length of the period at 4171½ years. al-Battānī attacked and refuted this oscillation hypothesis of Theon and of the *Aḡḡāb al-ḡilsamāt* (ἀποτελεσματικοί); on a basis of new and comparative observations he found that the precession amounted to 1° in 66 years, which corresponds to a period of 23,760 years, which is roughly 10% too small. The very accurate estimate of 1° in 70 years is also occasionally, if rarely, given in Arabic literature, according to E. Zinner, *Geschichte der Sternkunde*, p. 289.

Obliquity (*Mail falak al-burūdī*, very frequently *al-mail kulluhu* or *al-kullī* in contrast to *al-mail al-djuz'*, "declination of the separate points in the Mintaka", cf. al-Aḡḡāwī, p. 21). The pro-

blem of estimating the obliquity of the ecliptic was during the classical period a centre of interest for the Muslim astronomers. As a first attempt at an exact estimate in the Muslim period, Ibn Yūnus (ch. ix., p. 222 of the Leyden Codex or of the Paris Codex, N^o. 2475) mentions an observation of the period between 778 and 786 which gave the value $\varepsilon = 23^{\circ} 31'$. We have an unusually large number of observations of later dates. (For details see Nallino's notes on al-Battānī's *Opus Astronomicum*, i. 157 sqq.).

al-Battānī in his observations used a parallactic ruler (triquetrum, *iḍāda fāwila*) as well as a finely divided wall quadrant (*libna*). He ascertained with these instruments in al-Raḡḡa the smallest zenith distance of the sun at $12^{\circ} 26'$, the greatest at

$59^{\circ} 36'$; this gave $\varepsilon = \frac{47^{\circ} 10'}{2} = 23^{\circ} 35'$. This

value is at the basis of all al-Battānī's calculations and tables and has been adopted by many other Arab astronomers.

The question whether the amount of obliquity remains constant at all times or is subject to a secular diminution was answered in different ways by different students. As a matter of fact the degree of accuracy of observation was not sufficient to settle this point and the old Hindu value of $\varepsilon = 24^{\circ}$, on which these investigations were often based, was based not on observations but only on a statement of Euclid's according to which astrologers of his time used to estimate the obliquity as a fifteenth part of the circumference of the circle.

The following table gives a survey of the Arab values for the obliquity of the ecliptic (cf. Nallino, *al-Battānī, Opus Astronomicum*, loc. cit.). The column "average obliquity" gives by Bessel's formula:

$$\varepsilon = 23^{\circ} 28' 18''.0 - 0''.48 368. t - 0''.000 002 722 95. t^2 \quad (t = \text{years after 1750})$$

the true values calculated for the periods in question. The years given in brackets are only approximate, i. e. not given by the authors themselves.

Bibliography: al-Battānī, *K. al-Zīj al-Sābi'* (*Opus Astronomicum*), ed. C. A. Nallino, vol. i.—iii. Milan 1899, 1903, 1907); al-Kazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-'Ibād* ("Cosmography"), ed. Wüstenfeld, table i., 9 and 10 (Göttingen 1849); al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, transl. H. Ethé, vol. I (Leipzig 1868); Fr. Boll, *Sphaera* (Leipzig 1903); Boll-Bezold, *Sternkunde und Sternentwicklung*³, ed. by W. Gundel (Leipzig 1926); F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, vol. i. (Leipzig 1906); A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geistes-kultur*², p. 201—228 (Berlin and Leipzig 1929); E. Zinner, *Geschichte der Sternkunde*, Berlin 1931, p. 288, 289, 292, 293.

(WILLY HARTNER)

MINICOY, a coral island in the Arabian Sea midway between the Laccadive and the Maldiva Islands; it belongs like the former to the Ālī Rājā of Cannanore but ethnographically and geographically has more claim to be attached to the Maldiva group. It is six miles long but very narrow, being only $1\frac{3}{4}$ square miles in area. The population is about 3,000. The people, who are probably of Singhalese origin, have been Muḥammadans since the xvth century. The language is Mahl but the Arabic character is used. They are strictly monogamous. A girl's consent is required for her marriage and she brings no dowry, but receives presents from the bridegroom. The women go unveiled. There are three castes in the island. The inhabitants all live in one village which is divided into ten quarters in each of which the men and women are separately organised with their own headmen and headwomen. All work on land is done by women. The men are sailors and fishermen. Most of the island's food supply has to be imported. The chief exports are cocoanuts, coir, cowries and dried fish. The important position held by women in Minicoy has suggested its identification with Marco Polo's "Female Island" (ed. Yule, ii. 404).

Comparative table of the Arab values for the Obliquity of the Ecliptic

Observer	Place	Year	Obliquity observed	Average obliquity	Error
Eratosthenes	Alexandria	(230 B. C.)	23° 51' 20"	23° 43' 45"	+ 7' 35"
Hipparchus	Rhodes	(130 B. C.)		42' 57"	+ 8' 23"
Ptolemy	Alexandria	(140 A. D.)		41' 10"	+ 10' 10"
Tabulae Probatae (<i>al-Zīj al-mumtaḥan</i>)	Baghdād	829	33'	35' 41"	— 2' 41"
Other observers under al-Ma'mūn	Damascus	832	33' 52"	35' 40"	— 1' 48"
Banū Mūsā	Baghdād	(860)	35'	35' 26"	— 0' 26"
al-Battānī	al-Raḡḡa	(880)	35'	35' 17"	— 0' 17"
Banū Amādjūr	?	(918)	35'	35' 0"	0' 0"
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šūfī . .	Baghdād?	(965)	33' 45"	34' 35"	— 0' 50"
Abu 'l-Wafā'	Baghdād	987	35'	34' 25"	+ 0' 35"
Widjān b. Rustam al-Kūhī .	Baghdād	988	51' 1"	34' 25"	+ 16' 36"
Ibn Yūnus	Cairo	1001	34' 52"	34' 19"	+ 0' 33"
al-Bīrūnī	Ḡhaznī	(1019)	35'	34' 10"	+ 0' 50"
Alphonsinian Tables	Toledo	(1250)	32' 29"	32' 19"	+ 0' 10"
Ibn al-Šāṭir	Damascus	(1363)	31'	31' 25"	— 0' 25"
Ulugh Beg	Samarḳand	(1437)	30' 17"	30' 49"	— 0' 32"

Bibliography: Account of the Island of Minicoy, in *The General Report of the Trigonometrical Survey of India 1869—70*, p. xxvi.—xxxi.; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s. v.; *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1889, p. 197—213, 307—323; *Report on Minicoy* by W. Logan (1870) and by H. M. Winterbotham (1876); W. Logan, *Malabar*, i. 285—287. (J. ALLAN)

MINŪCHĪRĪ, ABU 'L-NADJIM AḤMAD B. YA'KŪB, Persian poet, nicknamed *Shast-galla* = "sixty-herds", because of the wealth he accumulated in horses and cattle; but some say the name should be read *Shast-kul* or *Shast-kula* i. e. "crooked-thumb". He was a native of Dāmghān, calling himself "Dāmghānī" in his verse although Dawlatshāh says he came from Balkh. He was a younger contemporary and imitator of 'Unṣurī [q. v.], but he is considered to have excelled his model in poetic power. After completing his studies under Abu 'l-Farāj of Sistān (d. circa 392 = 1002) he enrolled himself in the service of the Amīr Minūchīr b. Kabūs b. Washmgīr, ruler of Djurdjān and vassal of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and from the name of this first patron he took his *takhalluṣ*. Presumably through the influence of 'Unṣurī he later became attached to Maḥmūd's entourage of literary men at Ghazna, and wrote *qaṣīdas* in praise of his new patron and of his sons Muḥammad (who reigned for less than a year) and Mas'ūd who succeeded to the Ghaznawid throne. The latter was assassinated in 432 (1041), and Minūchīrī did not long survive him (Rizā-kulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣḥā*, i. 543, says he died in the same year and quotes 'Awfi as having called him "short-lived"). In his work Minūchīrī shows himself to be a skilled versifier, displaying a clever felicity of rhyme and very often a refreshing simplicity and straightforwardness of language. Also he did not hesitate to use new forms for his verse, and he is the earliest Persian writer we know of to have used the strophic form of the *musammat*, which, as used by him, consists of a series of *miṣrā'a*s or *stichoi*, in groups of six. All six may rhyme together, or only five; in the latter case the last line rhymes with the last lines of the other strophes. In spite of his qualities as a versifier, Minūchīrī cannot be regarded as a great poet, even for his day. His themes, — wine, love, springtime and the virtue of patrons — are of the stock pattern, and his *qaṣīdas* are deliberately moulded on the Arabic form, with all its artificialities. In flattery of his patrons he is as servile as any in the whole range of Persian panegyrists and his conceit of himself as it appears in his work is sometimes ludicrous in its effect (cf. N^o. 48 in Biberstein-Kazimirsky's edition, Paris 1886).

Bibliography: works quoted above and Ethé, in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*. A Ṭīhrān ed. of the *Diwān* was published in 1297 A. H. (R. LEVY)

MĪR, a Persian title abbreviated from the Arabic *amīr* and approximating in meaning both to it and to the title *mīrā* [q. v.]. (For the dropping of the initial *alif*, cf. Bū Sahl for Abū Sahl etc.). Like *amīr* the title is applied to princes (Minūchīrī, ed. Biberstein-Kazimirski, 1886, p. 96, speaks of Mas'ūd, Sultān of Ghazna, as "Mīr"), but it is also borne by poets and other men of letters (e.g. Mīr 'Alī Shīr, Mīr Khwānd, Mīr Muḥsin; cf. the following art.). In India, Saiyids sometimes call themselves by the title. As a common noun, it is used as an equivalent of *ṣāhib*, e.g. *mīr pañdjī*,

mīr ākhwūr. In Turkish there was derived from it the colloquial adjective *mīrī* ("belonging to the government"), which gave rise to *al-mīrī* ("the government") in the colloquial Arabic of 'Irāk.

(R. LEVY)

MĪR, the poetical designation of Mīr Muḥammad Taqī b. Mīr 'Abd Allāh, was a native of Akbarābād. After the death of his father he went to Dihli during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam (1173—1221 = 1759—1806) and became a pupil of Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū. In 1190 (1776) he left Dihli for Lucknow, where he spent the remaining portion of his life. He is recognised to be the most eminent poet of the Urdū language. He died at Lucknow in 1225 (1810) when he was nearly 100 years old. He is the author of six *diwāns* which have been repeatedly printed in India, and a biography of Urdū poets, entitled *Nukat al-Shu'arā'*.

Bibliography: *Shifṭa, Gulshan-i Bikhār*, fol. 167—176; Āzād, *Abi Ḥayāt*, Lahore 1913, p. 203—241; Karīm al-Dīn, *Ta'rikh-i Shu'arā'-i Urdū*, Dihli 1848, p. 115—120.

(M. HĪDAYET HOSAIN)

MĪR AMMĀN. [See AMMĀN.]

MĪR DJUMLA. [See MUḤAMMAD SA'ID.]

MĪRĀDJ (A.), originally ladder, later "ascent", especially Muḥammad's ascension to heaven. In the *Qur'ān*, Sūra lxxxi. 19—25 and liii. 1—12, a vision is described in which a heavenly messenger appears to Muḥammad and Sūra liii. 12—18 deals with a second message of a similar kind. In both cases the Prophet sees a heavenly figure approach him from the distance but there is no suggestion that he himself was carried off. It is otherwise with the experience alluded to in Sūra xvii. 1: "Praise him, who travelled in one night with his servant from the Masdjid al-Ḥaram to the Masdjid al-Akṣā, whose surroundings we blessed, in order to show him our signs". That Muḥammad is meant by the "servant" is generally assumed and there is no reason to doubt it (Schrieke, *Islam*, vi. 13, note 6; Bevan, *Z. A. T. W.*, xvii. 53 sq.); that the Masdjid al-Ḥaram is the Meccan sanctuary is certain from *Qur'ānic* usage (Horowitz, *Koran. Unters.*, p. 140); but what is the Masdjid al-Akṣā? According to the traditional explanation, but not the only one recognised in *Ḥadīth* (see Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 12, 14 and above, s. v. ISRĀ') it would mean Jerusalem, but how could Muḥammad, who in Sūra xxx. 1 speaks of Palestine as *adna 'l-arḍ*, call a sanctuary situated in Jerusalem *al-masdjid al-akṣā*? The age of this explanation is not quite certain; perhaps it was already known to 'Umar b. Abi Rabī'a (ed. Schwarz, xci.) and Abū Ṣakhr (*Lieder der Hudhailiten*, ed. Wellhausen, ccxiv. 24); but even these belong only to the Umayyad period (contrary to Lammens, *Sanctuaires*, p. 72, this is true also of Abū Ṣakhr, who according to *Aghānī*, xxi. 94 was a partisan of the Banū Marwān and panegyrist of 'Abd al-Malik). Muḥammad probably meant by al-Masdjid al-Akṣā a place in heaven, such as the place in the highest of the seven heavens in which the angels sing praises of Allāh and we would then have in Sūra xvii. 1, evidence from the Prophet himself about his nocturnal ascension into the heavenly spheres (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 13 sqq.; Horowitz, *Isl.*, ix. 161 sqq.), testimony which is however content with the mention of the experience itself and says nothing about its course. The question

of the possibility of an ascent to heaven is several times touched on in the *Qur'ān*. In *Sūra* xl. 38 *Fir'awn* gives *Hāmān* orders to build a palace so that he can reach the cords of heaven and climb up to the god of *Mūsā* (cf. also *Sūra* xxviii. 3). In *Sūra* lii. 38, the calumniators are asked whether they had perchance a ladder (*sullam*) so that they could hear the heavenly voice and in *Sūra* vi. 35 the consequences are considered which the signs brought by the Prophet with the help of a ladder to heaven might have on his hearers. The old poets also talk of ascending to heaven by a ladder, as a means of escaping something one wants to avoid (*Zuhair*, *Mu'allaka*, p. 54; *A'shā*, xv. 32).

Ḥadīth gives further details of the Prophet's ascension. Here the ascension is usually associated with the nocturnal journey to Jerusalem, so that the ascent to heaven takes place from this sanctuary. We also have accounts preserved which make the ascension start from Mecca and make no mention of the journey to Jerusalem. In one of these the ascension takes place immediately after the "purification of the heart" (see *Bukhārī*, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1; *Ḥadīdj*, bāb 76; *Manāḥib*, bāb 42; *Aḥmad* b. *Ḥanbal*, *Musnad*, iv. 207, v. 143; *Ṭabari*, ed. de Goeje, i. 1157 sq.). In the last mentioned passage we read: "When the Prophet had received his revelation and was sleeping at the Ka'ba, as the *Kuraish* used to do, the angels Gabriel and Michael came to him and said: With regard to whom have we received the order? Whereupon they themselves answered: With regard to their lord. Thereupon they went away but came back the next night, three of them. When they found him sleeping they laid him on his back, opened his body, brought water from the Zamzam well and washed away all that they found within his body of doubt, idolatry, paganism and error. They then brought a golden vessel which was filled with wisdom and belief and then his body was filled with wisdom and belief. Thereupon he was taken up to the lowest heaven". The other versions of the same story show many additions and variants; according to one, for example, Gabriel came to Muḥammad through the roof of his house which opened to receive him; according to another, it was Gabriel alone who appeared to him and there are many similar variants. All these versions however put Muḥammad's ascension at an early period and make it a kind of dedication of him as a Prophet, for which the purification of the heart had paved the way. Ethnographical parallels (*Schrieke*, *op. cit.*, p. 2—4) show other instances of a purification being preliminary to an ascension. Similar stories are found in pagan Arabia (*Horovitz*, *op. cit.*, p. 171 sqq.) and also in Christian legends (*op. cit.*, p. 170 sqq.). Another story (*Ibn Sa'd*, i. 143) says that the ascension took place from Mecca although it does not associate it with "the purification of the heart" which it puts back to the childhood of the Prophet [cf. *Ḥalīma*].

How did it come about however that this, obviously the earlier, tradition of Mecca as the starting point of the ascension was ousted by the other which made it take place from Jerusalem? The localisation of the *Qur'ānic* Masjid al-Akṣā in Jerusalem is by some connected with the efforts of 'Abd al-Malik to raise Jerusalem to a place of special esteem in the eyes of believers (*Schrieke*, *op. cit.*, p. 13; *Horovitz*, *op. cit.*, p. 165 sqq.; do., in

Islamic Culture, ii. 35 sqq.) and in any case it cannot be proved that this identification is older than the time of 'Abd al-Malik. It might all the easier obtain currency as Jerusalem to the Christians was the starting point of Christ's ascension and from the fourth century Jesus's footprint had been shown to pilgrims in the Basilica of the Ascension; as now, perhaps as early as the time of 'Abd al-Malik, that of their Prophet was shown to Muslim pilgrims (*Horovitz*, *op. cit.*, p. 167 sq.). The idea of the "heavenly Jerusalem" may have had some influence on the development of the *isrā'* legends; when Muḥammad meets *Ibrāhīm*, *Mūsā* and 'Isā in Jerusalem, the presence of these prophets in the earthly Jerusalem is not at once intelligible, but it loses any remarkable features if Bait al-Makdis (*Ibn Hishām*, p. 267) from the first meant the "Heavenly Jerusalem" (*Horovitz*, *op. cit.*, p. 168, another explanation cf. ii. 604). Perhaps also the phrase *alladhī bāraknā ḥawlahu* was taken to support the reference to Jerusalem; when these words occur elsewhere in the *Qur'ān* they refer to sites in the holy land (*Lammens*, *op. cit.*, p. 72, note). While the stories quoted above only say that Gabriel took the Prophet up to the heights of heaven, but are silent as to how, others add that a ladder (*mir'ādī*) was used for the ascent (see *Ibn Hishām*, p. 268; *Ṭabari*, *Tafsir*, xv. 10; *Ibn Sa'd*, i. 143); this ladder was of splendid appearance; it is the one to which the dying turn their eyes and with the help of which the souls of men ascend to heaven. The ladder is probably identical with Jacob's ladder in Genesis, xxviii. 12; the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees, xxvii. 21 calls this *ma'areg* and *Sūra* lxx. 3, 4 calls Allāh *Dhu 'l-Ma'aridj* "to whom the angels and the spirit ascend" (*ta'rudj*). According to *Sūra* xxxii. 4, the *amr* rises to Allāh; according to *Sūra* lvii. 4 and xxxiv. 2, Allāh knows "what descends from heaven and what ascends to it", and in *Sūra* xliii. 32 there is a reference to steps (*ma'aridj*) in the houses of men. Muḥammad therefore already knew the word, which is presumably taken from Ethiopic (*Horovitz*, *op. cit.*, p. 174 sqq.). Among the Mandaean also the ladder (*sumbilla*) is the means of ascending to heaven (*Ginza*, transl. Lidzbarski, p. 49, 208, 490) and there are parallels to the ladder of the dead in the mysteries of Mithras (see Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*, p. 45; *Wetter*, *Phos*, p. 114, note 2); the Manichean *amūd al-sabb* (*Fihrist*, p. 335, 10) by means of which the dead man is taken to the sphere of the moon is a more distant parallel (*Bevan*, *op. cit.*, p. 59).

Just as the *mir'ādj* is associated with the ascension, so *Burāk* is originally connected with the night journey to Jerusalem; it found its way however at an early date into the legend of the ascension (see *Bukhārī*, *Manāḥib*, bāb 42; *Aḥmad* b. *Ḥanbal*, *Musnad*, iv. 207; v. 387; *Ṭabari*, *Tafsir*, xv. 12). The prophets earlier than Muḥammad had used *Burāk* as their steed (*Ibn Hishām*, p. 263; *Ḍiyārbakrī*, *Ta'rikh al-Khamis*, i. 349), in particular *Ibrāhīm* ('*Adjdjādj*, ed. Ahlwardt, xlv. 48—52; *Ṭabari*, *Tafsir*, xv. 5; *Ṭha'labī*, '*Arā'is*, p. 63; *Ḥalabi*, i. 369). This idea of one animal used by the different prophets is borrowed; according to the Midrashic statement, late it is true (*Yalḳuṭ* on Zachariah, ix., N^o. 875; *Pirḳe de R. Eliezer*, xli.), the ass which Abraham rode (Genesis xxii. 3) is the same as that used by Zipporah and her sons (Exodus, iv. 20) and is that on which

the Messiah will make his entrance (cf. also Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 176). The recollection that this steed was an ass survives in Muslim tradition so that Burāk is described as "smaller than a mule and larger than an ass" (Bukhārī, *Manāqib*, bāb 43; similarly Ibn Hishām, p. 264; Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 143). Ibn Sa'd already describes Burāk as a female beast and, as early as a story attributed by Ibn Ishāk to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Burāk is given wings (Ibn Hishām, *loc. cit.*). Tha'labī seems to be the first who speaks of Burāk's human face (in Ḥalabī, i. 370); in the miniatures dealt with fully by Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, p. 118 sqq., al-Burāk usually has a woman's head.

At the gate of each of the seven heavens through which he wanders with the Prophet, Gabriel is asked for his own name and that of his companion (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1, Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 4; *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, i. 1157). After he gives these he is next asked if Muḥammad has already been sent as a prophet (*awaḳad bu'itha ilaihi*, correction for the original *awaḳad bu'itha* found in Ṭabārī, *Annales*, i. 1158; see Snouck Hurgronje, *Isl.*, vi. 5, note 4); this also indicates that the ascension originally belonged to the period immediately after his call (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 6). In each heaven they meet one of the earlier messengers of God, usually Adam in the first, Yahyā and 'Isā in the second, Yūsuf in the third, Idrīs in the fourth, Hārūn in the fifth, Mūsā in the sixth and Ibrāhīm in the seventh heaven; there are also variations and Adam appears as judge over the spirits of the dead (Andrae, p. 44 sq.; Schrieke, p. 17; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v. 143; cf. *Apoc. Moses*, p. 37). Of the other messengers of God we are only told — in addition to being given a description of their personal appearance — that they greeted Muḥammad; Mūsā is an exception who expressly says that Muḥammad is higher in the esteem of Allāh than himself and that the number of his followers surpasses his own (Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 11). On another occasion, Muḥammad engages in a conversation with Mūsā after Allāh had imposed upon him 50 ṣalāts a day as obligatory prayers for the faithful. On Mūsā's advice, Muḥammad asks several times for an alleviation and each time Allāh grants it; but when Mūsā says 5 ṣalāts are still too many, the Prophet refuses to ask for less (on *Genesis*, xviii. 23 sqq. as the prototype of this episode; cf. Goldziher, *Studien*, i. 36; Schrieke, p. 19; Andrae, p. 82). According to some versions, Mūsā dwells in the seventh heaven and the conversation seems to be more natural there. To the ascension belong the visits to paradise and to hell. Paradise according to many versions is in the seventh heaven, according to others in the first; in some it is not mentioned at all. The statements about its rivers are contradictory (Schrieke, p. 19; cf. above KAWṬHAR), the *Sidrat al-Muntahā* is usually placed in the seventh heaven (Bevan, p. 59; Schrieke, p. 18). In one description hell is put below the first heaven (Ibn Hishām, p. 269; Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, iv. 10). According to another, the place of punishment of the damned is on the way between heaven and earth and Muḥammad sees it on his journey to the Bait al-Makdis (Ṭabārī, xv. 101, also Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 257; ii. 353; iii. 120, 182, 224, 231, 239). On the punishment in hell cf. Schrieke, p. 17; Andrae, p. 44; Horovitz, p. 173; Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch der Grösse*, p. 81 sqq.; Lidzbarski, *Johannisbuch*, p. 98 sqq.; Ginza, p. 183.

That Muḥammad appeared before Allāh's throne in the seventh heaven and that the conversation about the obligatory prayers took place there, is already recorded in the oldest stories (see above) but only rarely do they extend the conversation between Allāh and the Prophet to other subjects (Ṭabārī, xxvii. 26; *Musnad*, iv. 66 as a dream; Andrae, p. 70). But objection was raised to the assertion that Muḥammad on this occasion saw Allāh face to face (Andrae, p. 71 sqq.), and the question was also raised at an early date whether the ascension was a dream or a reality, whether only the soul of the Prophet was carried up or also his body (Caetani, *Annali*, Intr. § 320; Andrae, p. 72; Bevan, p. 60; Schrieke, p. 13, note 1).

The Ḥadīth contains, besides these, other details which Asin (*Escatologia*, Madrid 1919, p. 7—52; do., *Dante y el Islam*, Madrid 1927, p. 25—71) has discussed. In developing the story of the Prophet's ascension Muḥammadan writers have used models afforded them by the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. A few features may also come from the Parsees from the Arda Viraf; cf. the works already mentioned by Andrae, Bevan, Schrieke, Horovitz and W. Bousset, in *A. R. W.*, iv. 136—169.

Later accounts (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, xi. 207 sqq.; Asin, *Escatologia*, p. 53 sqq.; do., *Dante* etc., p. 72 sqq.; Nallino, in *R. S. O.*, viii. 802) collect and systematise the material scattered in the older sources; they only increase the matter without however increasing the depth of its thought. Among the Mī'rādī-books which have become popular in modern times that of al-Ḥaiṭī may be mentioned (this is the correct form, see Nallino, *op. cit.*, p. 813) on which Dardīr (d. 1201) wrote a *ḥāshiya*; also that of Barzandjī (d. 1179). In the non-Arab lands of Islām, Persian, Turkish, Hindustānī and Malay versions of the legend have contributed to its dispersion (see Chauvin, *loc. cit.*).

The ascension of the Prophet later served as a model for the description of the journey of the soul of the deceased to the throne of the divine judge (Asin, *Escatologia*, p. 59 sq.); for the Ṣūfīs however, it is a symbol of the rise of the soul from the bonds of sensuality to the heights of mystic knowledge. Ibn al-ʿArabī thus expounds it in his work *Kitāb al-Isrā' ilā Maḳām al-Asrā* (Asin, p. 61 sqq.; Andrae, p. 81 sq.), and in his *Futūḥāt*, ii. 356—375 he makes a believer and a philosopher make the journey together but the philosopher only reaches the seventh heaven, while no secret remains hidden from the pious Muslim (Asin, p. 63 sqq.). Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarri's *Risālat al-Ḥuḫrān* is a parody on the traditional accounts of the Mī'rādī (Asin, p. 71 sqq.). Asin in his two books quoted has dealt with the knowledge of Muslim legends of the ascension possessed by the Christian middle ages and their influence on Dante. In a separate work (*La escatologia musulmana en la divina comedia*, Madrid 1924) he has collected and discussed the literature produced by his *Escatologia* down to 1923.

According to Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 147 the *isrā'* took place on the 17th Rabi' I, the ascension on the 17th Ramaḍān. For centuries however, the night before the 27th Radjab — a date also significant in the history of Mecca (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 71) — has been regarded by the pious as the *Lailat al-Mī'rādī*, and the eve is like the *Mawlid al-Nabī* devoted to reading the legend of the feast

(see al-ʿAbdarī, *Madkhal*, i. 143 sqq.; Herklots, *Qanoon e Islām*², p. 165; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1896, p. 474 sq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 219; Asin, *Escatologia*, p. 97).

Bibliography: is given in the article; cf. also R. Hartmann, in *Bibliothek-Warburg, Vorträge* 1928—1929 (Leipzig 1930), p. 42—65. (J. HOROVITZ)

MĪRĀNDJĪ, whose full name was Mīr Muḥammad b. Kāḍī Sā'in-dātā b. Kāḍī Qalandar, commonly called Miyān Mīr or Miyāndjī, born 938 (1531) in Siwastān, Sind. He traced his origin to the caliph ʿUmar and spent the last 60 years of his life in great sanctity at Lāhūr. He died in 1045 (1635). But according to the *Bādshāh-Nāma* of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, i. 330, his death took place in 1044 (1634). Shāh Djahān repeatedly visited the saint and Prince Dārā Shikūh erected a splendid dome over his tomb. The Prince also wrote a work called *Safinat al-Awliyā*³ in which he described fully the lives of this Indian saint and his disciples.

Bibliography: *Safinat al-Awliyā*³ p. 70; *Khasinat al-Ashfya*⁴, p. 154; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Bādshāh-Nāma*, i. 329; Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS. British Museum*, i. 358.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MĪRĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH I, of Khāndesh, was the eleventh prince of the Fārūkī dynasty. He belonged to the younger branch of that line, which had taken refuge in Guḍjarāt, and his ancestors had lived in that kingdom and had married princesses of the Muẓaffarī family until Maḥmūd I of Guḍjarāt had, on the extinction of the elder branch of the Fārūkīs, placed ʿAdil Khān III, Muḥammad's father, on the throne of Khāndesh. Muḥammad, who was, through his mother, the great-grandson of Maḥmūd, and the grandson of his son, Muẓaffar II, succeeded his father in Khāndesh in 1520, and in 1527 incautiously intervened in the cause of ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿImād Shāh of Barār by aiding him against his enemy, Burhān Nizām Shāh I of Aḥmadnagar. He was defeated and driven back into Khāndesh, but succeeded in persuading his uncle, Bahādur of Guḍjarāt, to intervene, and with him invaded the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar. The campaign was only partially successful, but Muḥammad was indemnified by Burhān I for his losses. He accompanied his uncle in the campaign which ended, in 1531, in the capture of Māndū and the annexation of Mālwa to Guḍjarāt, and on Bahādur's death in 1537, was summoned, in his mother's right, to the throne of Guḍjarāt, but died on his way to Aḥmadābād.

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(T. W. HAIG)

MĪRĀTH (A.), inheritance (pl. *mawārith*), *mūrith* legator, *wārith* heir.

1. The law of inheritance (*ʿilm al-farāʿiḍ*, "the science of dispositions", i.e. of the quotas laid down in accordance with Sūra iv. 16, which is called after its most important and most difficult part) is one of the branches of Muḥammadan law in which Muḥammad more deeply modified earlier practice by legislation. Although the Qurʾānic regulations are fairly detailed, the task of deducing

all necessary conclusions from them, to which lawyers turned with particular enthusiasm, gave rise to a great mass of traditions and considerable divergences of opinion on questions not expressly decided in the Qurʾān. In the law of inheritance we can also still trace fundamental old Arabian pre-Islamic features.

2. In the period before the rise of Islām, in keeping with the patriarchal system prevailing among the Arabs, the estate of a deceased tribesman went, if he died intestate, to the nearest male relative(s); the order of succession in which these relatives, the so-called *ʿaṣaba* (corresponding to *agnati*), were called upon to inherit survives systematised in its order in the Muslim law of inheritance (cf. below). Minors were, as incapable of bearing arms, excluded from the succession as were female relatives: widows also were not entitled to inherit, and originally no doubt themselves formed a part of the estate, a view which survived in the levirate marriage usual among the Arabs, to which Sūra iv. 23 (cf. below) refers in forbidding it. There is no evidence of any preferential treatment of the first-born, which we find elsewhere in Semitic law. This, the original legal position, had by Muḥammad's time most certainly altered somewhat in favour of women; in cases where the deceased left no male relatives his daughters seem frequently to have obtained the estate: but woman had by no means equal treatment with man, as is clear from Muḥammad's regulations. In addition to these principal heirs the pre-Islamic Arabs had also secondary heirs who correspond to the later so-called quota-heirs (*dhawu 'l-farāʿiḍ*) and received a part of the estate, the bulk of which went to the *ʿaṣaba*. From Qurʾān ii. 176 and iv. 37 which confirm this arrangement, we can see that these included the parents, the "relatives" — apparently so far as they were not *ʿaṣaba* — and the so-called confederates (*ḥaliḥ*, plur. *ḥulafāʾ*): the settlement of the portions falling to them was done in accordance with Sūra ii. 176 — at least in part — according to the last will of the testator.

3. Muḥammad modified this system considerably in details, the main point being the improvement in the treatment of women as in his innovations with regard to the laws of family life generally [cf. ṬALĀḲ]; at the same time there is a clear endeavour to fix in legal form the practice which had varied considerably in heathen times. The main lines of the system and the general conceptions as above briefly outlined were retained by the Prophet. One provision which had been made under special circumstances he was not able later to keep in force; immediately after the *Hidjra*, he had ordered that those who migrated with him (the *muhājirūn*) and the believers in Medīna (the *anṣār*) should regard themselves as brethren and therefore able to inherit from one another, while all bonds of relationship between the *muhājirūn* and their relatives left in Mecca, even if they were believers, were to be regarded as broken (Sūra viii. 73, with the limitation imposed in viii. 76); but this was expressly revoked by Sūra xxxiii. 6. Tradition regards this fraternization as a special case of confederacy (*ḥaliḥ*dom; cf. above, section 2). For the rest, Muḥammad in his first Medīna period confirmed the system of secondary heirs and the whole general practice in regard to inheritance (cf. *ibid*; Sūra ii. 176 is probably to be dated in Ramaḍān of the year 2, and iv. 37, of which the first view in

al-Baiḍāwī is undoubtedly the right one, cannot be much later); that in ii. 176 he expressly makes the fair treatment of the secondary heirs a duty, already reveals the direction which later ordinances were to take. Connected with this is the probably contemporary ii. 241 *sqq.* which secures the wife, if she survives her husband, a legacy of maintenance for a year. Not much later, about the year 3, is Sūra iv. 23: "Ye, who are believers, are not permitted to inherit women against their will"; this is a prohibition against the *ʿaṣaba* forcing the widow of the deceased into a levirate marriage and generally assuming the position of *wali* over her which belongs only to her male relatives; this is not meant as a regular legal ordinance but is part of Muḥammad's endeavour to improve the position of women [cf. ṬALĀḲ.] Very soon after the battle of Uḥud, when numerous Muslims had fallen, we have — as a result of it — the final Qurʾānic ordinance of Sūra iv. 8—18: "To the men belongs a share of what their parents and relatives leave, and to the women belongs a share of what their parents and relatives leave — whether it be much or little — as a definite share. 9. If the relatives (not entitled to inherit), the orphans and the poor are present at the division, give them some of it and speak kindly to them (verses 10 *sq.* go on to deal with the treatment of orphans). 12. Allāh commands you, as regards your children, as follows: to the boy belongs as much as the share of two girls; if however there are (only) girls (and) more than two, two-thirds of the estate belongs to them and if there is one (girl) to her belongs the half. And the parents shall each have a sixth if (the legator) had children, and if he had no children and (only) his parents inherit from him, his mother shall have a third. If however he have brothers, his mother shall have a sixth. (All this) after deducting any bequests he may have made or a debt. Ye know not whether your parents or your children be of greater use to you. (This is) an ordinance of Allāh and Allāh is all-knowing and wise. 13. To you belongs the half of the estate of your wives, if they have no children; but if they have children you shall receive a fourth of their estate — after deducting any bequest that they may have made or any debt. 14. To them belongs a fourth of your estate, if you have no children; but if you have children an eighth of your estate belongs to them — after deducting any bequest that you may have made or any debt. 15. If distant relatives inherit from a legator, male or female, and he has a brother or a sister, each shall have a sixth; but if there are more, they shall have a third among them after deducting any bequest which he may have made or debt. 16. Without prejudice (this is) an ordinance of Allāh. Allāh is all-knowing and gracious" (Verse 17 *sq.* contain promises and threats). As the settlement of the succession in indirect lines left questions undecided, Sūra iv. 175 supplemented the above: "They ask thee for a decision. Say: Allāh gives you the following decision for remoter kindred: if a man die childless and have a sister, half of what he has is hers and if she die childless, he is her heir; if there be two sisters, two-thirds of the estate belongs to them; but if there be both brothers and sisters, the brother shall have as much as two sisters...". The object of these regulations is simply to supplement the law regarding the rights of the *ʿaṣaba*; they are not a reorganisation of the whole law. Each of the persons named is

therefore only allotted a definite portion. The remainder, and this is as a rule the major portion, of the estate falls as before to the *ʿaṣaba*. There is a distinct tendency to give female relatives half the share of male relatives of the same degree; even in the case when there are daughters but no sons (and correspondingly sisters but no brothers), they do not receive all that would belong to the sons or brothers; but as regards a few smaller portions the two sexes rank equally. The quotas here given abolished the testamentary settlement of the portions usual in the heathen period, which was still approved by Sūra ii. 176; this is the historical starting point for the tradition — early interpreted in another sense — that a legacy in favour of the heirs is not valid. Sūra ii. 241 *sq.* (cf. above) is probably rightly regarded as abrogated by the settling of the widow's portion in tradition. There is a slight difficulty in interpretation only in iv. 15; but there can be no doubt that this verse refers to half-sisters on the mother's side, as indeed it has always been interpreted; the text of Ubai' even inserts an addition to this effect (cf. Nöldeke-Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qurʾāns*, ii. 85, 93, note 5). The verse iv. 175 on the other hand refers to full sisters; how the Qurʾān wished half-sisters on the father's side to be dealt with, is difficult to say. In iv. 12 "more than two" (girls) is to be interpreted, as the sense requires, as "two and more"; similarly, in the case in which the mother is allotted a third of the estate, it is presumed that the father gets the other two-thirds.

4. The full details which tradition is able to give regarding the causes of the revelation of the regulation of the law of inheritance are not historical; on internal grounds all we can say is that it took place soon after the battle of Uḥud (cf. above, section 3). The numerous *ḥadīths* which simply repeat the Qurʾānic regulations may be neglected here. Tradition can only record very few actual divergences from the prescriptions of the Qurʾān: one of these is that a woman received back as her inheritance a slave whom she had presented to her mother and who represented the latter's whole estate (in a parallel case it is a man who has given his mother a garden; by this alteration the divergence is disposed of). According to another story, the Prophet is said to have laid it down that the wives of the *muhājirūn* should inherit the houses of their husbands; according to the wording, it cannot have been a temporary arrangement which was abolished by the final settlement. While nothing can be quoted in favour of the first *ḥadīth*, the second, which does not seem to be intended as a foundation for any legal clause, may have a grain of historical truth in it.

5. The prescriptions of the Qurʾān are supplemented and developed in countless traditions among which a comparatively large number relate not decisions of the Prophet himself, but of his Companions (we may cite Ibn Ḥanbal, iv. 279 *sq.* as a typical mixed form); in reality they must not for a moment be regarded as fact, but only as anonymous evidence of the first developments of the Qurʾānic law of inheritance. At this stage of development it is already firmly established that an unbeliever cannot inherit from a Muslim; the right of a Muslim to inherit from an unbeliever is finally also denied, although there is some opposition to this view; on the question

of inheritance of a *murtadd*, unity was not attained. Excluded from the right of inheritance is also one who has killed the legator; according to one view always, according to another only if the slaying was deliberate (with *ʿamd*; cf. article *ḲATL*). That a slave has no right of inheritance is taken for granted. Legal relationship is necessary for the right of inheritance; thus illegitimate children or those whose paternity has been disputed by *liʿān* [q.v.] have no legal claim on the estates of their father and his relations. The patron (*mawlā*, q.v.) is included among the *ʿaṣaba*, who are placed in the order which had been handed down from the pre-Islāmic period and continued to hold good: the patron and the manumitted slave inherit from one another and according to one view, the same right is granted to the *mawlā*, meaning the man before whom the person concerned has adopted Islām. After the *mawlā* come — although some oppose this — the *dhawu ʿl-arḥām*, i.e. persons related to the legator in the female line, whose representative is usually the *khāl* or maternal uncle. In case all these heirs should not exist, the fellow-tribesmen are named. The law in *Sūra* iv. 14 is also extended to the widow whose husband dies before the consummation of the marriage; on the question what should be the share of two daughters, we have the answer two-thirds, doubtless in keeping with the sense of *Sūra* iv. 12, but also that based on the literal interpretation (the half); finally half-brothers on the father's side, about whom the *Ḳurʿān* lays down nothing definitely, are excluded from inheriting by full brothers. With certain modifications which occur again in the later teaching, a son's daughters are treated like daughters and grandparents like parents, but this regulation only won recognition after opposition and varying practice in details. Here arises the problem of the different shares of the grandfather along with the brothers when he appears with them as *ʿaṣaba*, which goes back to his varying position in the series (cf. below sect 6b); along with other views we find quoted also the one that later prevailed but it does not seem to be the earliest. The *Ḳurʿān* lays it down that before dividing the estate the amount of any legacies and debts should be deducted; and in early times — probably in literal interpretation of the *Ḳurʿānic* passages — the legacies often were given preference to debts; after some opposition the opposite teaching prevailed. The *diyya* [q.v.] to be paid for a slain man was in itself subject to the usual laws as part of his estate; but in early times the wife was not allowed a share in the *diyya* of her slain husband, which goes back to old Arab conceptions of the family; the other view ultimately prevailed. In addition there are numerous, often contradictory, views on separate points which show the eager interest taken in the matter. The interest taken in early Islām in the law of inheritance is reflected in *Hādīth*; there are traditions in which the Prophet orders the law of inheritance to be taught and learned, calling it "the half of knowledge" on account of its difficulty and expressing the fear that this subject, so difficult to remember, might in time disappear from the memory of his community.

6. The law of inheritance attained its full development in the system of *fiqh*; the following are its principles according to the *Shāfiʿi* teaching (for the most important divergences in the other schools cf. below sect. 7).

a. The law of intestacy in general.

According to Muslim law, there is no fusion between the property of the legator and that of the heir. The creditors of the estate can therefore only assert their claims against the estate; on the other hand, the heirs have no claim on the estate until all debts are paid. The *fiqh* has therefore no special teaching on the rejection of legacies, the different ways of succeeding to an inheritance, etc. In addition to pledges entered into by the deceased, the debts of the estate include the funeral expenses and the religious duties omitted by the deceased so far as they consist of concrete things (e.g. unpaid *zakāt*) or can be atoned for by payment (e.g. neglected fasts [*ṣawm*]) or can be carried through at the expense of the estate by a deputy (e.g. the *ḥaḍj* omitted without good reason); in the opinion of a minority of *Shāfiʿi* legists, omitted *ṣalāts* may also be included in these. After the debts any legacies have to be paid [cf. *WAṢIYA*]; the remainder passes to the heirs. A necessary condition for inheriting is that the heir has survived the testator; in doubtful cases, when persons who would inherit from one another have died without its being certain which died first, as a rule no inheritance passes between them (this decision is already found in Tradition; there was a very old difference of opinion on the point). The heir must also have existed when the testator died; only in the case where a man leaves a pregnant widow or *umm al-walad*, is a child's share reserved for the unborn child (Tradition is not agreed on this point). If a man is missing long enough to be considered dead, the *kāḍi* can declare him "presumably dead" at the request of the heirs after investigating the circumstances; the heirs thus receive the right to take possession of the estate for the time. Excluded from succession are the following: one who has caused the death of the deceased, the *murtadd*, an unbeliever from the succession to a Muslim and vice versa, the *ḥarbī* (the unbelieving member of a state with which the Muslim stands in no treaty relation) and the slave. As in old Arab law the succession of the *ʿaṣaba* is the basis of the law of inheritance in the case of an intestate; the *ʿaṣaba* are the usual heirs, inheritance by others is only an exception from the general rule; on the order of succession among the *ʿaṣaba* cf. under *b*. The *ʿaṣaba* receive the whole estate after the deduction of the portions set aside for the quota-heirs by the *Ḳurʿān* (cf. under *c*). If there are no *ʿaṣaba*, that portion of the estate which remains after the deduction of the portions of the quota-heirs goes to the state treasury (*bait al-māl*); a notable change from the view found in traditions — cf. section 5 —; even ʿOmar II is said to have decided otherwise, cf. al-Dārimī, *Farāʿid*, bāb 56), it being presumed that this is administered according to law for the benefit of the Muslims; otherwise the *Ḳurʿānic* quota-heirs receive the remainder of the estate in proportion to their quota by the so-called law of reversion, with the exception of the widower or widow if they are not also at the same time blood-relations of the deceased (here also as in the case of the exclusion of the widow from sharing in the *diyya* of her slain husband, the basis is the old Arab family law). Only if there are neither *ʿaṣaba* nor quota-heirs and the state treasury is not being administered in accordance with the law are the *dhawu ʿl-arḥām* — i.e. persons related to the deceased in the female line as well as those

female relatives who cannot be quota-heirs — called upon to inherit (there are two theories regarding their order of succession). If there are none of these relatives, any Muslim may take possession of the estate, if he is capable and ready to administer it for the general good of Muslims.

δ. Rights of the *‘aṣāba*. The *‘aṣāba* are called upon to inherit in the following order which in essentials already existed in the pre-Muḥammadan period: 1. The male descendants of the legator in the male line, a nearer excluding the more distant relatives from the succession. 2. The nearest male relative in the ascending male line with the provision that the father, but not the grandfather (and remoter ascendant), of the deceased inherits before his brothers; the grandfather shares with the brothers (cf. below). 3. The nearest male relative in the male line in the descendants of the father: first the full brother, then the half-brother on the father's side, then the descendants of the full brother, then those of the half-brother on the father's side. 4. The nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the grandfather (as under 3) etc.; 5. lastly the *mawlā*, i. e. the patron (or patroness), if the deceased was a freed man, and then his *‘aṣāba*. — The brothers of the deceased inherit only with the grandfather as *‘aṣāba* in equal shares with him, but if there are more than two brothers there, the grandfather receives one-third of what is to be divided between him and the brothers. If there are also quota-heirs, the grandfather is allowed in addition at least a sixth of the estate (which he would inherit as a quota-heir; cf. below c). He can then choose the most favourable of the three arrangements. This rule seems to be a compromise between the two earlier contradictory views that the grandfather excluded the brothers or *vice versa* was excluded by them (cf. above section 5). — Female *‘aṣāba*. If the deceased left sons as well as daughters they inherit jointly, the share of a son being twice as large as that of a daughter (according to Sūra iv. 12) while the quota allotted to the daughters (*ibid.*) is dropped, as is intended by the spirit of the Qur’anic law. The daughter who inherits along with a son is therefore also called *‘aṣāba* and in order to distinguish her from the male *‘aṣāba*, the *‘aṣāba bi-naḥsihi* (“*‘aṣāba* by themselves”), she is called *‘aṣāba bi-l-ghairi* (“become *‘aṣāba* through another”). The daughter of a son of the legator is similarly treated, inheriting along with the son of a son; and the full sister who inherits along with a full brother (by Sūra iv. 175); finally it applies also to the half-sister on the father's side who inherits with a half-brother on the father's side (the grandfather makes the full sister as well as the half-sister on the mother's side *‘aṣāba bi-l-ghairi*). — If the full sister and the half-sister on the father's side inherit along with a daughter of the deceased or of a son, they do not receive their Qur’anic quota (Sūra iv. 175) which in this case goes to the daughter or son's daughter (according to Sūra iv. 12), but the rest of the estate after deduction of all quotas that have to be paid; they are in this case therefore called *‘aṣāba ma’a-l-ghairi* (“inheriting with one another as *‘aṣāba*”).

c. Rights of the quota-heirs (*dhawu-l-farāʿid*; cf. the article FARĀʾID). The regulations in this connection are in general based on literal interpretation of the Qur’anic regulations. It is

true that here only the daughters, parents, husband and wife, and brothers and sisters are allotted a quota but (with some limitations) the rules holding for the daughters have been extended to the daughters of the son and those for the parents to the grandparents; in addition, a distinction has been made among the sisters between the full sister, the half-sister on the father's side and the half-sister on the mother's side. The total number of quota-heirs has thus been raised to twelve: 1. The daughter is entitled to half the estate, two or more daughters get two-thirds, but if daughters inherit along with sons, their claim to the quota drops and sons and daughters receive the whole after deduction of the quotas to be paid; in this case the daughter's share is half a son's. 2. The daughter of a son is subject to the same rules as a daughter; inheriting along with the son of a son she receives half as much as he as *‘aṣāba bi-l-ghairi*. As the son's daughter is related to the son through him, she is excluded from participation when a son of the legator inherits. A daughter on the other hand does not exclude a son's daughter from the succession; as however daughters and son's daughters together have only two-thirds of the estate as their quota, a son's daughter has only a sixth if there is one daughter, and nothing if there are two or more, unless she inherits in these cases along with a son's son as *‘aṣāba bi-l-ghairi*. 3. The father's quota is always a sixth of the estate; in addition he appears as *‘aṣāba* and receives as his quota also any residuum of the estate after deducting all quotas, unless male descendants of the legator inherit jointly with him. 4. The paternal grandfather (in default of him, the remoter ascendants) also receives one sixth of the estate as his quota but is excluded by the father; he also appears as *‘aṣāba* (like the father) if there are no male descendants nor father of the deceased. But if in addition to him there are also brothers of the legator, he appears with them as *‘aṣāba* (on the share which falls to the grandfather in this case and in the case where there are also quota-heirs cf. above δ). 5. The mother by Sūra iv. 12, receives one-sixth of the estate if there are children, son's children or two or more brothers or sisters of the legator; otherwise a third (on the meaning of the Qur’anic rule cf. above; in practice the father in this case as a rule receives two-thirds, i. e. according to the scheme, one sixth as quota-heir and the rest as *‘aṣāba*; on the exceptions cf. below under d). 6. The quota of the grandmother is always a sixth; from this the mother's mother is excluded by the mother, and the father's mother by the father and mother; all other female ascendants of the legator rank equally with the grandmothers on both sides if there is no father and mother, so far as they are not related to the deceased by a male descendant not entitled to inherit (therefore for example the mother of the maternal grandfather inherits nothing). 7. A full sister receives half, two or more such sisters receive together two-thirds of the estate (Sūra iv. 175). Along with a full brother or grandfather she becomes *‘aṣāba bi-l-ghairi* and receives the half of the brother's share (Sūra iv. 175). Along with the daughter or son's daughter she becomes *‘aṣāba ma’a-l-ghairi* (cf. above δ); sons, sons' sons and the father exclude her from succession. She has a claim to the quota only when the legator has died without leaving de-

scendants or male ascendants. 8. The treatment of the half-sister on the father's side in general corresponds to that of the full sister; along with a half-brother on the father's side or the grandfather, she becomes *'aṣaba bi 'l-ghairi*, with the daughter or son's daughter *'aṣaba ma'a 'l-ghairi* (cf. above *b*); sons, sons' sons, father and full brothers exclude her from the succession. Full sisters exclude her only in so far as two or more full sisters receive together two-thirds of the estate, so that nothing is left for the half-sisters; if however the half-sister inherits along with one full sister they receive together two-thirds, the full sister getting a half and the half-sister a sixth; unless she in these cases inherits along with a half-brother on the father's side as *'aṣaba bi 'l-ghairi* (i.e. the same rule as with daughters and sons' daughters; cf. above). 9 and 10. The rights of the half-brother on the mother's side and of the half-sister on the mother's side are based on Sūra iv. 15: each of them receives a sixth, two or more together share a third among them; they are excluded from the succession by descendants and male ascendants. 11. By Sūra iv. 13 the widower receives half of the estate, but only a quarter if there is a son or son's child; it is indifferent whether these are his wife's or his own descendants. 12. The widow, by Sūra iv. 14, receives the half of what a widower would receive under the same circumstances; if the deceased leaves more than one widow they share equally the quota allotted to the widow. During the *'idda* (period of waiting; q.v.) after a revocable *ṭalāḡ* a man and woman are still regarded as man and wife for purposes of inheritance.

d. Exceptions from the general rules. Although the quota-heirs can never all inherit together and in particular the collateral relatives are excluded from their quotas by those in the direct line, the number of qualified quota-heirs may sometimes be so large that the sum of their shares is larger than the whole estate; in this case their shares are proportionately reduced [cf. 'AWL]. Otherwise, the occurrence of a number of heirs makes no change from the main rules necessary, except in a few particular cases which have special names; these are cases in which, if the main rules were strictly carried through, the inheritances would be in a proportion to one another which would be contrary to the law; e.g. in the case of the so-called *gharibatān*: if some one dies leaving a husband or wife and both parents, the mother would receive in this case a third, the father's share however, which is usually two-thirds (cf. above *c* 5), would be here reduced by the quota either of the widow i.e. a quarter or of the widower, i.e. the half and thus reduced to five-twelfths or to a sixth; according to tradition, it was 'Omar who decided in this case that father and mother should share, in the proportion of two to one, what remains after deducting the portion of the widow or widower, an arrangement which is doubtless in the spirit of the Qur'ānic rule. Another case, the so-called *musharraka*, is that in which a wife leaves her husband, her mother, two or more half-brothers on the mother's side and also one or more full brothers; as the quotas in this case make up the whole estate, nothing would be left for the full brothers as *'aṣaba*, and they are more closely related to the legator than the half-brothers; in this case, which is also said to have been

decided by 'Omar, the law lays down that the full brothers have the same rights as the half-brothers so that all inherit in equal shares the third originally set aside for the half-brothers. On a third case of this kind cf. AKDARIYA.

7. The most important points of difference among the *madhāhib*, including the early legists, are the following. It is unanimously agreed that an unbeliever cannot inherit from a Muslim nor a Muslim from an unbeliever; but Sa'id b. al-Musaiyib and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī recognised the right to inherit in the latter case. Unbelievers who belong to different religions cannot inherit from one another according to Mālik and Ibn Ḥanbal, but they can according to Abū Ḥanifa and al-Shāfi'. There are three views regarding ability to inherit from the *murtadd* according to Mālik, al-Shāfi' and Ibn Ḥanbal his whole estate goes to the state treasury; according to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaibānī it goes to his Muslim heirs; according to Abū Ḥanifa what he has made while a Muslim goes to his Muslim heirs, but what he made after his apostasy goes to the treasury. If a legator has been deliberately (with *'amd*) and illegally slain, his slayer, it is unanimously agreed, is excluded from inheriting. Abū Ḥanifa, al-Shāfi' and Ibn Ḥanbal, but not Mālik, also exclude one who has killed him without design (with *khaṭa*; q.v.). One who is a slave to some degree can, according to Abū Ḥanifa, Mālik and al-Shāfi', neither inherit nor bequeath; according to Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaibānī and al-Muzanī he can inherit or bequeath in the proportion he is free. According to Abū Ḥanifa and Ibn Ḥanbal, if there are no *'aṣaba* and quota-heirs, the *dhawu 'l-arḥām* inherit; according to Mālik and al-Shāfi' (cf. above *6 a*) as well as Zuhri, al-Awzā'i and Dāwūd al-Zāhiri, in this case the treasury steps in. If there are only quota-heirs, according to Mālik and al-Shāfi' the remainder goes to the treasury, according to Abū Ḥanifa and Ibn Ḥanbal however also to the quota-heirs; according to Sa'id b. al-Musaiyib the maternal uncle inherits along with the daughters. The relationship of *marwā*, which is produced by some one attaching himself to the tribe (usually on the adoption of Islām by a non-Arab; cf. above, sect. 5) and which results in the patron becoming surety for the *diya* [q.v.] of the client, does not, according to the usual view, give any right to inherit. Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and Abū Ḥanifa take the opposite view but hold but it may be dissolved at any time by either side so long as the patron has not paid a *diya* for his client. The paternal grandmother is not excluded from the succession by the father, according to Ibn Ḥanbal only; in his view, in this case she inherits a sixth either alone or shared equally with the mother. Among female ascendants, according to Mālik, only the mothers of the two grandmothers inherit, likewise their mothers and so on, but according to Abū Ḥanifa also the mothers of all male ascendants and their mothers again, and so on; both views are quoted by al-Shāfi', but the latter is best known and has established itself in the *madhāb*. According to Mālik and al-Shāfi', the female ascendants on the father's and mother's side share in equal portions the sixth allotted to the grandmother who is nearer of the two to the legator. According to Abū Ḥanifa, however, the nearer female ascendant on the father's side excludes the remoter on the

mother's side from the succession. Whichever of the two sides is entitled to inherit a quota inherits, according to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, only on ground of "stronger" relationship, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Ḥanbal on ground of both respects (this case, particularly frequent in the marriages of the Parsees, has been decided in various ways in Tradition; cf. al-Dārimī, *Farāʿid*, bāb 42); in the case of two cousins on the father's side, of which one is also the brother on the mother's side, the latter, it is unanimously agreed, receives a sixth and the remainder falls to the two as *ʿaṣaba* in equal portions, while Abū Thawr and al-Ḥasan of Baṣra make him inherit the whole. The estate of a child, whose paternity has been disputed by *liʾān*, as well as that of an illegitimate child, passes in default of other heirs, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, entirely to the mother (a third as Qurʾānic quota and the remainder as quasi-*ʿaṣaba*); according to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī the mother receives a third as Qurʾānic quota and the remainder goes to the treasury; according to one view transmitted from Ibn Ḥanbal the *ʿaṣaba* of his mother are regarded as his *ʿaṣaba*, and receive the remainder; the other view corresponds to that of Abū Ḥanīfa. In the special case of the so-called *muṣḥarraka*, Mālik's view agrees with that of al-Shāfiʿī (cf. above 6*d*); this is also the opinion of al-Zuhri and of Saʿīd b. al-Musaiyib and others; according to Abū Ḥanīfa and his fellows, Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd al-Zāhiri, the full brothers actually receive nothing.

8*a*. The law of the Imāmis (Twelver-Shiʿīs) as regards inheritance is based on the same principles as that of the Sunnis but in its practice shows a number of features of its own, which already can for the most part be traced in the traditions, i. e. in the earliest post-Qurʾānic development. Among the divergences — apart from differences in terminology and presentation — are the classing of the *ʿaṣaba* and the *ḥaww* *ʿal-ḥāḥ* together into one group of relatives, which is divided into three classes: 1. the ascendants in the first degree and the descendants; 2. the other ascendants and the descendants of the ascendants of the first degree; 3. the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts. Each of these classes excludes the following ones from the succession and within the two categories of the two first classes the relative of the nearest degree excludes all others of a remoter degree of relationship, i. e. for example the daughter excludes the son's son; within the third class a distinction is made between the uncles and aunts of the legator and their descendants, the uncles and aunts of his parents, and their descendants etc., and here also the member of a nearer degree excludes those of a remoter degree. Within the same grade all full relatives (male or female) exclude all relatives on the father's (not the mother's) side, i. e. full sisters exclude half-brothers; the relatives on the mother's side are excluded only from a share in the residuary estate by all other relatives of the same degree. If relatives whose relationships with the legator is traced through several persons inherit jointly, the proportion of their shares is settled by the (hypothetical) shares of the persons through whom they are related to the deceased. If, for example, paternal and maternal uncles inherit together, the former divide two-thirds of the estate (i. e. the father's hypothetical share), the latter a third (i. e. the mother's hypothetical share);

correspondingly, son's children and daughters children, children of brothers and children of sisters, and ascendants on the mother's and father's side. The rules applying to the brothers and sisters of a legator are also applied to his father's brothers and sisters and so on, if the latter are called upon to inherit; if, for example, father's full brothers and sisters (uncles and aunts), and father's brothers and sisters on the mother's side exist together, the latter are not excluded by the former but receive a third (if there is only one, a sixth) which is divided equally among them (Sūra iv. 15), and the former receive the remaining two-thirds (or five-sixths as the case may be) of which each uncle gets twice the share of an aunt; the process is similar when their children take the place of uncles and aunts; the grandfather (and if the case arises the remoter ascendants) also inherits equally with the brothers of the legator. Within similar groups the male inherits double as much as the female, so far as there are no special regulations to the contrary (cf. above); for the rest the male relative on the father's side is not specially privileged before the others, as among the Sunnis. Besides these heirs by blood, there are "heirs for special reasons", i. e. the husband and the patron (*mawlā*), namely 1. a patron who has released the legator from slavery; 2. a patron before whom the legator has become a Muslim, or who has pledged himself to pay the *diya* for him; 3. the *imām*, who here takes the place of the state treasury, and who, as the general protector of all Muslims, is entitled to inherit in the last resort. — In both main groups there are simple heirs and such as have a claim to a Qurʾānic quota. If the estate does not suffice to satisfy all the quotas, the shares are correspondingly reduced to the paternal relatives only, never to the maternal. What is left over after satisfying the quotas is given to relatives by blood according to the above rule; but if there are no blood relatives entitled to inherit, the quota-heirs, with the exception of the husband or wife, receive the residuum also by the residuary law (cf. however above); if there are no heirs by blood the patrons come in, in the order given, so that the *imām*, i. e. the treasury, inherits only in the last resort. — These general rules are sufficient to cause the distribution of an estate to look very different among the Shiʿīs from among the Sunnis. But there are in addition differences in detail, of which the most important are the following: The Muslim can inherit from the unbeliever (and apostate); even the remotest Muslim heir of an unbeliever has a preference over all non-Muslim heirs; unbelievers of all sects inherit from one another; the succession of the heirs to the estate of an apostate who was born a Muslim begins from his apostacy. The accidental killing of a legator does not exclude the slayer from inheriting. If the sole existing heir is a slave, he is purchased at the expense of the estate (his owner cannot refuse to sell him), thus becomes free and inherits what is left; if the parents of the legator are slaves, they must in all cases be purchased at the expense of the estate, according to some the children also (this is disputed) and according to others every heir (this has not been accepted). The part-slave inherits to the degree in which he is free. One who has a claim to an inheritance from two sides inherits on both grounds. Of the estate of a child whose paternity has been disputed by *liʾān*, the mother receives a third as the Qurʾānic quota

and the remainder as quasi-*aṣaba*, according to the more usual view; according to the other the remainder goes to the *imām*. There are no legal relationships between an illegitimate child and his ascendants (including his mother and her relatives), only between him and his descendants; if there are none, the estate goes to the *imām*. In the special case of the so-called *gharibatān* (cf. above 6 d), there is no divergence from the general principles. — On the whole then the *Shi'a* law of inheritance represents an independent systematisation of the common principles found in the *Qur'an* and Tradition but diverging further from the old Arab pre-Islamic principles; whether and how far it the *Sunni* system already presupposes (as has been proved for the *Zaidis*; cf. Bergsträsser, *O. L.Z.*, vol. xxv., p. 124) has not yet been investigated.

b. On the law of the *Shi'a* *Zaidis* cf. Strothmann, *Ish.*, vol. xiii., p. 36 sqq.

c. The most important peculiarities of the law of inheritance among the *Khāridjī* *Ibādīs* are the following: the paternal grandfather inherits as quota-heir a sixth of the estate if there are descendants of the legator; otherwise he inherits as *aṣaba*, thus excluding the brothers, just as he himself is excluded by the father. The grandmother is only excluded by the mother. Female descendants, like husband or wife, have no right to the residuum. Manumission confers no rights of inheritance; freedmen, negroes, Indians, Abyssinians or Nubians can inherit from another if there are no other heirs (cf. above, sect. 5). If there are no heirs at all, the estate is given away in charity. The special case of the so-called *musharraka* is settled as among the *Shāfi'is* (cf. above 6 d). — The dependence of this system on the *Sunni* is apparent.

9. The law of inheritance, as a branch of family law and as possessing a peculiarly religious character from its very full regulation in the *Qur'an*, has always been one of the chapters of Muslim law most carefully observed in practice [cf. *ADA* and *SHARĪ'A*]. As in the long run it must lead inevitably to the splitting up of even the largest estates, various endeavours have been made to avoid this result, which was considered undesirable. A plan, frequently adopted, was to constitute considerable portions of the estate religious endowments [cf. *WAKF*] the proceeds of which could be disposed of by the grantor as he pleased; but most endowments in course of time became much broken up. Another way adopted in the Dutch Indies is, in keeping with the local *ada*, to admit only a portion of the actual estate to division among the heirs; we also frequently find an estate divided already in a lifetime by gift or friendly arrangement, and not infrequently some member of the family, according to circumstances, simply takes over the estate and obligations of the deceased; lands here are taken out of the control of Muslim law. So far only a very few Indian modernists (notably *Khuda Bukhsh*) have dared to criticise the Muslim law of inheritance and demand its abolition. It is the general practice of Muslim lands and is used by the *sharī'a* tribunals, which also undertake the distribution of the estate, a thing too difficult for a layman to attempt. The Muslim law of inheritance is also applied to members of other creeds, when they come with problems to be settled to the *Sharī'a* tribunals, which often happens in Muslim countries.

Bibliography: (so far as not already quoted), in addition to the Muslim sources: On sect. 2: Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*², p. 65 sqq. — On sect. 3 (chronology of the *Qur'an* passages): Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, vol. i. — On sect. 4 and 5: Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. Heirs; Peltier, *Le Livre des Testaments du "Çahik"* d'el-Bokhārī; al-Shawkānī, *Nail al-Awṣar*, in *Kitāb al-Farā'id*. — On sect. 6 and 7 (for the earlier period the two recensions of *Malik's al-Muwatta'* are a valuable source): Juynboll, *Handbuch*², p. 237 sqq.; do., *Handleiding*³, p. 241 sqq.; Sachau, *Muhammadanisches Recht*, p. 181 sqq. (*Shāfi'*); Baillie, *The Moohammedan Law of Inheritance*; do., *A Digest of Moohammedan Law*², vol. i. (*Hanafi*); Guidi and Santillana, *Il muḥtaṣar di Ḥalil ibn Ishāq*; Sánchez Pérez, *Partición de herencias entre los Musulmanes* (*Maliki*); Hirsch, *Abd ul Kadir Muhammed: Wissenschaft des Erbrechts* (*Hanafi* and *Shāfi'*). — On sect. 8a: Querry, *Droit Musulman*, vol. ii., p. 326 sqq.; Baillie, *A Digest of Moohammedan Law*, vol. ii. — On sect. 8c: Sachau, *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1894, p. 159 sqq. — On sect. 9: Juynboll, *Handleiding*³, p. 250 sq. Further references there given p. 406.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

MIRDĀS B. UDAIYA, *Khāridjī* leader in Baṣra, killed in 61 (680—681). He belonged to the *Rabī'a* b. *Ḥanzala* b. *Malik* b. *Zaidmanāt* (called *Rabī'a* al-Wustā, *Naḳā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 185, 5 = 699, 11; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 123, 12, 772, 8), a branch of the tribe of *Tamīm* which supplied so many leaders to the *Khāridjī* movement. His father was called *Ḥudair* b. 'Amr b. 'Abd b. Ka'b and *Udaiya* was his mother's or grandmother's, name; she belonged to the tribe of *Muḥarib* b. *Khaṣafa* (*Ibn Duraid*, *Kitāb al-Iṣṭiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 134; *Ibn Kutaiba*, *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 209; *Ṭabarī*, *Mubarrad*, *Balādhuri*, cf. *Bibl.*). He is often called by his kunya *Abū Bilāl*.

His brother 'Urwa b. *Udaiya* had been one of the instigators of the *Khāridjī* movement of secession at the battle of *Ṣiffin*; he himself had taken part in the movement and had fought against the Caliph 'Alī at al-Nahrawān (38 A.H.); after this defeat he gave up all political activity although, like his brother, he remained faithful to his old opinions; but he declared himself against armed insurrection, political assassination (*istī'rād*) and the participation of women in the *Khāridjī* movement. These moderate views, which *Mirdās* retained till the end of the caliphate of *Mu'āwiya* and which caused the extremists to class him among the *ka'ada* (quietists) of the *Khāridjīs*, made it all the more remarkable when he came out openly and actively against the excesses of the governor of Baṣra, 'Ubaidallāh b. *Ziyād*, in his repression of *Khāridjism*. A woman named al-Baldjā' or al-Bathdjā' (the latter form, given by *Ibn al-Athīr* from al-Balādhuri, seems to be wrong) had been cruelly martyred by the governor. *Mirdās's* indignation was so aroused that he left Baṣra with 40 of his followers and went to al-Ahwāz on the Fārs frontier, where he held out for a long time without committing any of those acts of fanaticism usual among the *Khāridjīs* and confined himself to imposing a levy equal in value to the pension

(*ʿaṭā*) which was legally due to him and his companions (60 A. H.). ʿUbaidallāh b. Ziyād sent against Mirdās the Kilābī chief Aslam b. Zurʿa (this is the best authenticated form; al-Ṭabarī in the first of the two versions which he quotes has Ibn Ḥiṣn; al-Dīnawarī: Aslam b. Rabiʿa; Yāqūt: Maʿbad b. Aslam) at the head of 2,000 men. They met near a village called Āsak (or Midjās, according to a verse quoted by Yāqūt, iv. 712—713) but the Khāridjīs, in spite of their greatly inferior number, defeated him. In the following year, a second expedition of 4,000 men under the Tamīmī ʿAbbād b. Akḥḍar was organised by Ibn Ziyād; he found the Khāridjīs encamped in front of Darʿabdjird. It was a Friday and the two parties agreed to finish their prayers before fighting. But the government troops, breaking the oath they had sworn, fell upon the Khāridjīs while they were still praying and massacred them. Mirdās's head was cut off and taken to Ibn Ziyād.

This episode, insignificant in itself, provoked a tremendous reaction throughout the ʿIrāk in view of the fame which the piety and moderation of Mirdās had brought him. His death was promptly avenged by ʿAbida b. Hilāl, who was later to become one of the leaders of the Azrakīs rising, and it was in the name of Mirdās that Khāridjīs rebelled again on the death of the Caliph Yazid I (65 A. H.). The heroism and death of Mirdās were sung by several poets, notably the famous ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [q. v.]; his memory was cherished for long in Khāridjī circles and especially in ʿOmān, the centre of the Ṣufriya (al-Mubarrad, p. 533, l. 14 = *Aghānī*, xvi. 154). The latter, whose intransigence is much less marked than that of the Azrakīs, may rightly regard Mirdās as their predecessor (cf. Haarbrücker, *asch-Scharastān's Religionsparteien und Philosophen-Schulen*, ii. 406, from the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīr fī ʿl-Dīn* of Shahfūr b. Tāhir al-Isfaraʿīnī [Brook., i. 387]); on the other hand, the Muʿtazilis held that Mirdās had only rebelled under compulsion (*munkirān*) and the Shīʿīs even denied that he was a true Khāridjī (al-Mubarrad, p. 560—561).

Mirdās's brother, ʿUrwa b. Udayia, does not seem to have taken part in the insurrection; but this did not save him from persecution by Ibn Ziyād, who had him arrested and executed shortly after the death of Mirdās; the version which puts his execution before the rising of Mirdās in 58 A. H. (Ṭabarī, ii. 185) is less probable.

Bibliography: The fullest and most complete account is that of al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 584—596, without indication of source; al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, Constantinople MS. ʿAshir Efendi, p. 386a—387b, is very close to but not identical with al-Mubarrad's and quotes a large number of verses. He also omits the *isnād*. Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, ii. 186—187, 390—391 relies on two sources, Wāḥb b. Ḍjarrir and an anonymous one, of which the former does not seem very reliable and the latter follows al-Mubarrad and al-Balādhuri, but is much shorter; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 61—62 (cf. also ii. 434, l. 1) seems to have used an independent source. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, iii. 428—430, iv. 81—82 harmonises al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhuri, and follows al-Mubarrad, p. 592 for the death of ʿUrwa; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, p. 278—279 knows the episode, but

wrongly attributes it to the Azrakīs (sic!) and does not even mention Mirdās. — Cf. also Wellhausen, *Die rel.-pol. Oppositionsparteien* (Abh. G. W. Gött., phil.-hist. Kl., N. J. V., 2, 1901), p. 25—27. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

MIRDĀSIDS, an Arab dynasty in Syria. The Mirdāsids took their name from the leader of the Beduin tribe of the Kilābīs, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās. We know nothing of Mirdās himself. On Ṣāliḥ cf. the art. and on his successor Shibl al-Dawla, the art.; for the other members of the dynasty cf. HALAB.

In the beginning of the fifth (eleventh) century the Kilābīs migrated from the ʿIrāk to the region of Aleppo. In 414 (1023) their leader Ṣāliḥ took the town. The dynasty, at first so strong, gradually became so feeble that its last representative Ṣabīḳ exchanged the town in 472 (1079) in spite of his brothers' protest for a few smaller towns with the then powerful Beduin chief Muslim b. Kuraish.

The importance of the Mirdāsids, the second last Arab ruling family of Syria, lies in the fact that they successfully defended the northern province of Aleppo by arms and policy against the Byzantines and Turks. Lane-Poole gives the genealogy in his *Muhammadian Dynasties*, London 1894; Shibl al-Dawla Naṣir (2) had also a son Mubarak and Rashid al-Dawla Maḥmūd (4) had also sons Shabīb and Waṭṭhāb.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

MIRJAM. [See MARYAM.]

MIR KHĀWAND, historian, author of the *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ* ("Garden of Purity"). He was son of Burhān al-Dīn Khāwānd Shāh, native of Transoxiana, and, apparently, of Bukhārā. He lived much in Herāt and died there on June 22, 1498, aged 66. His work is a universal history in seven volumes, beginning with the Creation and ending at the death of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt in 1505. The last volume, however, is really the work of his grandson, Khwāndāmīr [q. v.]. His work is not so interesting as his grandson's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, for it is a compilation and wants the personal note. The style too is bombastic, and there is little historical criticism. But it is a work of great industry and has a high reputation in the East. It was lithographed in Bombay 1848, in Ṭihrān 1852; a Turkish translation appeared at Constantinople in 1842; partial translations were made by Jenisch, Mitscharlik, Wilken, Vullers, Shea (O. T. F. series), Rehatsek (T. F. series), Jourdain and Silvestre de Sacy (*Journal des Savans*, 1837).

Bibliography: Quatremère (*Journal des Savans*, 1843, p. 127, 170); Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. British Museum*, i. 87; Elliot-Dowson, iv. 127 (and the authorities quoted there, p. 132 sq.); Ethé (s. v. Mirkhond), *Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., vol. xviii. (H. BEVERIDGE)

AL-MIRRĪKH, the planet Mars. The etymology of the name is unknown. The sphere of Mars is the fifth sphere of the planets. It is bounded on the inner side by the sphere of the sun and on the outer side by the sphere of Jupiter, and its breadth is according to Ptolemy (xx. 376) 998 miles. Its period of revolution is estimated at 1 year, 10 months and 22 days. In about 17 years, after 9 revolutions, Mars comes back to the same spot in the heavens; it spends about 40 days in each sign of the zodiac and covers about 40

minutes each day. It is said to be one and half times the size of the earth.

Astrologers call Mars *al-Nahs al-aṣḡhar*, the minor misfortune. It is the planet, which next to Saturn is credited with the most ominous omens and effects, war, revolutions, death, conflagration etc. The character of those born under Mars is in keeping with this.

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 26; A. Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, Strassburg 1916, passim; *Rasāʾil Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Section iii., iv.

(J. RUSKA)

MĪRZĀ or MIRZĀ, a Persian title, from *Mir-zāda* or *Amir-zāda*, and originally meaning "born of a prince" (cf. *Malik-zāda* and *Farhang-zāda*, which occur in Sa'di etc.). The title, in addition to bearing its original significance, was also given to noblemen and others of good birth, thus corresponding to the Turkish *Aghā*. Since the time of Nādir Shāh's conquest of India it has been further applied to educated men outside of the class of *mullās* or *ulamāʾ*. In modern times the title is placed after the name of a prince, and before the name of other persons bearing it: e. g. *Husain Mirzā* "Prince Husain", whereas *Mirzā Husain* is practically equivalent to "Mr. Husain". (R. LEVY)

MĪRZĀPŪR, a district (and town) in India in the Benares division of the Central Provinces: area 5,240 square miles. The population is nearly 1,100,000 of whom barely 70% are Muḥammadans. The latter show a tendency to increase in proportion to the Hindus, owing to their greater vitality, containing as they do a smaller proportion of the very poor. The district is however a stronghold of Hinduism, and Islām makes little progress by conversion. Nothing is known of the early history of the district. It was occupied by Rājputs in the eleventh century A.D. and in the next century passed into the power of the Muslim rulers of Djawnpūr. Down to the Moghul conquest, the district played an important part in the military history of India, as it contained the great stronghold of Ġunār which guarded the gateway of the east.

At Rasulpur near Ahraura is the tomb of a Muslim martyr called Saiyid Ashraf ʿAlī which is a place of pilgrimage. Near the gateway of the fort of Bijaigarh is shown the tomb of Saiyid Zain al-ʿAbidin, the saint who miraculously took the stronghold for Sher Shāh. The town of Ġunār contains two mosques at one of which are preserved garments said to have belonged to Ḥasan and Ḥusain. The tomb of the Afghan saint Shāh Ḳāsim Sulaimānī (1545–1606) with those of his family forms a group of buildings of architectural interest. His festival is celebrated on the 17th–21st Djumādā I.

Mirzāpūr city is the capital of the district of the same name. It has a population of 80,000 of whom a sixth are Muslims. It is a Moghul foundation dating from late in the xviith century: in the xviiith and early xixth centuries it attained great prosperity as a trading centre, being at the junction of important roads and at the highest point on the Ganges reached by the larger ships. In 1864 the opening of the East India Railway left the town isolated; since then it has declined, as the railway now carries the trade with which it used to deal.

Among the mosques is one founded in the middle

of the xixth century by a Muslim lady named Ganga Bibi who also left funds to build a sarai. The town contains the celebrated Hindu shrine of Vindheśvarī, much visited by pilgrims and formerly held in special veneration by Thugs.

Bibliography: D. L. Drake-Brockman, *District Gazetteer of Mirzāpur*, Allahabad 1911.

(J. ALLAN)

MĪRZĀ TAQĪ KHĀN, *Amir-i Nizām* or *Amir-i Kabir*, was born at Farāhān of humble parents, his father having been first the cook and then the steward of the *Ḳāʾim Maḥām*, Mirzā Abu ʿl-Ḳāsim, who ended his life as the first minister of Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār (1834–1848). In 1829, as a young menial, Taqī Khān accompanied the Persian Commander-in-Chief on the Mission which was sent to St. Petersburg after the murder at Tihṙān of the Russian ambassador Grebaidoff. On his return to Persia after this visit to Europe, he was promoted to be a *mirzā* or writer, and subsequently was advanced to the rank of *khān*. By the time his master and patron died the young official had achieved distinction enough to be made *wazīr* responsible for the army in Ādharbāidjān. Still further honours came, when, during the negotiations at Erzerūm for the settling of outstanding disputes between Persia and Turkey, he was sent to represent his own country in place of the Muḥṣir al-Dawla, who had fallen ill after his appointment as plenipotentiary. On the conclusion of the Treaty of Erzerūm, Mirzā Taqī returned to Tihṙān and was then commissioned to accompany the young Walī ʿAhd, Nāṣir al-Dīn Mirzā, to Tabriz, to which the latter was sent as governor of Ādharbāidjān. In 1848, Taqī Khān's master became Shāh, and on the way back to Tihṙān he appointed his lieutenant to the post of Prime Minister. It is said that either modesty or prudence caused him to refuse the title of Ṣadr-i Aʿzam which is bestowed on the holders of the office, but, in any event, he contented himself with the less imposing one of *Amir-i Nizām*, which he had held in Ādharbāidjān as Commander-in-Chief. As a mark of the royal favour he was given the sister of the Shāh in marriage, and found in her a wife who displayed the utmost devotion to him for the short remainder of his life.

In office he had the rare distinction in Persia of being inamenable to bribery, and he had a regard for his country which led him to resent interference from foreign powers in its affairs. Moreover, recognizing the reactionary influence of the *ulamāʾ*, he attempted in such ways as were open to him to counteract their activities. He reorganised the army in spite of attempts by his enemies to rouse certain sections of the troops into revolt against him, he made efforts to improve the fiscal system of the country and he had some success in making the provincial treasuries self-supporting. Trade, both internal and external, was encouraged by him, and it was he that equipped Tihṙān with the fine bazars which it now has. As has been indicated, his period of office was not a peaceful one. In 1850 occurred the execution of the "Bāb" [*q. v.*] at Tabriz, the revolts of the Bābis at Yazd and Zindjān and the execution of the "Seven (Bābi) Martyrs" at Tihṙān. The risings were put down with great cruelty, and in consequence an attempt was made by the Bābis on the life of the Amir-i Nizām, whom they regarded as responsible. Almost from the begin-

ning of his period of office he had aroused by his influence over the *Shāh* the jealousy of the latter's mother and of possible rivals, and their secret attacks were helped by his overbearing character. In November 1851 his enemies succeeded in securing his dismissal, after which the ill-judged attempt of the Russian ambassador to give the fallen minister his protection roused the anger of the *Shāh* who ordered him to retire in disgrace to Kāshān. There, on January 9, 1852, he met his death at the hands of the sovereign's *farrāsh-bāshī*.

Bibliography: Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of Persia* (London 1856), p. 201 sq., 248—252; R. G. Watson, *History of Persia* (London 1866), p. 364—404; Muḥammad Taqī, *Ta'rikh-i Kā-djāriya* (Tihirān n. d. not paged), part III, folios 13^b, 14^a, 26. (R. LEVY)

MISĀḤA (science of measurement, plane and solid geometry) is the name given by the Arabs to the science of comparing magnitudes and its methods. In the wider sense it covers the measurement of all things which can or need be measured, mainly lengths, areas, volumes, weights and numbers; in particular however, the *ʿilm al-misāḥa* deals with geometry, with definitions of solids and geometrical figures as well as the laying down of rules for the calculation of lengths, areas and volumes of the different figures in elementary plane and solid geometry. The conception *misāḥa* therefore includes only a portion of what we call measurement in the wider sense, or practical or technical geometry (i. e. the measurement of things having length, breadth and volume); in particular it excludes mensuration in the narrow sense, geodesy. The Arabs possessed special treatises dealing with the problems of geodesy. They therefore make the same distinction between theoretical and applied measurement, which had developed among the Greeks from the time of Aristotle and is most clearly expressed by Hero in his *Metrica* and *Dioptra*.

The definitions given by the Arabs themselves of the conception *misāḥa* are very varied. Some authors give a very wide one (e. g. al-ʿUmawī: "Measurement consists in ascertaining an unknown quantity by means of a known one. The result gives the amount of the unknown quantity in units of the quantity used for measuring"); most of them mean by it the measurement of length, area and volume. Al-Shīnshawrī makes a clear distinction between direct measurement, "the test of coincidence" (*taṭbīq*), and indirect measurement by calculating from certain formulae.

We find treatises on geometry throughout the whole period in which the Arabs acted as the transmitters of the ancient culture with which they had become acquainted, from the earliest beginnings of their literary activity at the beginning of the ninth century A. D. to the decline of Arab mathematics about 1600. The purpose of such works was to give the future surveyor, architect or soldier the necessary equipment, the theoretical foundation for his profession. Three groups of these treatises can be distinguished according to their method of treatment:

a. those which are quite like our modern collections of formulae, are made as brief as possible, give only the usual methods of calculation and contain no examples (e. g. that of Ibn al-Bannā);

b. those which contain examples, completely worked out, illustrating the process of calculation (e. g. that of al-Baghdādī);

c. those which only contain a series of fully worked out problems, and are a kind of exercise book (e. g. that of Abū Bakr).

On the method of exposition in these works it should be noted that we cannot of course speak of mathematical formulae in our sense of the word among the Arabs. They, especially the eastern Arabs, had no language of mathematical formulae; it was only late among the western Arabs and probably only in the field of algebra that a technical language was developed. The rules for measuring were always written out fully in words, sometimes even the figures occurring in the text.

The matter of the works on *misāḥa*, especially the larger ones, as a rule comprises introductory remarks, rules for calculating areas and volumes and the most important lengths found on them, and occasionally also practical exercises.

A. Introductory remarks. These are as a rule

1. Definition of the term *misāḥa*.
2. Explanation, description and systematic classification of the geometrical figures to be discussed.
3. Definition and list of the most common units of measurement.

B. Rules for calculation.

I. Plane surfaces (and the lengths occurring on them).

1. Quadrilaterals (square, rectangle, rhomboid trapezium, trapezoid, quadrilateral with salient angle).
2. Triangles (equilateral, isosceles, scalene, right angled, acute-angled and obtuse-angled).
3. Polygons (regular, irregular, "drumshaped figure" (*muṭabbai*), "hollow figure" (*muḍjawwif*) "stepshaped figure" (*muḍarradī*). "Drumshaped" and "hollow" figures are formed by the combination of two congruent trapeziums in such a way that in the former the shorter, in the latter, the longer parallel sides coincide; a number of varieties are distinguished. The stepshaped figure is formed by placing together a number of rectangles of the same length but different breadth, in which the proportions of the breadths form an arithmetical progression.
4. Circle, segments of a circle (semi-circle, segment, sector, circumference) and related areas (horseshoe or crescent [*ḥilālī*], egg-shape, bean- or lentil-shaped, or oval figures).

The crescent is formed by the subtraction of two segments of circles of different radius with a common chord, egg-shape and bean-shape by the addition of two congruous segments which in the egg-shape are less, in the bean-shape greater than the semi-circle. The area of the oval (ellipse) is given by Savasorda as $\frac{1}{4} (a + b)^2 \pi$.

II. Solids (and the areas, especially superficies, and lengths that occur on them).

1. Prism (ordinary straight and oblique prism, square column, rectangular column, dice, triangular prism, obliquely cut prism, *corpus simile domui* in Abū Bakr as translated by Gerard of Cremona).
2. Cylinder.

3. Pyramids (straight and oblique pyramids, sections of pyramids).

4. Cones (straight and oblique cone, section of cone).

5. Sphere and section of a sphere, hemisphere, segment, sector and zone.

6. Regular and semi-regular bodies (the five Platonic and two Archimedean are treated at any length only in al-Kāshī).

7. Other bodies [cylindrical vault (*azādī* and *ṭikān*); the only difference between them is the length] hollow dome (*kubba*), roof-shape (*corpus simile caburi* in Abū Bakr), wreaths and discs (hollow cylinder), terrace-shaped figures].

C. Practical exercises.

These are generally speaking rare in works on *misāḥa*. We frequently find exercises in dividing fields modelled on Hero and Euclid. Savasorda has a number of exercises on fields on slopes, in hollows and on summits and on the calculation of the heights of hills; al-Ḥanbalī has some on the measurement of inaccessible pieces of ground, the depth of wells and breadth of rivers. Of other problems may be mentioned, for example, the calculation of the number of pieces of stone or bricks required to build a house or a roof, the ascertainment of the height of a wall.

It must not however be supposed that the subject matter as above described is fully contained in any work on *misāḥa*. The individual works differ in subject matter according to the inclinations and abilities of their authors, just as our text-books of geometry do at the present day. We find works planned on a very comprehensive scale (by al-Ḥanbalī and al-Kāshī), alongside of very brief ones, often dealing only with portions of the subject (e.g. the anonymous Berlin MS. N^o. 5954 which contains only formulae for calculating plane surfaces), or even only a single problem (like the treatise by al-Shinshawri). We therefore often find expositions which are only put into works on geometry in order to show the author's special knowledge or results of his research in a particular field.

Among remarkable examples of this kind are the insertion by Djamshīd al-Kāshī in a work on *misāḥa* of a treatment of regular and some semi-regular bodies (the calculation worked out by him in sexagesimal fractions to the fifths is so accurate that it only begins to differ from the correct figure in the tenth decimal place); the formulae for the area of a surface given by al-Umawī $F = \sqrt{a b c d}$ for trapezoids with a right angle and his improvement of Hero's formulae for the segments of a circle; the formula for an arc given by al-Karkhī; the formula $d^2 = \frac{1}{9} [n(n-1) + 6] a^2$ where d is the diameter of the circle around a regular polygon of n sides of length a given by the same author and al-Baghdādī (the same formula is found in Nemorarius and Regiomontanus and attributed by the latter to the Hindus; it is however, so far as we know, not found in any Hindu mathematical work yet published); also the application of algebra to geometry by Abū Bakr and Ibn al-Bannā. The former uses the algebraical solution for problems of areas in order to show the application of equations of the first and second degree to the six cases distinguished by al-Khwārizmī; the latter uses combinatorial analysis to investigate the different possibilities of stating the problem.

The methods of calculating the volume are the same as we find among the Greeks and Egyptians. When it is not a question of matter that has been taken over from them, in which case the formulae are directly adopted, the obtaining of results is purely inductive and empirical. Al-Karkhī for example for the volume of a sphere gives, in addition to the formulae $d^3 (11/14)^2$, on the method of obtaining which he says nothing, also $d^3 (28/45)$ which he gets by comparing the weight of a cube of wax with the weight of a sphere, which is made out of the cube of wax and whose diameter is equal to the edge of the cube. al-Baghdādī deals with a method of ascertaining the volume from the weight and specific gravity. al-Kāshī knows the method of immersion of Archimedes mentioned by Hero. The direct method of measuring the length of areas by laying a thread along them is still recommended as the most reliable by al-Karkhī and Bahā' al-Dīn. It is evident that such methods must lead to approximative results and formulae of approximation, the typical feature of practical geometry, continue to be used by the Arabs in measuring long after they obviously knew of their inaccuracy. Ibn Mammātī criticises the usual formulae for the area of a triangle $\frac{1}{2} (a+b) \frac{3}{4} c$ and $\frac{1}{2} (a+b) \frac{2}{3} c$, al-Baghdādī the formula for a quadrilateral $\frac{1}{2} (a+c) \frac{1}{2} (b+d)$ which comes from the Egyptians.

The reasons for the long survival of such rules are partly that the formulae gave in practice quite useful results and partly that the practical men who were concerned with measurement in the exercise of their trade wanted values easy to calculate rather than great mathematical accuracy and took no note of slight errors, especially if they thereby avoided calculations with roots. For similar reasons and in keeping with the traditional practice, almost all works of *misāḥa* give no scientific geometrical proofs of the accuracy of the formulae they quote. Only the book of the Jew Abraham Savasorda, who may be reckoned among the western Arabs, gives logically worked out proofs in any number; we occasionally find references to early mathematicians (especially Euclid) in Ibn al-Bannā and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī. Probably inspection was quite sufficient ('Abd al-'Azīz for example draws plane figures in a network of squares each of one unit and counts the squares and their parts within this area) or a simple demonstration in some form or a calculation to prove the correctness of the procedure, which was frequently illustrated also by examples completely worked out.

A further peculiarity of Arabic authors was to give formulae which agree completely in substance in different algebraical forms. The Berlin MS. N^o. 5954 gives for example for the calculation of the section of the hypotenuse q in the right angled triangle the following formulae: $q = \frac{1}{2} [a + (c^2 - b^2) : a] = \frac{1}{2} [a + (c + b)(c - b) : a] = \frac{1}{2} [a + (c + b) : \frac{a}{c-b}] = \frac{1}{2} [a^2 + (c^2 - b^2) : a]$. This differentiation was probably only intended to give as many forms as possible of the relations between the known and unknown magnitudes so as to afford the practical man a choice of different correct formulae of which one might suit the special case better than another.

The sources of Arab geometry are to be sought among the Greeks and Hindus. The form and

substance of the rules are almost entirely Greek, especially in the older authors. Hero's "elaborations" in particular, which in turn go back to Egypt, seem to have been the model for Arab works on geometry. To Egypt may be traced the prefacing of a metrological section (found in many books on *misāḥa*), the problems on dividing fields, the formula for the trapezoid, the special name for the upper side of a quadrilateral (*ra's al-'arīḍ*). Hindu are the values for π in al-Khwarizmi, the formula \sqrt{abcd} , for the quadrilateral inscribed in a circle, the terms are, perpendicular from the summit of an arc and chord, the marking of lengths in Hindu figures, the use of algebra to solve geometrical problems (equations, method of double error, combinatorial analysis). The chief teachers were however the Greeks, whose achievements the Arabs generally speaking never surpassed; the requirements of practical mensuration gave them no new problems and practical geometry remained down to quite modern times elementary, the majority of the problems of which had been finally settled long ago by the Greeks.

The services of the Arabs to geometry lie less in the extension of the field by ascertaining new, hitherto unknown facts, although in the *misāḥa* works we do find a series of new and novel rules, than in their enrichment of this science by new methods of calculation and teaching and especially in their preserving the inheritance of the ancients and handing it down to the western world. Although Hero's geometry first became known in northwestern Europe through Roman surveyors, it was mainly the Arab sources which gave new life to this subject which had become stagnant in its old form. Arabic original works were made accessible to the west in Latin translations. Leonardo of Pisa in his *Practica geometrica*, which remained a standard work for three centuries, depended closely on Savasorda, who most probably owed a great deal to Abū Bakr as there are striking similarities between the *Liber embadorum* and the *Liber mensurationis*; down to late in the xvth century we continually come across writings on practical geometry, which in form and content show to what originals they go back.

Bibliography: a. I. Manuscripts: Arabic authors translated into Latin: 1. *Liber in quo terrarum et corporum continetur mensurationes Ababuchri* (author presumably Abū Bakr, † 1055; cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber* etc., *Abhdlg. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, xlv., 10. Heft, 1900, N^o 224), Cambridge, Univ. Library, Mm. ii. 18, fol. 69^v—76^v; 2. *Liber Saydi abuoṭhmi* (author presumably Zaid Abū 'Oṭhmān, † 1052; Suter, N^o 222); do., fol. 76^v—77^r; 3. *Liber aderameti* (author presumably 'Omar al-Ḥadrami, † 1057; Suter, N^o 227), do., fol. 77^r—77^v.

II. Arabic works (the titles are given as translated by E. Wiedemann and J. Ruska): 1. Ibn al-Dijyāb (c. 1150) "Records of the measurement of surfaces", Escorial, old N^o 924, fol. 1^a—70^b; 2. Imād al-Dīn al-Baghdādī († 1335; Suter, N^o 494), "Work on the science of measurement and the sharing of difficulties", Berlin 5976, fol. 17^a—26^a; 3. Ibn al-Bannā' († 1339—1340; Suter, N^o 399), "Treatise on the doctrine of measurement, Berlin 5945, fol. 70^b—73^a; 4. anonymous, "Treatise on the principles of the doctrine of measurement" (written in 1358), Berlin

5953, fol. 56^b—59^a; 5. anonymous, "Treatise on the doctrine of measurement", Berlin 5954, fol. 85^b—95^b; 6. Djamshīd b. Mas'ūd al-Kāshī († 1436—1437; Suter, N^o 429), "Keys for the calculator in the science of arithmetic", Berlin 5992, fol. 27^a—48^b; 7. Ya'ish b. Ibrāhīm al-Umawī (c. 1490; Suter, N^o 453), "Abolition of difficulties in measurement", Berlin 5949, fol. 73^a—79^a; 8. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī († 1563; Suter, N^o 464), "Marks of beauty in the problems of geometry", Paris 2474; fol. 1^a—53^a; 9. 'Abd Allāh al-Shīnshawrī († 1590—1591; Suter, N^o 472), "Comfort to the eyes in measuring the vessel which holds two ḳulla", Berlin 5951, fol. 1—12; Gotha 1078, 1 and 1079.

b. Editions: 1. M. Curtze, *Der Liber Embadorum des Abraham bar Chijja Savasorda in der Übersetzung des Plato von Trivoli*, *Abhdlg. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, Heft xii., 1902; 2. A. Hochheim, "Kāfi fī 'l-Ḥisāb" des Abū Bekr al-Karchī, 9.—11. Programm d. höh. Gewerbeschule Magdeburg, 1878—1880; 3. A. Marre, *Le messāhat de Mohammed ben Mousse al-Khārezmī*, in *Annali di Matematica*, Rome 1865, vol. 7, p. 269 sq.; 4. G. H. F. Nesselmann, *Essenz der Rechenkunst von Mohammed Beha-eddin ben Alhossain*, Berlin 1843; 5. Fr. Rosen, *The Algebra of Moh. b. Musa*, London 1831; 6. J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra und Rechenkunst*, *Sitzgs.-Ber. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Heidelberg 1917; 7. E. Wiedemann, *Über die Geometrie und Arithmetik nach den Maḥāṭih al-'Ulūm*, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Naturwissensch.*, xiv., S.B.P.M., *Soz. Erlangen*, vol. 40, Erlangen 1908; 8. do., *Über das Messen nach Ibn al-Haitam*, *Beiträge*, xvii., S.B.P.M., *Soz. Erl.*, vol. 41, Erlangen 1909; 9. do., *Über Vermessung nach Ibn Mammātī*, *Beiträge*, xxi., S.B.P.M., *Soz. Erl.*, vol. 42, Erlangen 1910. (H. SCHIRMER)

MIS'AR B. MUHALHIL ABŪ DULAF AL-KHAZRADJĪ AL-YANBŪ'Ī, an Arabic poet who lived at the court of the Sāmānid Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (301—331 = 913—942) and in 331 was sent by him to conduct a Chinese embassy back to their land and on his return visited India. He later gained the favour of the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāhib al-Tāḳānī (so al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 363^b) Ismā'il b. 'Ab-bād (d. 385 = 995). To him he devoted a long ḳaṣida on the thieves' dialect of the Banū Ṣasān, which his patron so much admired that he himself wrote a commentary upon it (extracts in *Tha'libi*, *Yatima*, iii. 176—194). The dates of his birth and death are nowhere exactly given. To his long journeys he alludes in his verses quoted by *Tha'libi*, *op. cit.*, iii. 174. The only authentic information has been preserved by the author of the *Fihrist*; on p. 346, 30 sqq. (where *wa-kāna dīawwālātān* is of course not to be translated as Flügel does [note 182] "there was a rumour current" but "he was a great traveller") he gives his account of a temple in Mukrān said to be of gold, and on p. 350, 15 sqq. a description of the capital of China. A comparison of these with the corresponding account of his journey attributed to Abū Dulaf in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 457, 20 sqq., 451, 55 sqq. shows that the latter is a late falsification (cf. Marquart in the *Festschrift* for Sachau, p. 292). This is confirmed by an internal criticism of his statements. The first country to be entered after leaving Muslim territory is, he

says (Yāqūt, iii. 449, 7), al-Khargāh, i. e. as Marquart, *S. B. B. A.*, 1912, p. 492 has recognised, the Persian translation of the Turkish name for Kāshghar, Ordukānd. Of this kingdom of the Boghrākhāns however, this author (p. 447 sqq.) talks as if it belonged to the tribe of Boghrāc, whose ruler was a descendant of 'Alī, as the East Turkish legend of Satok Boghrā Khān says of his grandson. The story is therefore compiled from various sources. Marquart (Sachau, *Festschrift*, p. 271—272) has also recognised that the alleged ruler of Sadjistān whom the author claims (*op. cit.*, p. 458, 4) to have met, Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Laith, son of Bānū, a sister of Ya'qūb b. Laith, is identical with Khalaf b. Aḥmad son of Bānū, a granddaughter of 'Amr b. Laith, who was taken prisoner by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 1002—1003 and died in 1008. The geographical information given by the compiler is therefore quite unreliable in detail. His story is also preserved in the second version of Kazwini's *Cosmography* in the Gotha Mss. 1506 (Möller, N^o. 2316) and has been edited from it by Schölzer.

Bibliography: al-Tha'libī, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, iii. 174—194; F. Wüstenfeld, *Des Abu Dolef Misar Bericht über die türkischen Horden*, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Erdkunde*, I. Jahrg., vol. 2, Heft 9, Magdeburg 1842; *Abu Dolef Misaris ben Mohalhal de itinere suo asiatico commentarius*, ed. C. Schölzer, Berlin 1845; W. Grigorieff, *Ob arabskom putešestvenniky X jeka Abu Dolef i stranstwowanii ego no srednei Asii*, in *Žurnal ministerstwa narodnago prasuždenii*, vol. clxiii./2 (1872), p. 1—45.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MISBAḤA. [See SUBḤA.]

MISKĪN, poor, a loanword which has shown remarkable vitality. It goes back to the Assyrian *miskēnu*, "poor" (in the Laws of Hammurabi it is a name for a class between those enjoying full citizenship and slaves; according to L. W. King: freemen who do not belong to the ruling race). In the meaning "poor" it has passed into Aramaic (*meskin*), Hebrew (*miskēn*), North Arabic (*miskīn* or, against analogy, *maskīn*), into Southern Arabic and Ethiopic (*meskin*). It has passed from Arabic into Italian as *meschino* and into French as *mesquin*. In Arabic, on the analogy of the form *mif'il*, it is usually of common gender but the feminine form *miskina* is also found with plural *miskināt*. Muḥammad often uses the word in the Qur'ān in the list of persons whom it was a duty for believers to support. As in Sūra ix. 60 it is found alongside of *fuḡarā'*, commentators and jurists have felt that some distinction must be made between the two. They usually explain *miskīn* as needy, but not absolutely without possessions like the *fuḡarā'*, and refer to Sūra xviii. 78, where there is a reference to poor people who possess a ship among them. How uncertain this is, is however evident from the fact that the Mālikis in opposition to the Shāfi'is take the other view and regard the *miskinūna* as the most needy; cf. also the various definitions collected by Lane. *Dhū Matraba* in Sūra xc. 16 does not help us. From the meaning "poor" gradually developed that of "base, miserable", also in the moral sense, cf. e. g. Ibn Sa'd, iii/i. 6 ult. where Abū Sufyān's wife Hind is called *al-Miskina*. On the other hand, the word can mean "humble" as in the words attributed to Muḥammad: "Let me live as a *miskīn*

and die as a *miskīn* and include me among the *miskinūna*".

Bibliography: On the Assyrian cf. the references in Gesenius, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch* 10, and King, *History of Babylon*, p. 164; for Arabic: Lane, i. 1305; Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzi, *Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll, i. 879, 6 sq.; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 106.

(FR. BUHL)

MIŞR, a. a proper name denoting the eponym of Egypt, the ancestor of the Berbers and the Copts. In accordance with the Biblical genealogy (Genesis x. 1 sqq.) Mişr is called the son of Hām, the son of Nūh. The Biblical origin of the pedigree appears clearly in the form Mişrā'im or Mişrām (cf. Hebrew *Misraim*) which is found side by side with Mişr.

In some genealogies between Hām and Mişr there is inserted Baişar, a name of which the origin is unknown to me.

There exists, however, also quite a different genealogy, according to which Mişrām is a son of Tablil, one of the early heroes (*djabābira*), who ruled Egypt after the Deluge.

Bibliography: al-Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. de Goeje, i. 217; al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, i. 210; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī al-Dhahab*, Paris ed., ii. 394; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B.G.A.*, vi. 80; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, i. 58; al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥādara*, Bulāq, p. 15; Muḥ. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭi al-Manūfi, *Kitāb Akhbār al-Duwal*, Cairo 1311, p. 5;

b. a proper name denoting Egypt as a country. It may be supposed that Mişr was already the name of Egypt among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times as it is used in the Qur'ān (e. g. sūra x. 87; xii. 21, 100; xliii. 50), where the Biblical form Mişraim does not occur. It has remained the Arabic name of Egypt [q. v.] up to the present day.

c. a proper name denoting the capital of Egypt, i. e. at present and since its foundation Cairo, which with its full name is called Mişr al-Ḳāhira [cf. CAIRO]. Mişr occurs, however, already as the name of the city or the cities situated southwest of later Cairo; when the name had been transferred to this city, the name Mişr al-ḳadima (Old Mişr) clung to the old settlement, situated between the mosque of 'Amr and the right bank of the Nile (cf. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, p. 16).

In the period between the Arab conquest and the foundation of Cairo the name Mişr is regularly applied to the settlement just mentioned (Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B. G. A.*, vi. 247, 251; Ibn Rosteh, *B. G. A.*, vii. 115 sqq.; al-Bukhārī, *Fard al-Khum*, bāb 13; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 74). We are, however, not able to decide which of its parts (Babylon, Fuṣṭāṭ or the Tulūnid capital) is especially denoted by it. It may be supposed that the combination of Fuṣṭāṭ Mişr "Fuṣṭāṭ in Egypt" (cf. e. g. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, *B. G. A.*, viii. 358; Makrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, i. 285 opposes Fuṣṭāṭ Mişr to *ard Mişr*) forms the link between the application of the name Mişr to the country and to the capital. After the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims there were two settlements only on the right bank of the Nile where it divides, viz. Babylon and Fuṣṭāṭ. The papyri never mention Mişr as the name of either of these settlements. Yet in the latter part of the seventh century A. D. the application of the name Mişr to one or to the other or to both

must have begun, as is attested by John of Nikiu who at least once uses Mesr as the name of a city, where he speaks of "the gates of Mesr" (p. 25). In other passages Mesr appears as the name of the country (p. 201, 209).

The statement that the name Mişr as the name of a town arose after the Muslim conquest only, is in opposition to Butler, who maintains that at least since the age of Diocletian there existed on the right bank of the Nile, to the South of the later Babylon, a city called Mişr (cf. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, p. 15; do., *The Arab Conquest*, p. 221 note). Caetani (*Annali*, A. H. 19, § 47) has already pointed to the fact, that the traditions concerning the Arab conquest of Egypt do not give the slightest credit to the existence of a city bearing the name of Mişr. Butler's reference to the Synaxary proves nothing, as this work was composed many centuries after the conquest. — The Coptic name of Babylon was Keme.

Bibliography: A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, Oxford 1902; do., *Babylon of Egypt*, Oxford 1924; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, in *M.I.F.A.O.*, vol. xxxvi., p. 168 sqq.; *Chronique de Jean évêque de Nikiou, texte éthiopien publié et trad. par H. Zotenberg*, Paris 1883, register.

d. a common noun, denoting a town; it is used especially in connection with the capitals of the provinces in the times of the conquests, e.g. in the tradition: "The amşār will be conquered at your hands" (Abū Dāwūd, *Ḍiḥād*, bāb 28). Başra and Kūfa are often called "the two mişrs" (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīḡ*, bāb 13; Yāqūt, *Muʿājam*, iv. 454). Further any town may be called mişr (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ḍhabāʾih*, bāb 2; *Aḡāḡ*, bāb 15; *Idām*, bāb 25; Tirmidhī, *Nikāḡ*, bāb 32 etc.). This mişr is a genuine Semitic word, cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s. v. and the Jewish-Aramaic *mişr*, *meşrānā*, which have the same meaning, viz. that of a house or a field as an exactly delineated and demarcated territory (cf. J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*; do., *Neuhebräisches-talmudisches Wörterbuch*).

It may be supposed that the geographical name Mişr (cf. above, a.—c.) comes from the same root and has originally a meaning akin to that of the common noun. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MİŞRĀ^c, a term in Arabic prosody applied to a hemistich or half line (*bait*); the first hemistich is called *şadr* and the second *ʿadjuş*. Each has two, three or four feet, *tafʿila* or *ḡiuz*. The last foot of the first hemistich is called *ʿarūd* and the last of the second *ḡarb*. As a general rule, and in the first verse of a poem, the *ʿarūd* foot should have the same measure (*taşʿir*) and rhyme (*taḡfiya*) as the *ḡarb* foot.

(MOH. BEN CHENER)

MİŞRĪ. [See NIVĀZĪ.]

MIŞŞİS, arab. AL-MAŞŞİŞA, a town in Cilicia on the Djaiḥān.

In antiquity it was called *Μόψου ἑστία* a name, which (like that of *Μόψου κρήνη* in the Cilician passes) is derived from the cult of the legendary seer Mopsos (cf. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.*, 1/ii. 2, § 483). In ancient times, the town was chiefly famous for its bishop Theodorus (d. 428), the teacher of Nestorius and friend of the suffragan bishop and inventor of the Armenian alphabet,

Maşhʿocʿ (Peeters, *Revue des Etudes Armén.*, ix., Paris 1929, p. 210; on him cf. e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 152; Mich. Syr., transl. Chabot, ii. 3; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 133; Theophanes, *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, i. 77, 10, 96, 4). In the reign of Justinian a synod was held in Mopsuestia in June 550 to see that his name was removed from the diptychs of the bishops (Mansi, *Acta Concil.*, ix., col. 275–289; Hefele, *Koncilien Geschichte*, ii. 2, 832–834). At a later date the name of the town was usually written *Μοψουστία* (pronounced: Mopsuestia?; cf. *Append. ad Petri Siculi hist. Manich.*, ed. Gieseler, p. 63, 1; Wilh. Schulze, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.*, xxxiii., new series, xiii., 1895, p. 372; references in Gelzer to Georg. Kypr. 819; Syr. Mompuestia: Nöldeke, *W. Z. K. M.*, iii., 1889, p. 356; Severus Antioch., *Epist.*, v. 6, ed. Brooks, p. 338; Arab. Māsubastiyā in Ibn Khurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 99). As early as the end of classical times we already find the popular forms *Mompistea* (Tab. Peut.), Byzant. *Μαρίστρα* (Michael Glykas, *Annal.*, Bonn. Corpus, p. 570, 4; Anna Komnena, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 140, 5; in al-Idrisī, ed. Gildemeister in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 24: *Mānistrā*; the Byzantine work on "Towns with later altered names", ed. Burckhardt, Hierokles, *Synekdem.*, Leipzig 1893, p. 62, Appendix I, No. 29, wrongly says: *Καστάβαλα Κιλίκιας ἡ νῦν Μάμιστρα*; the former is rather the modern Budrūm Kaḡe), *Masista* (Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, c. 32), ed. Geyer in *Corp. Script. Eccles. Lat.*, xxxix. 150, 6), i. e. Syriac Maşīštā (*Notitia Antiochena*, ed. Raḡmānī, *I fasti della chiesa patriarcale Antiochena*, Rome 1920, p. v.; *Byzant. Ztschr.*, xxv. 74, 81), from which the Arabic al-Maşşīşa, Armen. Msis and Turk. Mişşiş or Missis have arisen.

The emperor Heraclius is said to have removed the inhabitants and laid waste the district between Antioch and Mopsuestia on the advance of the Arabs, in order to create a desert zone between them (al-Ṭabarī, i. 2396; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 163: between al-Iskandarūn and Tarsūs), and under the Omayyads all the towns taken by the Arabs from al-Maşşīşa to the fourth Armenia (Malatya) are said to have been left unfortified and uninhabited as a result of the inroads of the Mardaithes (Theoph., ed. de Boor, i. 363, 17). According to Abu ʿl-Khaṭṭāb al-Azdī (in al-Balādhuri, p. 164), the Arabs conquered al-Maşşīşa and Tarsūs under Abū ʿUbaida, according to others under Maisara b. Masrūk, who was sent by him and who thereafter advanced as far as Zanda (in 16 = 637: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii. 805, § 311). Muʿāwiya on his campaign against ʿAmmūriya in 25 A. H. found all the fortresses abandoned between Antākiya and Tarsūs (see above). According to the *Maghāsi Muʿāwiya* he himself destroyed all the Byzantine fortresses up to Antākiya in 31 (651–652) on his return from Darawliya (Δαρωλίον in Phrygia) (al-Balādhuri, p. 164 sq.). After the Syrian rebellion against ʿAbd al-Malik, the emperor Constantine IV Pogonatos in 65 (684–685 A. D.) advanced against the town and regained it (al-Yaʿqūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 321). Yaḥyā b. al-Khakam in 77 marched against Mardj al-Shaḡm between Malatya and al-Maşşīşa (al-Yaʿqūbī, ii. 337). It was only in 84 (703) that ʿAbd al-Malik's son ʿAbd Allāh retook the town and had the citadel rebuilt on its old foundations (Balādhuri, p. 165; Yaʿqūbī, ii. 466; Wāḡidī in Ṭabarī, ii.

1127; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, iv. 398; Theophan., *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 372, 4; Mich. Syr., transl. Chabot, ii. 477; Elias Nisibēn., *Opus chronolog.*, ed. Brooks, p. 156; transl., p. 75; *Script. Syri.*, *chronica minora*, ed. Guidi, p. 232, transl., p. 176, under 1015 Sel. year; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 472). In the following year, he installed a garrison in the fortress, including 300 specially picked soldiers, and built a mosque on the citadel hill (Tall al-Hiṣn); a Christian church was turned into a granary (*huryun*, *huryā* = *horreum*, *horrea*; al-Balādhurī, p. 165; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Bairūt, p. 179). To the same event no doubt refers the wrongly dated reference in the *Chronicle of the Armenian Samuel of Ani* of the year 692 A.D. to the fortification with strong walls of the town of "Mamestia, i. e. Msis" by the Muslims under 'Abd al-Malik (*Ratio temporum usque ad suam aetatem presbyteri Samuelis Aniensis*, in Euseb. Pamphil., *Chron.*, ed. A. Mai and I. Zohrab, Mediolani 1818, App. p. 57; Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 286). Every year from 1,500 to 2,000 men of the corps (*ṭawālī*) of Antākiya used to winter in the town. According to Michael Syrus (transl. Chabot, iii. 478), 'Abd al-Malik died in 1017 Sel. (705 A.D.) in al-Maṣṣiṣa.

'Umar II is said to have intended to destroy the town and all the fortifications between it and Antioch and to have been either prevented by his own death (Balādhurī, p. 167) or dissuaded by his advisers; according to this version, he then had a large mosque built in the suburb of Kafarbaiya in which there was a cistern with his inscription. It was called the "Citadel Mosque" and kept up till the time of al-Mu'taṣim (al-Balādhurī, p. 165; but Kafarbaiya was probably not really built till the time of al-Mahdī or Hārūn al-Raṣhīd; [see below]. Yazīd b. Djubair ("Αζίδος δ τοῦ Χουβέι") in 704 A.D. attacked Sis (τὸ Σίσιον κἀστρον; in al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr: Sūsana in the Nāhiya of al-Maṣṣiṣa) but was driven off by Heraclius, the emperor's brother (Theophan., ed. de Boor, p. 372, 23; A. M. 6196; according to al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1185, and Ibn al-Athīr, iv. 419, wrongly not till 87 A.H.). Hishām built the suburb (*al-Rabaḍ*), Marwān II the quarter of al-Khuṣūṣ east of the Djaīhān, which he surrounded with a wall with a wooden door and a ditch. The bridge of Dījir al-Walid between al-Maṣṣiṣa and Adhana, 9 mil from the former, was built in 125 (742—743 A.D.) and restored in 225 (840) by al-Mu'taṣim (al-Balādhurī, p. 168; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 82; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāsid*, ed. Juynboll, i. 255). In the first half of the viii century the caliphs al-Walid II and Yazīd III brought the gipsy tribe of the Zutt, who had been deported to Baṣra by Mu'āwiya in 670 A.D., and settled them with great herds of buffalo in the region of al-Maṣṣiṣa in order to fight the plague of lions in the district of the Djabal al-Lukkām (al-Balādhurī, p. 168; De Goeje, *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Zigeuners*, 1875, p. 17—22).

The first 'Abbāsīd, Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh, on his accession strengthened the garrison by 400 men, to whom he gave lands; the same estates were later allotted to them by al-Manṣūr. The latter in 139 (756—757) restored the wall, which had been damaged by an earthquake in the preceding year, and increased with 8,000 settlers the much diminished population of the town, which he called al-Ma'mūra (al-Balādhurī, p. 166; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 382; Yāqūt iv 579, s. v. *al-Ma'mūriya*; Ibn Shihna,

p. 179). On the site of a heathen temple he built a large mosque which far surpassed the mosque of 'Umar in size. When 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir was governor of Maghrib (i. e. 211 = 826), it was enlarged by al-Ma'mūn. Al-Manṣūr increased the garrison to 1,000 men and settled in the town the inhabitants of al-Khuṣūṣ, Persians, Slavs and Christian Arabs (Nabaṭaeans), whom Marwān had transplanted thither (see above), and gave them allotments of land. It is probably that to the same event the story refers that Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī, when in the 'Abbāsīd period the inhabitants of al-Maṣṣiṣa, harassed by the Byzantines, resolved to migrate, sent Djabrīl b. Yaḥyā al-Badjalī al-Khuraṣānī in 140 (757—758) to rebuild the town and settle it with Muslim inhabitants (al-Balādhurī, p. 166; according to al-Ṭabarī, ii. 135 in the year 141). Under al-Mahdī the garrison was increased to 2,000; in addition there was the Antākiya corps of almost the same size which wintered here regularly until Salim of Burullus became their wālī and increased the garrison by 500 men instead. There is a brief reference in the Syriac inscription of 'Enesh to a raid by al-Mahdī to the Djaīhān (Syr. Gihōn) in 780 A.D. (1091 Sel.; Chabot, in *J. A.*, ser. ix., xvi., 1900, p. 287; Pogon, *Inscr. sémit. de la Syrie et de la Mésop.*, p. 148—150, N^o 84). Hārūn al-Raṣhīd built Kafarbaiya or according to another story, altered the plans for this suburb prepared by al-Mahdī and fortified it with a ditch; he also built walls which were only completed after his death by al-Mu'taṣim. In 187 (803) an earthquake laid waste the town (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 688). In the following year, the Byzantines invaded and pillaged the region of al-Maṣṣiṣa and 'Ain Zarba and carried off the inhabitants of Ṭarsūs into captivity, whereupon Hārūn al-Raṣhīd attacked and defeated them (Mich. Syr., iii. 16). According to al-Ṭabarī (iii. 709) and Ibn al-Athīr (vi. 135), the Byzantines in 190 (806) invaded 'Ain Zarba and Kanīsāt al-Sawda' and took prisoners there; but the people of al-Maṣṣiṣa regained all their loot from them. If, as it seems, the curious story in the Byzantine chroniclers (Theoph., *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 446, 18; Georg. Kedren., Bonn. Corpus, ii. 17) that in 771—772 (A. M. 6264) "Αλφωδάλ Βαδινάβ, i. e. al-Faḍl b. Dīnār, who had 500 Byzantine prisoners with him, lost 1,000 men and all his booty through a sortie of the Μομφουστειῖς refers to the same events, the latter would appear to be wrongly reported and wrongly dated.

On the 13th Ḥaṣṣirān 1122 Sel. (811 A.D.) the walls and many houses in the town and three adjoining villages fell in a great earthquake; near al-Maṣṣiṣa the course of the Djaīhān was dammed for a week so that the boats lay on the dry bed (Mich. Syr., iii. 17). In 198 (813—814) Thābit b. Naṣr al-Khuzā'i was fighting in the Syrian marches of al-Maṣṣiṣa and Adhana (Yāqūt, ii. 541). On his campaign into Bilād al-Rūm, al-Ma'mūn passed through al-Maṣṣiṣa and Ṭarsūs in Muḥarram 215 (March 830; al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1103; Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 294; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales Muslem.*, ed. Reiske, ii. 152; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, ii. 239). In revenge the emperor Theophilus in 216 (831) raided the lands around these two towns and slew or took prisoner 2,000 men (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1104; Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 295).

After the emperor's campaign against Zibaṭra (837 A.D.) in which he also defeated the Μομφουστειῖται (Const. Porphyrog., *De caerim.*, ed.

Bonn, p. 503; Vasilev, *Visantiya i Arabi*, in *Zapiski ist.-filol. fak. imp. S.-Pibg. Univ.*, čast lvi., 1900, p. 88 sq., note 4), al-Mu'tašim bi 'llāh in the following year attacked 'Ammūriya; his general Bašīr commanded a part of the army which included the Maššīsa contingents (Mich. Syr., iii. 96). In 245 (859) the town was again visited by an earthquake which destroyed many places in Syria, Mesopotamia and Cilicia (al-Ya'kūbī, iii. 1440). The Caliph al-Mu'taḍid after restoring order in the Thughūr al-Shāmiya (287 = 900) returned from al-Maššīsa via Funduk al-Hussain, al-Iskandariya and Baghrās to Antākiya, Ḥalab and al-Raḳqa (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2198—2200; al-Funduk, a place in the Thughūr near al-Maššīsa: Yaḳūt, iii. 918; Šafī al-Dīn, *Marāšid*, ii. 365).

When in 292 (904—905) the Byzantine Andronicus invaded the district of Mar'ash, the people of al-Maššīsa and Ṭarsūs met him but were defeated and lost their leader Abu 'l-Ridjāl b. Abi Bakkār (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2251; Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 371; Vasilev, *Zap. ist.-fil. fak. imp. S.-Pibg. Univ.*, čast lvxi., 1902, p. 154, note 2).

In 344 (955—956) the Ḥamdānī Saif al-Dawla was visited by horsemen from the frontier towns of Ṭarsūs, Adana and al-Maššīsa and with them an envoy from the Greek king who concluded a truce with him (al-Nuwairī and Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *Z.D.M.G.*, xi., p. 192; Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī, *Kitāb al-Duwal al-Munkaṭi'a*, transl. Vasilev, *op. cit.*, Priložen., p. 86). Defeated by Leo Phocas in 349 (960) in the pass of al-Kūčūk, Saif al-Dawla spent the night in al-Ḥawānīt and returned to Ḥalab via al-Maššīsa (Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Krakovskiy-Vasilev, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiii., 1924, p. 782).

In 352 the emperor Nicephorus took Adana, the inhabitants of which fled to al-Maššīsa, and sent the Domesticus John Tzimisces (Yānis b. al-Shimishkīk al-Dumistik) against this town. The latter besieged it for several days but had to withdraw as his supplies were running short, and after laying waste the country round burned the adjoining al-Mallūn (Μαλλός) at the mouth of the Djaiḥān (Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, *op. cit.*, p. 793 sq.). The emperor himself came again in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 353 (Nov. 964) to the marches (al-Thaḡhr) and besieged al-Maššīsa for over 50 days but had again to abandon the siege owing to shortage of supplies and retired to winter in Kaisariya. Finally the town was stormed by John Tzimisces (Arm. Kuir Žan) on Thursday the 11th Rādjab 354 (July 13, 965). The inhabitants set it on fire and fled to Kafarbaiya. After a desperate struggle on the bridge between the two towns the Greeks took this suburb also and carried off all the inhabitants into captivity (Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, *op. cit.*, p. 795; Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 408—411; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ann. Musl.*, ed. Reiske, ii. 482 sq.; Mich. Syr., iii. 128; Elias Nisibēn., ed. Brooks, p. 218; transl. p. 106; Georg. Cedren., ed. Bonn, ii. 362; Leon Diakon., ed. Bonn, p. 52 sq.; Matī'eōs Uḥhayēcī, ed. Dulaurian in *Rec. hist. crois.*, *Docum. Arm.*, i. 5; Step'an Asotik of Taron, *Armen. Gesch.*, transl. H. Gelzer and A. Burckhardt, Leipzig 1907, p. 134, 24). They were, to the number of 200,000, it is said, led past the gates of Ṭarsūs, which at that time was being besieged by the emperor's brother Leo, to terrify the people of the town (Ibn Shihna, *Rawḍat al-Manāẓir*, in Freytag, *Z.D.M.G.*, Elias Nisibēn., *op. cit.*). The gates of

Ṭarsūs and of al-Maššīsa were gilded and taken as trophies to Constantinople, where one set was put in the citadel and the others on the wall of the Golden Gate (Georg. Cedren., ii. 363).

The town remained for over a century in the hands of the Byzantines; the Emperor Basil II Bolgaroktonos stayed for six months in the region of al-Maššīsa and Ṭarsūs before going to Armenia after the death (March 31, 1000 A.D.) of the Kuropalates Davit' of Tajk' to take possession of his lands by inheritance (Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Rosen, p. 39, in *Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv., St. Petersburg 1883). In 1042 the Armenian prince Aplgharib, son of Ḥasan and grandson of Khač'ik of the house of the Arcurians, was sent by the emperor Constantine Monomachos as governor to Cilicia (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arm.*, i. 199). In 1085 A.D. Philaretos Brachomios, who was appointed in Constantinople perhaps Sebastos (Mich. Syr., iii. 173) or at least Kuropalates (Mich. Attal., Bonn ed., p. 301) and whose ephemeral kingdom comprised the land from Ṭarsūs to Malatya, Urfa and Antākiya, held al-Maššīsa (Mich. Syr., *loc. cit.*; Laurent, *Byzance et Antioche sous le curopalate Philarete*, *Rev. des Et. Arm.*, ix., 1929, p. 61—72). Shortly before the arrival of the Crusaders, the Seldjūk Turks took Ṭarsūs, al-Maššīsa, 'Ain Zarba and the other towns of Cilicia (Mich. Syr., iii. 179). About the end of Sept. 1097 the Franks under Tancred, who had been invited thither from Lambron by Ōshin III, took the town which was stormed after a day's siege: the inhabitants were slain and rich booty fell into the hands of the victor (Albert. Aquens., iii. 15 sq., in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, clxvi., col. 446 sq.; Radulf. Cadom., *Gesta Tancredi*, c. 39 sq.). William of Tyre describes al-Maššīsa on this occasion (iii. 21, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, cci., col. 295): "*Erat autem Mamistra una de nobilioribus eiusdem provinciae civitatibus, muro et multorum incolatu insignis, sedet optimo agro et gleba ubere et amoenitate praecipua commendabilis*". Count Baldwin, who had quarrelled with Tancred, followed him along with the admiral Winimer of Boulogne and encamped in a meadow near the Djaiḥān bridge; Winimer left him there and went with his fleet to al-Lādhikiya, while the two rivals had a desperate fight, after which Baldwin withdrew to the east (Albert. Aquens., iii., c. 15, 59, in Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 446, 472). Tancred followed him, after he had imposed on the city "*plus paternas quam principis leges*" (Radulf. Cadom., c. 44). The Byzantine general Tatikios, who had joined the Crusaders to take over their conquests in name of the emperor, left them in the lurch in the beginning of Feb. 1098 at the siege of Antākiya and ceded to Bohemund the town of Tursol (Ṭarsūs), Mamistra and Addena (Adana) (Raymond of Agiles, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanover 1611, p. 146, 5). Bohemund only took possession of the towns of Ṭarsūs, 'Ain Zarba and al-Maššīsa in August (Will. of Tyre, vii. 2). After the town had again fallen to the Greeks for a period. Tancred again took it in 1101 (Rad. Cad., c. 143), but had to hand it over with Ṭarsūs, Adana and 'Ain Zarba to Bohemund on his return from captivity in 1103 (Will. of Tyre, vii. 2, in Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 379). In the following year however, Longinias, Ṭarsūs, Adana and Μάμιστα were regained for Byzantium by the campaign of the general Monastras (Anna Comnena, *Ἀλεξίας*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 140, 5, who apparently did not recognise the identity of Μάμιστα with Μάψου

δαρία which she mentions several times). In the treaty between Bohemund and the emperor Alexios of Sept. 1108 the town was promised to the former (Anna Comnena, *op. cit.*, ii. 218), Tancred having taken it in the preceding year with 10,000 men from the Byzantine general, the Armenian Aspietes (Anna Comnena, ii. 147). At this time, of the quarters of the town one (probably Kafarbaiya) was in ruins (Anna Comnena, *op. cit.*). Baldwin of Burg and Joscelin of Courtenay, who allied themselves against Tancred with Kogh Vasil of Kaisūm, were supported by the latter with a detachment of 800 men and a body of Pečenegs, who were stationed in al-Maṣṣīsa as Greek mercenaries (Matt'ēos Urhayec'i, transl. Dulaurier, p. 266 sq. = *Rec. Hist. Crois., Doc. Arm.*, i. 86). The great earthquake of 1114 destroyed the town like many others in Cilicia and Syria (Smbat, in *Docum. Arm.*, i. 614).

Under the Frankish patriarchate of Antioch, Mopsuestia-Mamistra was separated from the ecclesiastical province of Anazarbos and made an autocephalous metropolis (Michael Syrus, iii. 191; recensions of the *Notitia Antiochena* of the Crusading period, MS. of Chalki [now in Leningrad, Russ. Publ. Libr., MS. Gr. 716, cf. Beneshevič, *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrb.*, v., 1927, p. 103, note], ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in *Ἑλλην. Φιλολ. Σύλλογ.*, *Μαυρογορδ. Βιβλιοθ.*, Constantinople 1884, p. 65: 'ὁ Μουμψουστίας ἀπεσπᾶσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου Ἀναζάρβης καὶ ἐτάγη αὐτοκέφαλος; cf. cod. Paris. suppl. grec. 1226, ed. Nau, *R. O. C.*, 1909, p. 215; Vatic. gr. 1455, ed. Gelzer, *Byz. Ztschr.*, i., p. 250, N^o 165 and passim). The ἐνορία Μουμψουστίας stretched (according to a work on the boundaries of the Antiochene dioceses, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 67) from Seleuceia in Syria and Adana ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Ξηροποταμοῦ (now Ūzerlü or Rabat-ṣai) ἕως τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Φυσῶν. The latter is undoubtedly identical with αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας ποταμὸς Ἀδανᾶς, the Saihān; for the name Djaihān (probably first found in the 'Umayyad court poet 'Adi b. al-Rikā' c. 710 A.D.: Nöldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, xlv., 1890, p. 699 sq.) and Saihān for Pyramos and Saros are no doubt derived from the names of the Biblical rivers Gihōn and Pishōn (*Gen.*, ii. 11) (wrongly explained from the Persian Djihān in Cousin, *Kyros le Jeune en Asie Mineure*, Nancy 1904, p. 278, r).

In 1132/33 the Rupēnid Ľevon I (Λεβονίης), son of Constantine, took the town (Anna Msis, Mamestia or Mamuestia from the Greeks (Cinnamos, i. 7; iii. 14; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, in *Docum. Arm.*, i. 615). The brother of the emperor John II Comnenos went to him and Ľevon gave his sons his daughters as wives with the towns of al-Maṣṣīsa and Adana as dowries. But when they quarrelled he took back from the Greeks all that he had given them, and Isaac had to flee with his sons to Sultān Maṣ'ūd (Michel. Syr., ii. 230). Ľevon, falling through treachery into the hands of Raymond of Poitiers, had to cede (1136—1137) al-Maṣṣīsa, Adana and Sarvantik'ar (now Sawuran Kal'e?), but regained his liberty in a couple of months; he very soon retook these towns (*Docum. Arm.*, i. 152 sq. = *Chron. de Matthieu d'Édesse*, transl. Dulaurier, p. 457; Smbat, *op. cit.*, p. 616). The emperor John in 1137 (1448 Sel.) had his revenge on Ľevon. He invaded Cilicia, took Ṭarsūs, Adana and al-Maṣṣīsa, seized Ľevon himself with his wife and children and took them to Constantinople, where Ľevon subsequently died (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi. 35;

Michael Syrus, iii. 245; Gregor. presbyt., *Fortis. d. Chronik des Matt'ēos*, transl. Dulaurier, p. 323; cf. *Docum. arm.*, i., p. xxxii, 1 and 153, 4; Will. of Tyr., xiv. 24; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalems*, p. 211). John installed Coloman (*Calamanus*), son of Boris and grandson of king Coloman of Hungary, as governor of Cilicia (Will. Tyr., xiv. 24, xix. 9, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, cci., col. 603, 756; a "*Dux Ciliciae*" mentioned in *Regum et principum epistolae*, N^o 24, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Franc.*, p. 1182, l. 46 and *passim*). When the emperor John died at Mardj al-Dibādj on April 8, 1143 (Will. of Tyr., xv. 22 sq.; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 228, 4), his successor Manuel I Comnenos had his body brought by boat from Mopsuestia down the Pyramos to the sea and taken by sea to the capital (Niketas Choniates, *Man. Komn.*, i., Bonn ed., p. 67).

Thoros II, the son of Ľevon who had escaped home from his confinement in Constantinople, was again able to cast off the Byzantine yoke. When in 1151 he took Msis and Ṭ'il (Tall Ḥamdūn) from the Byzantines (Smbat, in *Doc. Arm.*, i. 619) and made their general Thomas prisoner, the emperor Manuel in the following year sent against him with 12,000 cavalry Andronicos Comnenos, whom he had appointed governor of Ṭarsūs and al-Maṣṣīsa (Gregor. presbyt., in *Doc. Arm.*, i. 167 = Matth. Edess., transl. Dulaurier, p. 334; Smbat, *Chron.*, in *Doc. arm.*, i. 619). Andronicos, who did not recognise Thoros as ruler of Asia Minor, advanced against al-Maṣṣīsa but was surprised by the Armenians and put to an ignominious flight with his 12,000 men. Thus not only the town, which was very well supplied with provisions and military material of all kinds, fell into his hands, but also a great part of Cilicia (Gregor. presbyt., transl. Dulaurier, p. 334—336 = *Doc. Arm.*, i. 167 sqq.; Smbat, *op. cit.*). The emperor, himself too weak to avenge the insult, twice induced by gifts the Sultān Kīlīdj Arslān II (Gregor. wrongly: Maṣ'ūd) of Kōniya to attack Thoros. The Sultān, who on the first occasion (1153 A.D.) was content with the defeat of the Armenian and the return of the lands taken from the Greeks, again attacked al-Maṣṣīsa, 'Ain Zarba and Tall Ḥamdūn (Arm. Ṭ'iln Hamtunoy) in 1156 but could do nothing against them and had finally to retire after heavy losses (Gregor., *op. cit.*, p. 338 = *Doc. Arm.*, i. 171).

The emperor Manuel himself passed through Cilicia in 1159 with a large army to the assistance of the Crusaders. Thoros had already retired to Vahka in the desolate mountains (*Armen. Rhymea Chron.*, in *Doc. Arm.*, i. 505) when the emperor entered al-Maṣṣīsa at the beginning of November, but he did no injury to any one there (Gregor., transl. Dulaurier, p. 353 sq. = *Doc. Arm.*, i. 187). The Frankish kings led by Baldwin came to pay homage to him in the town or on the adjoining *pratium palliorum* (as Will. of Tyre, xiii. 27 translates Mardj al-Dibādj) where his court was held in camp for 7 months (Gregor., transl. Dulaurier, p. 358; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusal.*, p. 298). Thoros was also able with great tact to become reconciled with him, and on acknowledging Byzantine suzerainty and ceding several towns in Cilicia, was recognised as "Sebastos" of Msis, Anazarbos and Vahga (*Doc. Arm.*, i. 186; Smbat, *ibid.*, p. 622). His brother Mleh, who attempted his life while out hunting between al-Maṣṣīsa and

Adana, was banished by Thoros and given by Nūr al-Dīn the town of Kūrus (Kyrrhos; Smbat, *loc. cit.*). After the death of Thoros of Msis (1168—1169; Smbat, p. 623), Mleh (Arab. Malīḥ b. Līwun al-Armanī) succeeded him and at first ruled only over the district of the passes (*Bilād al-Durūd*). In 1171 he surprised Count Stephen of Blois at Mamistra and plundered him (Will. of Tyre, xx. 25—28). In 568 (1172—1173), supported by troops of his ally Nūr al-Dīn, he took from the Greeks Adana, al-Maṣṣiṣa and Ṭarsūs (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi. 255; Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. in Röhricht, in *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, i., Berlin 1874, p. 336).

When Mleh's successor Rupēn III fell through treachery into the hands of Bohemund of Antioch, his brother Ḥevon (II) obtained his release in 1184 by ceding al-Maṣṣiṣa, Adana and Tall Ḥamdūn (Ṭīln) and paying 3,000 dinārs; immediately afterwards, Rupēn retook these strongholds from the Franks (Mich. Syr., iii. 397; *Doc. arm.*, i. 394).

Heṭ'um, the nephew of the Catholics Grigor IV and son of Čortvanēl of Ṭarōn, who came to Cilicia in 1189 with his brother Shahinshah, received from Ḥevon II (1185—1219) his niece Alice, daughter of Rupēn III, in marriage and the town of Msis, but died in the same year (Smbat, in *Doc. arm.*, i. 629; Marquart, *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, p. 481 sq.). The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 586 (1190) was about to go to Syria via Ṭarsūs and al-Maṣṣiṣa when he met his tragic end in the Kalykadnos (alleged [?] letter of the Armenian Catholics in Ibn Shaddād, in *Rec. Hist. Orient. des Crois.*, iii. 162): a portion of his army thereupon went to Antioch via Ṭarsūs, Mamistria and Thēgio (Ḥiṣn al-Muṭḥaḳ-ḳab; not *Portella*, the Syrian passes, with which Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 530, 4, identifies it).

Wilbrand of Oldenburg who visited the East in the train of Duke Leopold VII of Austria and Steiermark and the Teutonic Grandmaster Hermann von Salza, came in the beginning of 1212 to Mamistēre which he describes as follows: (Wilbr., c. 18, ed. Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, Leipzig 1864, p. 175): "*Haec est civitas bona, super flumen sita, satis amoena, murum habens circa se turritum, sed antiquitate corrosum, paucos in quodam respectu habens inhabitatores, quibus omnibus rex illius terrae imperat et dominatur*". In the vicinity lay "*quoddam castrum quod erat de patrimonio beati Pauli . . . sed nunc temporis possidetur a Graecis*". "*In hac civitate [Mamistēre] habetur sepulchrum beati Pantaleonis. Ipsa vero distat a Canamella (cf. Tomaschek, S. B. Ak. Wien, 1891, app. viii., p. 71) magnam dictam*". Ḥevon II granted the republics of Genoa and Venice the privilege of having their own trading centres in al-Maṣṣiṣa, which could be reached by ship from the sea before the mouth of the Djaīḥān became silted up (Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arménio-Cilicie*, p. 287). The attempt of Raymond Rupēn of Antioch to seize the throne of Armenia after Ḥevon's death in 1219 failed; he was, it is true, able to take Ṭarsūs and attack al-Maṣṣiṣa but he was taken prisoner by Constantine of Barzberd and died in prison in 1222 (*Doc. arm.*, i. 514; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 741 sq.).

For a century the Rupēnids ruled almost undisturbed in the town. Their glory reached its height under the splendour-loving Heṭ'um I (1219—1270). Here were held the annual festivals of the

Church at which numerous princes and nobles used to gather down to the last and difficult years of the king. Here was held the brilliant ceremony at which his 20-year old son Ḥevon was dubbed knight. Hither the king brought the seat of government after the destruction of Sis (Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 287 sq.).

Baibars sent a punitive expedition against Heṭ'um in 664 (1266) under al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Ḥamā, who advanced as far as Kaḻ'at al-'Amūdān and into the district of Sis, while Saif al-Dīn Kilā'ūn took al-Maṣṣiṣa, Adana, Ayās and Ṭarsūs (al-Makrizi, *Hist. d. Sult. Maml.*, transl. Quatremère, i/ii. 34 sq.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Musl.*, ed. Reiske, v. 18; al-Nuwairi, in Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, iv. 56). Three years later (1269), the district of al-Maṣṣiṣa was visited by an earthquake (al-Suyūṭī, in *Doc. arm.*, ii., 1906, p. 772, note f.). Baibars (Arm. *Pntukhtar* = Arab. *Bunduḳdār*) himself in 673 (spring of 1275) took the field against Ḥevon III, son of Heṭ'um, laid waste the whole of Cilicia as far as Korikos and stormed al-Maṣṣiṣa and Sis, the former on 26th March. The inhabitants were massacred, almost all the houses burned and the great bridge destroyed (Armen. Kandarayn Msisay, i.e. Kaṇṭarat al-Maṣṣiṣa; cf. al-Makrizi, i/ii. 123 sq. with note 154; Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Gesch. d. Mamlükensultane*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv. 389; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 531, 6; Smbat, *Chronik*, in *Doc. arm.*, i. 653; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 967; van Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. 688, note 2). When in 697 (1297—1298) an army under the emīrs Saif al-Dīn Kipčāk, the Na'ib of Dimashḳ, Fāris al-Dīn Ilbekī al-Sāḳī al-Zāhiri, the Na'ib of Ṣafad, Saif al-Dīn Bizlār al-Manṣūrī and Saif al-Dīn 'Azāz al-Ṣāliḥī invaded the land of Sis, al-Maṣṣiṣa is not specially emphasised among the unimportant places taken like Tall Ḥamdūn, Ḥammūs (Humaimīs), Kaḻ'at Naḍjima, al-Maṣṣiṣa, Sirfandikār, Ḥadjar Shughlān, al-Nuḳair and Zandfara (al-Makrizi, ii/ii. 60—65; Mufaḍḍal, *op. cit.*, p. 602; al-Nuwairi, in Blochet, *ibid.*). In 1322, the Egyptians crossed the Djaīḥān by a bridge of boats, got behind the Armenians who had retired to Msis and inflicted a severe defeat upon them; among those who fell are mentioned the barons Heṭ'um of Dīlknoc', his brother Constantine, Wahram Lotik, Ōshin, the son of the marshal, along with 21 knights and many men (Smbat's Continuator, in *Doc. arm.*, i. 668). This authority also mentions a raid by an Egyptian force against al-Maṣṣiṣa (Mamuestia), Adana, al-Mallūn (Mlun) and Ṭarsūs in 1334—1335 (*Doc. arm.*, i. 671; Tomaschek, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1891, part viii., p. 68). The last Egyptian invasion took place in 823 (1373—1374). Among the towns destroyed were Sis, Adana, al-Maṣṣiṣa and 'Ain Zarba, and Ḥevon IV had to surrender in 1375 after a siege of nine months in Ḥaban (*Doc. arm.*, i. 686, note 3). The town thus passed nominally into the *Futūḥāt al-Djahāniya* of the Mamlūk empire; it had, it is true, by now sunk into insignificance and it is not mentioned, for example, among the towns taken by Shahsuwār in 1467 (Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 290).

Armenian sources mention 8 archbishops of the town from 1175 to 1370 (1175—1206 David, 1215 Johannes, 1266 Sion, 1306 Constantine 1316 John, 1332 Stephen, 1342 Basil, 1362—1370 unnamed; cf. Alishan, *op. cit.*, p. 290). Michael Syrus knows only Job of about 800 A. D. (*Chron.*, transl.

Chabot, iii. 23 sq., 451, N^o. 27) and the Frankish writers from 1100 onwards Bartholomaeus, before 1234 Radulphus and in the years from 1162–1238 three or four more unnamed bishops (Albert. Aquens., ix. 16; Will. of Tyre, xiv. 10; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, iii. 1198–1200; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 42, 202). On account of the many Egyptian invasions the Latin archbishopric was removed to Ayās by Pope John XXII in 1320 (Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 290).

After the fall of the kingdom of Little Armenia, the power of the Ramadān-Oghlu and Dhu 'l-Qadr-Oghlu gradually spread in Cilicia. Selim I on his campaign against Egypt in 922 (1516) and on his return also preferred to keep to the east of their land (Taeschner, *Anatol. Wegenetz*, ii. 32). Mişîş has been Ottoman since that year, in which the decisive battle was fought on Mardj al-Dābiḳ.

In Kafarbaiya a *khān* was built for caravans passing through in 1542 and restored in 1830 by Ḥasan Paşa. The Djaiḥān bridge became useless in 1736 when the central arch collapsed; in 1766 this was repaired but it was blown up in 1832 on the retreat of the Turkish troops from the fighting at Bailān in order to hold up the advance of Ibrāhīm Paşa's pursuing army. As late as the middle of the xixth century it could only be crossed by an improvised wooden footbridge.

In modern times Mişîş is mentioned only by eastern pilgrims and travellers who as a rule only spent a short time there. Thus it was visited in 1432 by the Burgundian Bertrandon de la Brocquière ("Misse-sur-Jehan"), in the xvth century by P. Belon, 1682 the Mecca pilgrim Mehmed Edib, 1695 the Armenian Patriarch of Antiochia Makarios, 1704 Paul Lucas, 1736 Chevalier Otter, 1766 the Dane Carsten Niebuhr, 1813 Macd. Kinneir, 1834 Aucher Eloy, 1836 Colonel Chesney, 1840 Ainsworth, 1853 Victor Langlois, whose reports were exhaustively used by Carl Ritter (*Erdrunde*, xix. 66–115). The "Merges Galles" visited by Ludwig von Rauter on July 8, 1568, is not (as in Röhricht-Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem hl. Lande*, 1880, p. 434, note 43) al-Maṣṣiṣa, but Merkez Ka'esi on the Bāb Iskandarūn (Cilic-Syr. passes). Somewhat fuller descriptions of the modern Mişîş and its ancient and mediaeval ruins were given in the xixth century by Langlois, Alishan and at the beginning of the xxth by Cousin (see *Bibliography*).

The stretch of the Baghdād railway from Dorak south of the Taurus via Adana and Mişîş to Ma'mūra at the foot of the Amanos was opened on April 27, 1912. As a station on the railway (the station is actually 1½ miles N.W. of the place) the town gained a certain strategic importance in the Cilician campaign of the French in 1919–1920 (1919: settlement of about 1,2–1,500 Armenians; May 27–28, 1920: futile Turkish blockade of the garrison there, about a company strong; end of July: withdrawal of the troops to Adana; cf. E. Brémond, *La Cilicie en 1919–1920*, in *Rev. Étud. Arm.*, Paris 1920, i., p. 311, 360, 363, 365). After the Turkish occupation the newly settled Armenians were probably exterminated in the usual way. The importance of the town has now passed to the neighbouring Djihān.

According to the Arab geographers, al-Maṣṣiṣa lay on the Djaiḥān (Πύραμος, sometimes confused by the Byzantine authors with the Σάρος, Arab.

Saiḥān, with which it seems to have had at one time a common mouth: George Cedren., ii. 362; Anna Comn., ii. 147), 1–2 days' journey from Baiyās and one from 'Ain Zarba and Adhāna, 12 mil from the Mediterranean coast. The sea could be seen from the Friday mosque in the town; in front of the town lay a beautiful fertile plain (the ancient Ἀλκίον πεδῖον). Al-Maṣṣiṣa lying on the right bank was connected with Kafarbaiya by an ancient stone bridge built by Constantius and restored by Justinian. The country round was rich in gardens and cornfields, watered by the Djaiḥān. According to Yāqūt, the town originally had a wall with 5 gates and Kafarbaiya, one with 4 gates. A speciality of the town were the valuable fur-cloaks exported all over the world. Ten miles from al-Maṣṣiṣa, which is somewhat inaccurately placed by Ibn Khurdādhbih, Yāqūt and others on the Djabal al-Lukkām (Amanos), was the plain of Mardj al-Dibādj, which is often mentioned in the records of the fighting between the Mamluks and Little Armenia (probably the "ager Mopsuestiae" on which Cicero encamped: *ad fam.*, iii. 8). In it, N.E. of the town on the road to Sis, was the fort of al-'Amūdāin (al-Makrizī, ed. Quatremère, ii/ii. 61; cf. Ka'at al-'Amūdāin in Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ann. Musl.*, ed. Reiske, v. 18; located by Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 225 sq. too far east in "Hémétié-Kaléssi"). A field of Mardj al-Atṛākhūn is also mentioned near al-Maṣṣiṣa (Yāqūt, iv. 487; Šafī al-Din, *Marāṣid*, iii. 74). Tall Ḥāmid, a strong fortress of the Thughūr al-Maṣṣiṣa, corresponds to the modern Ḥāmidīye, now called Djihān (*Z.D.M.G.*, xi. 191, 200; Yāqūt, i. 866; Šafī al-Din, *Marāṣid*, i. 211; Ibn al-Shihna, Bairūt ed., p. 339). There also was Tall Ḥūm (Yāqūt, i. 867; *Marāṣid*, i. 211; Ibn al-Shihna, *ibid.*; exact site unknown). Al-'Ain at the foot of the Djabal al-Lukkām, over which went the Darb al-'Ain pass, was also one of the forts of al-Maṣṣiṣa (Yāqūt, iii. 756; *Marāṣid*, ii. 293); on the frontier against Ḥalab lay Būka (q.v.; cf. van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, i., p. 257, g). Ḥiṣn Sinān (al-Balādhuri, p. 165; Yāqūt, iii. 155) is probably also to be sought near al-Maṣṣiṣa. A pass called Thāniyat al-'Ukāb, to be distinguished from that of the same name near Damascus, was in the region of al-Maṣṣiṣa (Yāqūt, i. 936; *Marāṣid*, i. 230). Even the remote fortress of Samālū (on its site cf. Tomaschek, *Festschrift f. H. Kiepert*, p. 144) was sometimes reckoned in the Syrian Thughūr and located near al-Maṣṣiṣa and al-Ṭarsūs (Balādhuri, p. 170: Dhamālū; Yāqūt, iii. 416; *Marāṣid*, ii. 167; Byzantine τὸ κάστρον Σημαλοῦς). al-Šafāṣaf on the present Sügüdlü-şū (*Z.D.M.G.*, xi. 180; Reiske on Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal.*, ii. 649, note 76 according to Ḥādjdjī Khalifa: "Ḥiṣn Šafāṣaf, that is Söğüd") is also reckoned by Yāqūt (iii. 401) to the marches of al-Maṣṣiṣa. Not far from the town was a Syrian monastery, Gawikāth (mentioned about 1200 A.D.: Barhebr., *Chron. eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 624; in Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 295: Djokhath, probably identical with *foacheth*). The neighbouring fortress of Adamodana (now Tumlu-Ka'fe) and Cumbetefort ("in territorio Meloni", i.e. of Mlun, Arabic: al-Mallūn) were according to Wilbrand of Oldenburg (*op. cit.*) about 1212 in the possession of the Teutonic Order (*Allemani*). The Venetians had a church in al-Maṣṣiṣa (*Gestes des Chiprois*, in *Doc. arm.*, ii. 831). Armenian authors mention there the churches of St. Sarkis, Thoros and Stephan (Alishan, p. 288 sq.).

The present Mişîş, (frequently also written Mişis,

cf. Taeschner, *Türk. Bibl.*, xxii., pl. 16 and 17), is an insignificant village lying on almost exactly 37° N. Lat. (pict. in Alışhan, p. 283), which stretches along the heights of the right bank of the *Djihan-çai*. A stone bridge with nine arches (in Baedeker, *Konstantinopel*, 1914, p. 303 wrongly: "five arched") the foundations of which are in part ancient (pict. in Alışhan, *Sissouan*, p. 289; Lohmann, *Im Kloster zu Sis*, p. 15), leads to the left bank where pieces of walls and inscriptions still mark the site of the ancient Mopsuestia. Here lay the medieval Kafarbaiya; while this form is the one in general use in Arabic texts and in modern authors, al-Idrisi (transl. Jaubert, ii. 133) and *Ḥadīdjī Khalīfa* (*Djihan-numā*, Constantinople 1145 [1732], p. 602) have Kafarbinā (Taeschner, *Türk. Bibl.*, xxii., p. 145, 1), as Langlois (*Voyage*, p. 462) and others apparently heard on the spot. The name is unknown there now (Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, xlv. part vi., p. 11 sq.; the Turkish General Staff map in the German version of July 1918, Sheet Adana, calls the two halves of the town "Misir Nahijesi" and "Huranije"). According to Ibn al-Shihna (Bairūt ed., p. 179), Kafarbaiya was also called "Little Baghdad".

MIŞŞİŞ lies where the river emerges from a gorge with walls of yellow loess at which the last foothills of the highlands between the *Saihan* (now *Saihūn*) and *Djihan* (now *Djihan-çai*) in the N.W. and the *Djabal Nūr* (Nūr Dāgh, 2,200 feet; pict. in Alışhan, p. 284), a part of the *Djabal Mişşiş* (*Stadiasm. mar. magn.*: *Πάριον ὄρος*), in the southeast meet. This ridge, which takes its name from the town, lying in the centre of the Cilician plain on the left bank of the lower *Djihan* and linked up with the *Amanos* in the east, is celebrated, particularly in the *Djabal Nūr*, for its rich flora, which was studied by the Austrian Theodor Kotschy on 24th–26th April 1859. On account of its medicinal herbs, Ibn al-Rūmiya in his commentary on the book of Dioscurides says that many writers took al-Maşşisa to be the city of the wise Hippocrates (*Ibukrat*) who, however, according to others, belonged to *Ḥimş* (*Mufaḍḍal B. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il*, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv. 393; Ibn al-Shihna, Bairūt, p. 180).

Near the mouth of the *Djihan*, which at one time was navigable for small ships up to al-Maşşisa, lay al-Mallūn, the site of which is not known (*Μαλλός*; now rather *Bebell* than *Qaratash*; cf. R. Kiepert, *Form. orb. antiqu.*, viii., text p. 19a). The Frankish writers also speak of a "portus de Mamistra" (Raimundus de Aiguilers, *Historia Francor. qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, c. xi.; cf. *Doc. arm.*, i., p. xlvī, note 1), probably on the "fauces fluminis Malmistræ", where al-Idrisi mentions the place al-Buṣā (*Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 141; Tomaschek, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxiv., 1891, fig. viii., p. 69 writes al-Buṣā).

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(E. HONIGMANN)

MISWĀK (A.), a term denoting the tooth-brush as well as the tooth-pick. The more usual term is *siwāk* (plural *siwāk*) which means also the act of cleansing the teeth. Neither of the two terms occurs in the *Kurʿān*. In *Ḥadīth* *miswāk* is not used, *siwāk*, on the other hand, frequently. In order to understand its use, it is necessary to know that the instrument consists of a piece of smooth wood, the end of which is incised so as to make it similar to a brush to some extent. The piece of wood used as a tooth-pick must have been smaller and thinner,

as appears e.g. from the tradition in which it is related that Muḥammad one day received a visitor and kept the tooth-pick "at the end of his tongue" (Mir, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 45).

Concerning Zaid b. Khālīd it is related that he used to sit in the mosque keeping the tooth-pick behind his ear, "just as a writer will keep his pen" (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 25; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 18). When Muḥammad was in his last hours, there entered a man with a piece of wood fit for a *siwāk*; 'A'isha took and chewed it, so as to make it smooth (Bukhārī, *Maḡhāzī*, bāb 83).

In general Ḥadīth emphasises the value attached by Muḥammad to the *siwāk*. When he entered his house, his first movement was towards it (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 43; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 27). His servant 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd has received the epithet of *ṣāhib al-siwāk* "he who used to take care of Muḥammad's *siwāk*" (Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, bāb 20). When Muḥammad awoke at night, he cleansed his mouth by means of the *siwāk* before he washed himself and performed night-prayer (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 8; Wuḍū', bāb 73; *Tahdij-dūd*, bāb 9; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 30; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 46, 47). When fasting, Muḥammad also made use of the *siwāk* (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 445, 446).

The *miswāk* is chiefly used before *wuḍū'* as a preparation before the *ṣalāt*. It is said that this was the practice of Muḥammad (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 48) who attached so great a value to it, that he would have declared it obligatory before every *ṣalāt*, were it not that he feared thereby to overburden his community (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 42; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 25; Tirmidhī, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 18). In one tradition it is said, as a matter of fact, that the obligatory use of the *siwāk* before every *ṣalāt* was introduced by Muḥammad as a compensation for the abolition of the obligatory *wuḍū'* before every *ṣalāt* (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 25). In another tradition (Nasā'ī, *Djum'a*, bāb 66) the use of the *siwāk* is called obligatory before the Friday-service.

The appreciation of the *miswāk* which appears from all these traditions culminates in the fact that it belongs to the customs of the "natural religion" (*fiṭra*: Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 29) or to the ordinances of the Apostles (Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 1).

Nevertheless Fikḥ does not declare the use of the *miswāk* obligatory in any case. There is general agreement on this point. According to some traditions, however, the Zāhirites did declare the use of the *miswāk* obligatory before the *ṣalāt*, but these traditions are not generally accepted. According to Fikḥ the use of the *miswāk* is recommended at all times, especially in 5 cases: in connection with the *ṣalāt*, under all circumstances; in connection with the *wuḍū'*; with the recitation of the Qur'ān; after sleep; and as often as the mouth has lost its freshness, e.g. after long silence.

According to the school of Shāfi'ī the use of the *miswāk* is blamable (*makrūḥ*) between noon and sunset at the time of fasting; for the nasty smell (*khalūf*) of the faster's breath is beloved by Allāh (cf. Nasā'ī, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 6).

It is recommended to use a *miswāk* of arāk-wood of medium hardness, neither too dry nor too moist; to cleanse the palate as well as all sides of the teeth, beginning from the right side of the mouth, moving the *miswāk* upwards and downwards in order not to hurt the alveoles.

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MITHKĀL (A.), the weight of a thing; this is the meaning of the word in the Qur'ān; a particular weight for weighing precious metals, jewels, drugs, etc., probably the oldest unit in the Arab Troy system. The *mithkāl* corresponds to the Roman solidus of the Constantinian system which the Arabs adopted in Syria. 'Abd al-Malik took it over for his unit of gold when he reformed the currency in 77 (696). His *dīnār* weighed a *mithkāl* of 65.5 grains (4.25 grammes), hence *mithkāl* is used as a synonym for *dīnār*. The silver *dirham* weighed $\frac{7}{10}$ of a *mithkāl* and the *mithkāl* contains 24 *kirāts*. Slight variations in weight are found in the different parts of the Muḥammadan world.

Bibliography: See the bibliographies to the articles *DĪNĀR* and *ḤABBA*. (J. ALLAN)

MĪ'WADH. [See ḤAMĀ'IL.]

MĪZAF, **MĪZAFĀ** (A., plur. *Ma'āzif*). Among the various classes of musical instruments dealt with by Arabic, Persian and Turkish writers on music is one which embraces those with "open strings" (*awtār muṭlaqa*) such as the lyre or cithara, harp, psaltery and dulcimer. Among them are instruments grouped as *mā'āzif*. Nowadays, this term refers to all stringed and wind instruments (*M. F. O. B.*, vi. 28) but in the Middle Ages it had a more restricted meaning and stood for "instruments of open strings". Al-Djawharī (d. ca. 1003) and al-Ṣaghānī (d. 1261) define them as "musical instruments which you beat upon as in the *ūd* (lute), *ṭunbūr* (pandore) and the like", meaning by this that *mā'āzif* were played with the fingers or plectrum in the same way as the *ūd* and *ṭunbūr* were. The *Tādī al-Arūs* includes the tambourine among the *mā'āzif*, but it is an erroneous deduction from the saying of 'Umar, *marra bi-ʿazfi duffin* ("he passed by the sounding of the duff"), which has misled many writers (cf. Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s. v.). The author of *Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm* (xth cent.) states that the *mīzafa* was "a stringed instrument belonging to the people of al-ʿIrāk" (p. 237), whilst al-Mutarrizī (xiith cent.) says that the *mīzaf* was "made by the people of al-Yaman", a provenance which Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. 912) also gives the instrument (al-Mas'ūdī, viii. 93). A more precise classification is allowed by al-Shalāḥī who includes the *mīzaf* among barbitons (*barābiṭ*) and lyres (*lairān*), which agrees with our oldest authority, al-Laiṭh b. al-Muzaḥfar (viiiith cent.), who says that both *mīzaf* and *mīzafa* were terms given to "an instrument of many strings", whilst al-Fārābī (d. 950) specifically denominates *mā'āzif* as instruments of "open strings" (Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, p. 77, 110). In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* the *mīzafa* is rarely placed in the hands of the minstrels, probably because it was of inartistic merit. One performer on the instrument, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith b. Baskhīr (ixth cent.), was asked sarcastically if it were a rat-trap (*Aghānī*², x. 153).

Tradition avers that *mā'āzif* were "invented" by Dīlāl the daughter of Lamak, who was of the

seventh generation from Adam (al-Mas'ūdī, viii. 89). Since there was a *ḥadīth* condemning *ma'āsif* as signs of the end of the world (al-Tirmidhī, ii. 33) it is quite likely that the *fuḥāḥ* thought it consistent with policy to make *Dilāl* or *Ḍalāl* ("error, destruction") the originator of these *malāḥi* or "forbidden pleasures". On the other hand, we read that "David the Prophet had a *mi'zafa* on which he used to play when he recited the psalms" (*Iḥd al-Farid*, iii. 189), which was an echo of the Jewish tradition that he was an adept on the *kinnōr* (I Samuel, xvi. 16, 23). The name may be a survival from the days of belief in sympathetic magic. The voice of the *djinn* was termed the 'asf, and the spiritual world could be conjured by the sounds of the *mi'zaf*. In Islāmic times musicians claimed that their music was inspired by the *djinn*. The Greek *μυκάδης* was an instrument of the same class as the *mi'zaf*. It was of Lydian origin and the name is suspiciously like the Semitic one.

Lyre and cithara. Although we see these instruments in the hands of the ancient Semites on the monuments they do not appear to have had acceptance among the musicians of Islāmic times except with the *fallāḥin*, unless the seven-stringed *wanaḍj* (= *sanaḍj*) of Khurāsān was such an instrument (al-Mas'ūdī, viii. 90). Both words are of Greek origin and they appear in Arabic as *lūr* and *ḫiḫāra* generally. In Palestine and Egypt to-day, a primitive type of lyre is known under the name of *ṭunbūra barbariya* or *ḫiḫāra (kissara) barbariya*. Villoteau (*Descr. de l'Égypte, état mod.*, i. 918) and Saint-Saëns (Lavignac, *Ency. de la musique*, i. 528) have shown that much of the ancient Greek method of lyre-playing still obtains in the modern Egyptian *ḫiḫāra*-playing. It is worthy of notice that the Arabic word for striking the *ḫiḫāra* strings is *ḥarraka*, and this is practically identical with the Greek κρένω.

Harp. Whilst we possess an actual example of a Sumerian harp with the sound-chest below the strings, this type does not seem to have had any vogue with the Arabs or Persians in artistic music, and is only found among the peasantry. In Palestine and Upper Egypt to-day it is called the *ṭunbūra sūdāni* and *nanga*. The harp with the sound-chest above the strings has been a far more important instrument with the Semites and is to be found in the Assyrian sculptures (cf. the Assyr. word *sanaḫū* and the Ethiopic *sankō*). That extremely chatty Turkish writer Ewliya' Celebi says that this instrument, which the Persians called the *ṭang*, was "invented" by Pythagoras to solace Solomon (*Travels*, i/ii. 227), and even al-Shalāḥī says that it was of Byzantine (*Rūmī*) origin (fol. 15). Yet Ibn Khurdādhbih and al-Djawahri show that it was peculiar to the Persians and, indeed, the type may be found on the Sāsānian sculptures (Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii. 175). The Arabs called it the *djank* and/or *ṣandj* (cf. al-Djawālīkī, ed. Sachau, p. 97). It may be that the *djank* and *ṣandj* were different types of harp, the Persian and Arabian. There were certainly two types, the straight sound-chest and the crooked. In the *Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm* the Byzantine *salbāk* (σαμβύκη) and *lūr* (λύρα) are likened to the *djank* and *ṣandj* respectively. Among the Arabs the *djank* is mentioned as early as al-A'shā Maimūn (d. ca. 629). Al-Fārābī devotes a section in his *Kitāb al-Mūsīkī* to *ma'āsif*, *djunnūk* and/or *ṭunūdī*, and

other instruments "in which there is made to every note, according to its state, a solitary string", and he shows them strung with both fifteen (diatonic) and twenty-five (chromatic) strings (Kosegarten, l. c.). Both Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) and Ibn Zaila (d. 1048) deal with the *ṣandj*, whilst in the *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* (xvth century) and the works of Ibn Ḡhaibī (d. 1435) the *ṭang* is fully described. The oblique sound-chest was 109 cm. long, and the handle (*dasta*) 81 cm. long. From the sound-chest to the horizontal bar below twenty-four or twenty-five strings of goat's hair were stretched, being fastened to metal pegs (*malāwī*). Some players even used thirty-five strings so as to embrace the scale of the Systematists. The face of the sound-chest was of skin, but the remainder of the framework was of vine or plum tree wood. The handle was placed under the left arm (cf. the pictures in MSS.) and the fingers of both hands were used in performance, plectra (*zakhmāt*) being fastened to the finger tips. Nowadays the harp has fallen into complete desuetude among the Arabs and Turks. Even among the Persians it has become rare, and in its modern form it was little different from the occidental instrument (Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans*, p. 13), whilst the instrument shown by Kaempfer (xviii century), under this name was a zither. In 1638 Ewliya' Celebi found only twelve players of the *ṭang* in Constantinople because, he said, it was a difficult instrument to play (*Travels*, i/ii. 234). At this time the Turkish *ṭang* had forty strings, and a very large instrument of the xvth (not xviii) century is given by Engel (*Mus. instr. in the South Kensington Museum*, p. 59).

Although the "humped back" of the *ṭang* or *djank* became a favourite theme for poets, and it was certainly the best known type, yet an instrument with a "straight back" was also to be found. A more pronounced "hump" existed in a type mentioned by Ibn Ḡhaibī and called, probably on account of this feature, the *agri*. It was strung similarly to the *ṭang* but had a wooden instead of a skin face on the sound-chest, and its tuning-pegs were also of wood.

A Byzantine harp called the *salbāk* (erroneously written *salyāk*, *shalyāk* [cf. the art. *SHALYĀK*, which clashes with the opinion of the present writer, Red.], or *salbān* in most dictionaries and MSS.) was also known to the Arabs. It was actually a survival of the old Greek σαμβύκη, and is described in the *Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm* as "an instrument of the Greeks (*Yūnāniyūn*) and Byzantium (*Rūm*) resembling the *djank*" (p. 236). According to Ibn Khurdādhbih it had twenty-four strings (al-Mas'ūdī, viii. 91; cf. Farmer, *Byzantine musical instruments in the ninth century*, p. 4 sq.). Ibn Sīnā classes it with the *ṣandj* among the instruments with "open strings" stretched across a space.

Psalttery. In describing those instruments with "open strings" stretched across a surface, both Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zaila mention a particular type named the 'anḳā. Whilst the name suggests a "long necked" instrument, the details given of strings of different lengths but identically situated bridges (*ḥamīlāt*), compel one to recognize in it a trapezoidal psalttery, one species of which was known later as the *ḫānūn*. The word 'anḳā also stood for "phoenix", and we know that the Greeks of old had an instrument called the *φούξ*. This

may account for both the instrument and the name among the Arabs. It is not mentioned however, after the xith century.

The *kānūn* [q.v.], the present-day psaltery of the Arabs and Turks, is said by Ibn Ghāibī to have been invented by Plato, although the instrument as known in the xth century is attributed to al-Fārābī (Ibn Khallikān, *Biog. Dict.*, iii. 309). The word itself is derived from the Greek *κάνων*. Although the instrument is delineated in the various MSS. of the Syriac lexicon of Bar Bahlūl (xth century) sub "kithara", yet the name *kānūn* is not given. It is mentioned in the *Thousana and One Nights* (ed. Macnaghten, 49th and 149th nights), and in one place is designated the *kānūn miṣrī* ("Egyptian psaltery"). In Spain it was particularly favoured and al-Shaḥkūdī (d. 1231) includes it among the Andalusian instruments manufactured at Seville (al-Makkari, *Analektes*, ii. 143—144). In the Persian *Kanz al-Tuhaf* and in Ibn Ghāibī it is described in detail. The shallow, flat, trapezoidal sound-chest, 9 cm. deep, was made of vine or plum tree wood. The lengths of the bass and treble sides were 81 and 40.5 cm. respectively, whilst the oblique side was 74.25 cm. It was mounted with sixty-four strings (seventy-two? in Ibn Ghāibī), arranged trichordally. Although the *kānūn* has fallen into disuse in Persia, it is still a great favourite in the Maghrib, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, where it is to be found strung trichordally with from fifty-one to seventy-five strings.

A rectangular type of psaltery of greater compass was the *nuzha*. It was invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294) and a design is sometimes to be found in his *Kitāb al-Adwār* (see Farmer, *Arabic musical mss. in the Bodleian Library*, frontispiece). Its features are also fully discussed in the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* and by Ibn Ghāibī. Its dimensions were 74.25 × 54 cm., whilst the depth of the sound-chest was 27 cm. 108 strings were mounted on the instrument.

Dulcimer. Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zaila describe an instrument with "open strings" played on with beating rods (*maṭāriḳ*) which is called the *ṣandj ṣinī* ("Chinese *ṣandj*"). This is clearly the dulcimer, later to be generally known as the *sinṭir* or *sanṭūr* (also written *ṣantūr*, *sinṭir* and *ṣanṭir*), a word derived immediately from the Aramaic, but probably finally traceable to the Greek *ψαλτήριον*. Indeed, it is invariably found in the hands of Jews and Greeks. It is of similar structure to the *kānūn*, but with two of its sides oblique instead of one. The strings, which are mounted dichordally in Egypt, are of metal and are beaten with sticks (*maṭāriḳ*) instead of plectra as in the *kānūn*. We find it mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) and al-Haiṭhamī (d. 1563), but its popularity was but fitful among the Arabs. In the xviiith century it is doubtfully acknowledged by Russell (i. 152) and Niebuhr (*tympanon*). In Egypt, both Villoteau and Lane show that it was only to be found in the hands of Jews, Greeks and other foreign residents, whilst native writers like Muṣḥarka and Darwish Muḥammad make no mention of it. To-day it is practically unknown in Syria and Egypt. In the Maghrib it is unnoticed by Höst, Christianowitsch and Salvador-Daniel, and although it is dealt with by Delphin and Guin, it is scarcely known to-day. In Persia however, it obtained greater recognition. In the xviiith century it is mentioned by Chardin,

but not by Kaempfer, whilst Advielle in the xixth century gives both a design and a description. In Turkey, whilst the word is registered in the xviiith century by Meninski, it is not mentioned by Hādjđī Khalīfa nor described by Ewliya² Čelebi, in their lists of Turkish musical instruments. In the next century however, it is recognised by Toderini, and to-day the *sanṭūr* is one of the most esteemed instruments in the country, where it may be seen in two forms: the *sanṭūr turkī* and the *sanṭūr franṣis*. The former, exclusively used by the Jews, has 160 strings, grouped in fives, giving thirty-two notes, a two octave chromatic scale. The latter, which is confined to the Turks, was introduced from the West about the middle of the last century by a certain Hilmī Bey. It is mounted with 105 strings, also grouped in fives, which are placed on the sound-chest in the Occidental way.

Bibliography: Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, London 1929; do., *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, London 1931; do., *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1931; Kosegarten, *Alii Ispahanensis liber cantilenarum magnus*, Greifswald 1840—1842; Land, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe*, Leyden 1884; D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, I, *al-Fārābī*, Paris 1930; Ibn Ibn Sīnā, *al-Shifā'* (India Office MS., N^o. 1811, fol. 173); Ibn Zaila (British Museum MS. Or., N^o. 2361, fol. 235v.); *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (British Museum MS. Or., N^o. 2361, fol. 263—264v.); Ibn Ghāibī (Bodleian Library MS., Marsh, N^o. 828, fol. 78); al-Mas'ūdī, Paris ed., see above; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, Cairo 1887—1888, as cited above; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*; al-Shalāḥī (Madrid MS., N^o. 603); Z. D. P. V., Leipzig 1927, c. 19; al-Haiṭhamī, Staats. Bibl., Berlin, N^o. 5517, fol. 24v; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amst. 1776—1780, p. 143; Kaempfer, *Amoen. Exot.*, Lemgo 1712; Russell, *Natural hist. of Aleppo*, London 1794; Ibn Khaldūn, *N.E.*, xx. 412; *Liber Mafātiḥ al-olūm*, ed. Van Vloten, Leyden 1895; and authorities quoted in the article. For other works see those quoted by Farmer, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, p. 6. (H. G. FARMER)

AL-MIZÂN, the balance, is the nomen instrumenti from *wazana* "to weigh", which means to weigh in the ordinary sense and also to test the level of, like the Latin *librare*. Here we shall discuss:

1. The various instruments used for weighing in the ordinary sense; brief notes are added on the ascertainment of specific gravities. 2. Levelling instruments.

I. BALANCES.

The steelyard (*al-ḥarasūn*, q.v.) has already been dealt with; the general principles of the balance are also discussed in that article. — The usual balance with two arms of equal length had the same shape among the Muslims as in ancient times and at all periods in the west; this we know from extant specimens and illustrations in various works, notably in al-Khāzinī, in a manuscript of al-Ḥazwīnī with reference to the constellation Libra (fig. 1), in a manuscript of Ḥariri, in the *Ā'in-i Akbari* of Abu 'l-Faḍl (fig. 2). In the beautiful manuscript from which Ch. Schefer published the *Sefer Nameh* of Naṣīr-i Khusrāw,

on p. 88 in the illustration of the Masjdīd al-Akṣā there is a balance labelled *terazu* (*Sefer Nameh*, *Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, ed. Ch.

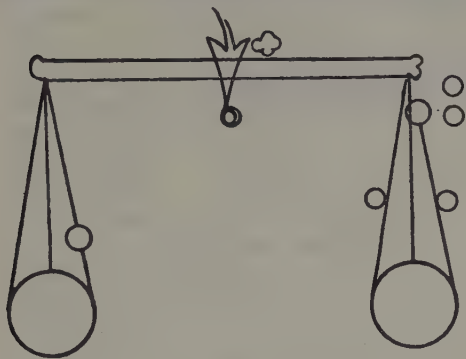


Fig. 1.

Schefer, *Publications de l'école des langues orientales vivantes*, ii. ser., i., Paris 1881). The common balance is called *mizān* but in the Qur'ān we also



Fig. 2.

find *ḥusṭās*, which, according to al-Tha'labī, is a loanword. Other names are *shāhin*, which does not only mean the beam and tongue of the balance

and is contrasted by the *lkhwān al-ṣafā* to the *ḥabbān* (steelyard), also *taris* from the Persian *tarāzū*, then *mīḥmal* for scales for gold and *ḥubba* for beam and tongue. *Mindjam* means the tongs and also the beam. According to J. Ruska, *ḥabbāba* seems to be used for scales (for gold). On the expressions connected with *ḥarastūn*, see that article. Al-Maḥḍī mentions Ḥarrān as a place where balances were made, in his work *Aḥsan al-Taḥāsīm fī Ma'rifaṭ al-Aḥālīm*, p. 141; in this town many very skilful mechanics were engaged in making astronomical instruments. The accuracy of the balances made in Ḥarrān was proverbial.

The Arabs devoted special attention to the construction of balances used to identify metals and jewels from their specific gravity, to distinguish false from genuine and pure and to ascertain the composition of alloys of two metals by the use of the principle of Archimedes. They called these balances *mizān al-mā*, "water" (hydrostatic) balances. Of makers of these, al-Khāzinī (c. 1100, q. v.) mentions: Sanad (Sind) b. 'Alī (c. 250 = 864), Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī († 320 = 932–933), Ibn al-'Amīd († 359 = 969–970), Yuhannā b. Yūsuf (perhaps al-Kāss, d. c. 370 = 980–981), Ibn Sīnā († 428 = 1037), Aḥmad al-Faḍl al-Massāḥ (the "measurer", also mentioned by al-Bīrūnī without the "Massāḥ"), Abū Ḥafṣ 'Omar al-Khāyāmī (as the celebrated mathematician is never called Abū Ḥafṣ, it is doubtful whether he is the individual mentioned by al-Khāzinī). The balances made by these men are still fairly simple as only two, or at most three, scales were used in them. A contemporary of al-Khāzinī, namely Abū Ḥakīm al-Muẓaffar Ibn Ismā'īl al-Asfīzārī (d. before 515 = 1121) added two more scales; these and other improvements made the scales much more convenient to use. Of him al-Baihaḳī says (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xx., *Einige Biographien nach al-Baihaḳī*, in *S. B. P. M. S. Erlg.*, xlii., 1910, p. 17): "He constructed the balance of Archimedes with which one ascertains forgeries. The treasurer of the great sultān feared that his frauds would thus be discovered. He therefore broke the balance and destroyed its parts. Al-Muẓaffar died of grief as a result". Al-Khāzinī then took up al-Muẓaffar's work and made the balance a

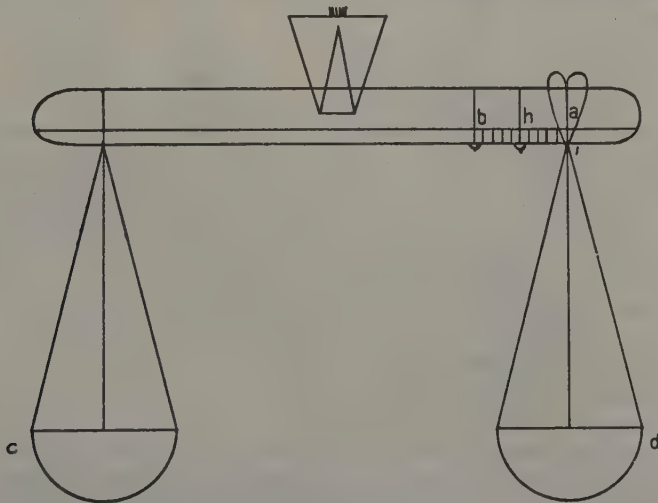


Fig. 3.

most accurate means of measuring; he called it the universal balance, *al-mizân al-ʿujmî*. But, no doubt in memory of his predecessor, he called his book *Kitâb Mizân al-Hikma*.

in the physical (*ṭabīʿī*) balance of Muḥammad b. Zakariyâ al-Râzî (fig. 3); it goes back to Greek models, e. g. of Archimedes (fig. 4; cf. al-Khāzini, *op. cit.*).

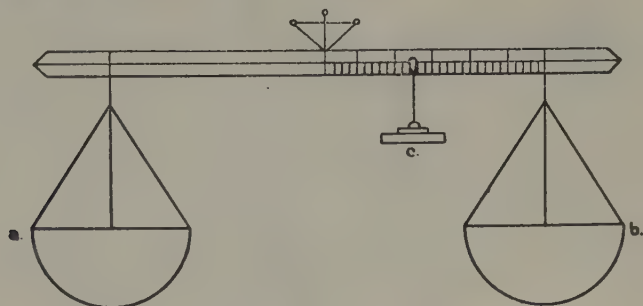


Fig. 4.

For special purposes such as the examination of gold and silver and their alloys, many contrivances were made with balances and the movable scales and running weights on the beams, for example

Here we shall describe somewhat more fully the "balance of wisdom" ¹⁾ of al-Khāzini.

Al-Khāzini gives the beam *A* of the balance (fig. 5) a thickness of six cm. and a length of

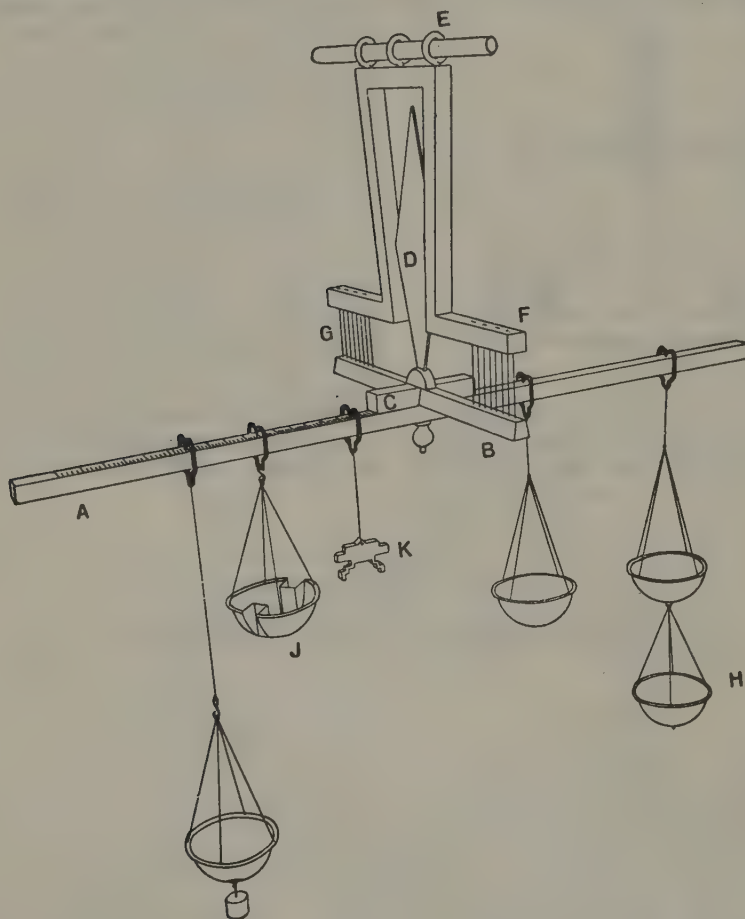


Fig. 5.

1) H. Bauerreiss (*Zur Geschichte des spez. Gewichtes im Altertum und Mittelalter*, Dissertation, Erlangen 1913) has reconstructed the "balance of wisdom", as nearly as possible following the data of the original. Reproductions are in Erlangen and the German Museum in Munich. The illustration is taken from a photograph. In the original right and left are reversed.

two m. In the centre it is strengthened by an additional piece *C*, obviously intended to avoid any bending at this point. A cross-piece *B* (*arīḍa*) is let in here. Corresponding to it is a similar cross-piece *F* on the lower part of the tongs, in which moves the tongue *D*, itself about 50 cm. long. The upper cross-piece *E* is hung by rings to a rod which is fastened somewhere. Pegs or small holes are placed at exactly opposite places of the cross-pieces *B* and *F* to which threads are tied or drawn through. The friction at an axis is thus avoided, which, in view of the great weight of the beam, is quite considerable. The knob visible below the beam under its centre is used to secure the tongue to the beam or to take it out in order to adjust it evenly. The tongue has for this purpose a peg at the foot which goes through a hole in the beam. Al-Khāzini also observes that one could also take shorter beams but then all the other dimensions must be proportionately smaller. The beam is divided not on one side only, as in the illustration, but on both. The scales are hung on very delicate rings of steel (*ghurāb* "ravens") the points of which fit into little niches on the upper surface of the beam. Five scales are used in ascertaining specific gravities, i.e. in investigating alloys and examining precious stones. Of these the scale *H* (fig. 5^a) is called the cone-shaped or *al-ḥākīm*, the judge, as it is used to distinguish false from true. It goes into the water and in order to meet with less resistance in sinking is cone-shaped and pointed below. The scale *J* is called the winged (*mudjannah*, fig. 5^b and 5^c, side and top view). It has indented sides so that it can be



Fig. 5a.



Fig. 5b.



Fig. 5c.

brought very close to the adjoining scales. It is also called the movable (*munakḥkal*). There is also a movable running weight *K* (*al-rummāna al-saiyara*) which serves, if necessary, to adjust the weight of the lighter beam; it is therefore also called the *rummāna* of the adjustment (*al-ta'dīl*). The other scales are used to hold weights. Al-Khāzini attained an extraordinary degree of accuracy with his balance. This was the result of the length of the beam, the peculiar method of suspension, the fact that the centre of gravity and axis of oscillation were very close to each other, and of the obviously very accurate construction of the whole. Al-Khāzini himself says that when the instrument was weighing 1,000 mithḳāls, it could show a difference of 1 ḥabba = $\frac{1}{60}$ mithḳāl, i.e. about 75 centigrammes in 4.5 kilogrammes. We thus have accuracy to $\frac{1}{60,000}$.

Al-Khāzini used his scales for the most varied purposes. Firstly for ordinary weighing, then for

all purposes connected with the taking of specific gravities, distinguishing of genuine (*ṣamīm*) and false metals, examining the composition of alloys, changing of dirhams to dinārs and countless other business transactions. In all these processes the scales are moved about until equilibrium is obtained and the desired magnitudes in many cases can at once be read on the divisions on the beam.

False balances. That as early as the time of Muḥammad balances showing false weights were used for fraudulent purposes is shown by various passages in the Kuṛān (Sūra xxvi. 182; vii. 13; xvii. 37). We read for example: "Weigh with the just (or upright, *mustakīm*) balance". Al-Djawbarī (middle of the xiiith century; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, iv., *Über Wagen bei den Arabern*, in *S.B.P.M.S. Erig.*, vol. xxxvii., 1905, p. 388) describes two such arrangements. In the one the beam of the balance consisted of a hollow reed closed at the ends in which there was some quicksilver; by a slight inclination of the beam this could be made to flow as desired to the side of the weights or of the articles and thus make the one or other appear heavier. A balance like this was used in Cairo in the time of E. W. Lane by a dishonest police inspector (*mukhtasib*). In the second pair of scales the tongue was of iron and the merchant had a ring with a magnetic stone. By bringing the ring close to it the balance went down to right or left.

The balance or the principles applying to it were used for many purposes besides weighing. Contrivances turning on an axis in which sometimes one and sometimes the other side becomes lighter or heavier, especially by the admission or release of water, were used to produce automatic movements; they are often called *mizān* (cf. e.g. the writings of the Banū Mūsā and of al-Djazarī; e.g. in F. Hauser, *Über das Kitāb al-Ḥiyāl. Das Werk über die sinnreichen Anordnungen der Banū Mūsā*, Abh. 2, *Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften und Med.*, Heft II, 1922; E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, in *Nova Acta der Kais. Leop.-Carol. Akademie*, vol. c., 1915, No. 5 and other passages). In the hour balance used to measure time, a container filled with sand or water is hung at one end of a lever poised with arms equal and has a hole in the bottom. The equilibrium disturbed by the gradual loss of sand or water is compensated for by weights which move along the other arm. From their weight and position one can calculate the time that has passed (E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxxvii.: *Über die Stundenuage*, in *S.B.P.M.S. Erig.*, xli., 1914, p. 27; a full description is given by Prof. F. Hauser in E. von Bassermann-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*).

Most artisans also describe as "scales" *al-misṭara*, i.e. ruler, *al-barkas*, the compasses, *al-kūniyā*, set square and level, as they serve to show lapses from the straight etc. — *Mikyāl*, ell, *shāḥim*, *kubbān* are "scales" with which one measures whether things are correct or over measure in business transactions (*Rasā'il Iḥkhwān al-Ṣafā*, Bombay 1305, 1/ji. 128).

For a few further meanings of *al-mizān* see Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v. *wazana*. — In mathematics the balance is used to elucidate certain mathematical processes. The steelyard is used to illustrate the inversed relation: the weights are in inverse proportion to the length of the arms (cf. e.g. Th. Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter*, in *Programm Forchheim*, 1905—1906, p. 93; *Rasā'il*

*Iḥwān al-Ṣafā*³, Bombay 1305, i/i. 10 and other places). Al-Bīrūnī uses the balance to explain the procedure in solving equations (*al-djābr wa 'l-muḳābala*) (*Kitāb Taḥḥīm* etc., Berlin, N^o. 5665, fol. 9b). The method of the double error is also called the "process with the use of the beam".

One knows whether a number is divisible by nine by casting out the nines: to do this one adds up the figures in a number and takes away 9's from the total until 9 or another number is left; the number left is called *mizān*. The word *mizān* also means testing the correctness of any calculation (cf. Bahā' al-Dīn, *Khulāṣāt al-Ḥisāb*, ed. G. H. F. Nesselmann, Berlin 1843).

In magic squares the sum of the largest and smallest figure is called *al-mizān*; it is half the total of the vertical row, horizontal row or of the diagonals (G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*, in *Isl.*, xiii., 1922, p. 223).

Alchemy is often called 'ilm *al-mizān*, the science of the scales, or of accurate measurement, as in the preparation of the elixir etc. the choice of the right proportion of the ingredients is an important matter.

Among other uses of the word *mizān* may be mentioned that a tree on a boundary near Bāniyās at the source of the Jordan was called "tree of the balance" (*mizān*). We may also note that on the day of judgment a balance with a very long beam will be erected (on it cf. e.g. M. Wolff, *Muhammadianische Eschatologie*, Leipzig 1872, text, p. 81, transl., p. 148 and al-Ḡhazālī, *al-Durr al-fākhira fī Kashf 'Ulūm al-Akhira*, ed. L. Gautier, Leipzig 1878, text, p. 67, transl., p. 79).

Specific Gravity. We have already mentioned that the "balance of wisdom" and other scales were used to test the purity of metals etc. and to ascertain the composition of alloys; we shall now briefly discuss the work of the Arabs on this subject. Two magnitudes have to be considered. The weights of equal volumes are compared, which corresponds to an investigation of the specific gravities¹⁾; al-Bīrūnī, for example, takes hemispheres of the different metals or rods of equal size and compares their weights, or the volumes of equal weights are compared by finding those of any weights and then comparing the specific volumes (i.e. the volumes of the unit of weight). For these measurements one used either methods based on the principle of Archimedes, according to which a body loses in a liquid as much weight as the volume of the fluid displaced by it, or one measures the fluid displaced by the body itself. For this purpose al-Bīrūnī constructed a cone-shaped vessel (*al-ūlat al-makhrūṭiyya*) [fig. 6]. This vessel is filled with water until it begins to run out by a pipe at the side; then a definite mass, as large as possible, of the substance (weight P_1) is weighed, as is the scale P_2 placed under the outlet pipe. The substance is then put in the vessel and the pan

with the water displaced weighed (P_3), so that from $P_3 - P_2$ we get the volume of water corresponding to the mass P_1 , which is then calculated by al-Bīrūnī for a weight of 100 mithḳāls. As almost always,

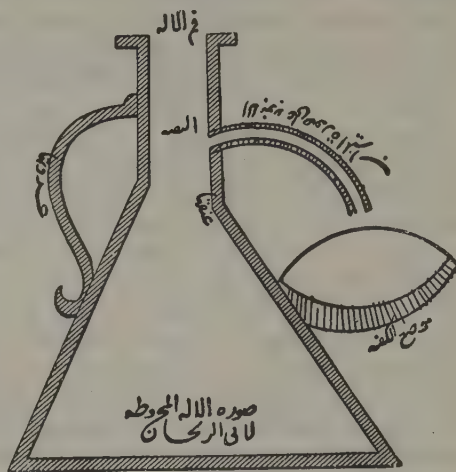


Fig. 6.

in ascertaining the specific gravity the Arabs rely on the ancients, particularly on the work of Menelaus "on the artifice by which one ascertains the quantity of each of a number of mixed bodies", *Fi Ḥila allatī yu'rafu bi-hā Mikdār kull wāhid min 'Ida Adīsām mukhtaliṭa* (from the Escorial MSS.) and *Ma'rifat Kammiyat Tamayyuz al-Adjām al-mukhtaliṭa* (according to Ibn al-Kiṭī, p. 321; Professor Dr. Würschmidt is giving an edition of this work in *Philologus*). In al-Bīrūnī's work, Archimedes himself is mentioned and a certain Manāṭiyūs (according to Nöldeke, probably *Mavriac*). The Muslims however did not slavishly take over the statements of the ancients. Al-Bīrūnī, for example, emphasises that one can ascertain the composition of an alloy of two components but not of one of three, as Menelaus says. Among the Muslims it was certainly al-Bīrūnī who did most in this field, in his work "on the relations which exist between metals and jewels in volume" (*Maḳāla fī 'l-Nisab allatī bain al-Filizāt wa 'l-Djawāhir fī 'l-Ḥaḍīm*, cf. also al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, text, p. xxxiv), which still exists, and also in another work, which only survives in fragments quoted by al-Khāzinī. Al-Bīrūnī was induced to compose the first named by the difficulties encountered by goldsmiths in ascertaining the quantities of metals necessary to copy a given article. As predecessors he mentions Sanad b. 'Alī, Yuhannā b. Yūsuf, Aḥmad al-Faḍl al-Bukhārī. So far as we know he was followed and his results were used by: Abū Ḥafṣ 'Omar al-Khāyāmī (see above), al-Asfīzārī (see above), al-Khāzinī (see above), Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Omar al-Rāzī († 1210, Suter, N^o. 328), and Abū 'l-Faḍl Allamī, Eliyā Misrākhi, a work ascribed to Plato which was composed in the time of Bāyazīd by a slave of a son of Sinān, a Turkish work by al-Ḡhaffārī, and a Persian by Muḥammad b. Manṣūr (on these works, as on mineralogical literature in general, see E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xxx.: *Zur Mineralogie des Islam*, in *S.P.M.S. Erl.*, xlv., 1912, p. 205). We must also mention the study by Abū Manṣūr al-Nairīzī who is not to be confused with the commentator on Euclid, and the work on the measurement of bodies which are compounded of

1) It is to be noted that expressions like specific gravity and specific volume, which refer to the unit of weight and the unit of volume are not found among the Arabs. Al-Bīrūnī, for example, gives the amount of water displaced by 100 mithḳāls of various substances corresponding to their volume and the weights of the metals which have the same volume as 100 mithḳāls of gold and in the case of other substances the same volume as 100 mithḳāls of blue *yāḳūt*.

other substances, in order to ascertain the unknown amounts of the separate constituents: *Minbar fî Misâhat al-Adjsâm al-mukhaliṭa li 'stikhṛādī Mikdār madjhūliḥā* by Sam'īl b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abbās al-Maghribī al-Andalusī (d. 1174-1175 at Maghāra; s. Ibn al-Kiṭī, p. 209; Suter, N^o. 302).

The statements on specific gravities refer to: A. Metals: gold, mercury, bronze (*ṣifr*), copper, brass (*shibh*), iron, tin (*raṣāṣ*), lead (*usruf* and *usrub*). B. Precious stones: blue *yāqūt*, red *yāqūt*, ruby, emerald, lapis lazuli, pearl, coral, cornelian, onyx and rock crystal. C. Other substances: Pharaonic glass, clay from Siminyān, pure salt, salt earth (*sabakh*), sandarach, enamel (*mīnā*), amber, pitch, wax, ivory, bakkam wood, willow wood.

The weights of equal volumes of liquids and the volumes of equal weights of liquid are sometimes found directly, sometimes ascertained with the araeometer of Pappus. The former magnitude plays an important part in the liquids used in every day life like oil and wine. The second was of more scientific interest. It is especially interesting that the Arabs found that hot water and hot urine had a larger volume than equal weights cold. They also knew that ice had a larger volume than the same weight of water.

The facts ascertained with the araeometer of Pappus for fluids refer to cold fresh water, hot water,

ice (does not properly belong to this connection), sea water, vinegar, wine, sesame oil, olive oil, cow's milk, hen's egg, blood of a healthy man, warm and cold urine.

Fig. 7. shows the araeometer reconstructed by H. Bauerreiss from al-Khāzinī. *X* is a massive cone used to make the instrument heavy. There are inscriptions corresponding to the Roman numerals. For details the reader may be referred to H. Bauerreiss's article. — The principle that floating bodies of the same weight sink in water to the same depth finds application in a juristic trick cited in the *Kitāb al-Hiyāl fî 'L-Fikḥ* of Abū Hātim al-Kāzinī. The weight of a camel is ascertained by putting it in a boat and noting how deep the boat sinks. The camel is then replaced by iron weights until the boat sinks to the same level (cf. J. Schacht in G. Bergsträsser, *Beitr. zur semitischen Philologie und Linguistik*).

In medical works and treatises on weights and measures, figures are given for the weights of equal volumes of wine, oil and honey (cf. Bauerreiss, *op. cit.*).

So far as it is a question of particular bodies, the values as ascertained by the Arabs agree very well with those obtained by modern science and even surpass in accuracy those obtained by it up till the beginning of the last century.

Bibliography: This is given in the article AL-ḲARASTUN.

2. LEVELLING (*wazana*, to weigh, corresponding to the Latin *librare*).

The Arabs certainly adopted a large number of methods of levelling and testing levels from other

peoples, either the Byzantines or the Persians. The statements in Ibn Waḥshiya (see below) about the making of canals etc. agree with those of Vitruvius, who in turn drew on Greek sources. The Arabs learned partly from Greek works; for example we are told that according to Philemon (according to M. Steinschneider: Philon), the incline in canals must be at least 5:1,000; but they also utilized data gained from the practical experience of land owners, canal builders etc. Whether the Arabs were acquainted with the standard works of Hero on this subject, the *Metrica* and the "On the Dioptra" (Hero, *Opera omnia*, ed. H. Schöne, iii., Leipzig 1903), is not known, for no corresponding title is found in the biographical or bibliographical works. But the writing mentioned in the *Fihrist* "On the use of the astrolabe" may have dealt with geodetic problems. Many problems in the Arabic sources are very similar to those dealt with in the work "On the Dioptra"; only the Arabs use the astrolabe or quadrant instead of the dioptra. Whether one or other of the methods described below was discovered independently by the Arabs and by whom, cannot be established from the authors on the subject, who were mainly practical men. They are described in the most different places.

In levelling, one is faced with two problems: firstly to make a surface exactly level and horizontal or to place a rod or a surface exactly perpendicular, and secondly to ascertain the point on the same level as a given one, or to ascertain the difference in height between two points.

I. A surface is made level and horizontal in the following way:

A ruler with a straight edge is moved over the surface and one sees whether it touches it everywhere so perfectly that light penetrates nowhere between ruler and surface; in this case the surface is perfectly smooth (al-Shirāzi, see below).

That the ruler itself is straight is ascertained by seeing if a thread stretched along it and fastened to it at one end can be lifted the same height from the ruler along its whole length. Whether three rulers are straight is tested by putting them side by side and exchanging their sides (Ibn Yūnus, in K. Schoy, see below).

To examine if a surface was perfectly horizontal, the following tests were adopted:

1. Water is poured over the surface and it is observed whether this flows equally in all directions; this is one of the most usual methods. The same plan is given by Proclus in his *Hypotyposis* (ed. K. Manitius, Leipzig 1909, p. 50, 51). According to him, one pushes supports in under a level surface on all sides till it shows no slope anywhere; this is the case when water poured on it remains standing without running to one side.

2. An object which can roll is placed on one side; if it does not roll off but only oscillates, the surface is horizontal (al-Shirāzi, see below).

3. Water is poured into a plate or dish (*djafna*, fig. 8) with an edge which is parallel to the surface and of the same height all the way round,



Fig. 8.

and it is observed whether the water comes exactly up to the edges on all sides (Ibn Luyūn, see

below). An exactly straight ruler is laid on the plate and one looks over this.

Ibn Sinā (Cod. Leidensis, N^o. 1061) in order to test whether the upper surface of the base of a theodolite is horizontal, makes a cavity in it with exactly perpendicular walls, pours water in and proceeds as in the case of the plate. To test whether a large ring is absolutely smooth, al-ʿUrdī used a process which he called *al-afādain*. This is not a ready made instrument but an apparatus to be put together from case to case. The ring to be tested is first of all placed exactly horizontal with the ground by means of the level (fig. 9). Inside the ring on its concave side a circular

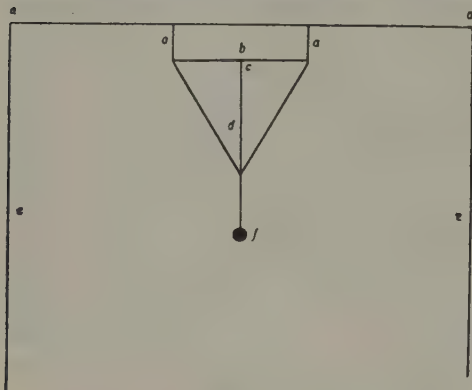


Fig. 9.

In the original the rod is at *e*, the rope at *a*, *b c* *murdjikāl*, it is a triangle of wood, at *d* thread, at *f* *thakkāla*, weight.

gutter of potter's clay is built. Its outer edge comes up to the level of the surface of the ring while its inner edge is a little higher. The gutter is filled with water and some light ashes are scattered on it. If the water flows over the ring the depressions in the ring are filled with it, while the ashes remain on the raised parts of it. The inequalities in the surface of the ring are thus brought out (fig. 10). Al-ʿUrdī em-

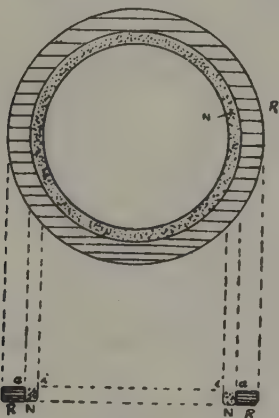


Fig. 10.

phasises that the test must be made in absolute calm.

Al-ʿUrdī also used the same method in order to see that the outlets for water in a distribution system at Damascus were all of the same level. In the centre of the reservoir he put a gutter like this and deepened or raised the bottoms of the channels running out of it until the water from the gutter spread equally over the channels which revealed any inequalities (fig. 11). Cf. H. J. Seemann, in *S.B. P.M.S. Erlg.*, lx., 1928, p. 49, 81 and J. Frank, in *Zeitschr. f. Instrumentenkunde*, xlviii., 1929.

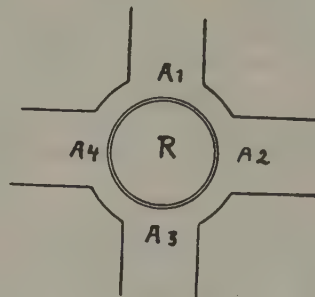


Fig. 11.

4. A plumb-line (*shākūl*, *buld*, *balad* [from βάλις], *thakkāla*) is dropped from the apex (fig. 12) of an isosceles triangle, made for example of wood, with

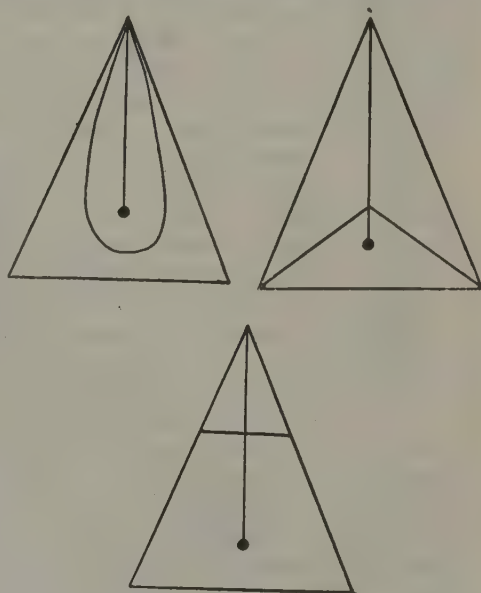


Fig. 12.

its perpendicular marked; a piece is sometimes left open in the centre of the under side for the weight of the plumb-line. If the plumb-line coincides with the perpendicular, the surface is horizontal (the figures go back to al-Shirāzī and al-Khalkhālī). Such drawings have led to the erroneous idea that Muslim students were already acquainted with the pendulum (cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Verhdl. d. d. phys. Ges.*, 1919, p. 663; the apparatus is called *al-fādin* [e.g. in al-Shirāzī, al-ʿUrdī, see below], Dozy, *op. cit.*, also *al-kādin*).

In the architect's balance (fig. 13), according to Ibn Luyūn or al-Ṭighnārī (see below), a quadrangular piece of wood is placed on the beam *aa* to be

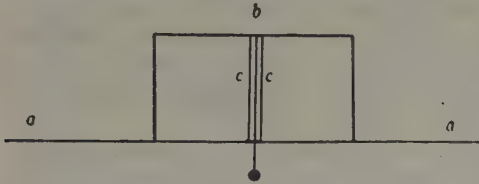


Fig. 13.

examined; in the middle of it, a perpendicular line *b a* is drawn before which a plumb-line is hung; according to the original figure, it seems to be two parallel lines between which the plumb-line hangs.

Al-Marrākushī (see below) has described a more perfect form (fig. 14). In the figure *ab*, *ac* and *de* are rods, and *ab = ac* and *ade* is an equilateral triangle; *de* is pierced in the centre. A plumb-line

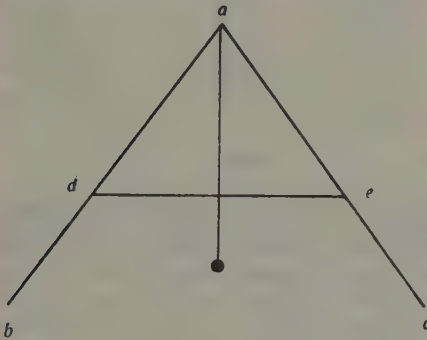


Fig. 14.

is hung from *a* through the hole. If the surface on which *b* and *c* are put is horizontal, the thread of the plumb-line goes through the centre of the hole.

Whether the levels and other similar instruments are themselves correct, whether for example the plumb-line from the apex to the base is perpendicular, is tested in this way: After the plumb-line comes to rest in one position of the level, the latter is put in various positions on some horizontal surface, particularly in one perpendicular to the first, and in one in which left and right have places exchanged. If the plumb-line always comes to rest the level is correct but if it only does so in the former case the error can be corrected by adjusting the position of the surface and that of the level.

The level here described is usually called *kūniya* (γυνία); the word, however, is also used for the wooden set square, as used by carpenters (s. *Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm*, ed. v. Vloten, p. 255) and land surveyors like Abu 'l-Wafā' (s. *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin*, Heft iv., 1922, p. 98). A synonym is according to al-Shirāzī (*Nihāyat al-Idrāk fī Dirāyat al-Afāk*, Maḥ. 2, chap. 13): *afadan*. From the same root we have in Ibn Waḥshiya (Cod. Leidensis, N^o. 1279, p. 527) *fawdān*, in Dozy (*Supplément*, ii., p. 246) *fāḍin* and *fāḍim*. Connected with this is *fawdān*, dual of *fawḍ*.

Sometimes one finds it stated that levelling is

done with the *shāḥkūl*; e.g. in al-Battānī (ed. Nallino, text, 1903, p. 137): *mawwūn bi 'l-shāḥkūl*, and an exactly similar statement is made by Ibn Sīnā (Cod. Leidensis, N^o. 1061). A set square is either brought up to the plumb-line and a perpendicular dropped on the surface from it, or the *shāḥkūl* is used for the level, the essential part of which is the plummet.

On larger surfaces, such as roofs, etc., a long rod (*kubṭāl* = cubitale) is first of all laid down and on it the apparatus for testing the level is placed; this is called *mizān al-izur* (or *al-bannā'in* of the architects; cf. Ibn Luyūn, see below).

5. At the apex of a threesided pyramid built on a surface by 3 rods of equal length, a plumb-line with a sharp point in the plummet is hung. This ought to hang over the centre of the surface (al-Khāzinī, see below).

6. On the apexes *A* and *B* (fig. 15) of two sharp pointed tetrahedra of equal height *A I H K*, and *B L M N*, a rod of some length *AB* is laid

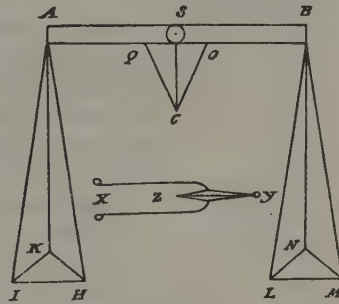


Fig. 15.

on which is fixed a triangle with a plumb-line hanging from it or an arrangement such as is already described for the scale-beam. If the plumb-line or the tongue comes to rest, the rod and therefore the surface is horizontal (al-Marrākushī, see below).

The necessity of making surfaces exactly level continually crops up in building, and also in putting up astronomical instruments, and in constructing the Indian circle with which the meridian and then the direction of the *qibla* is ascertained. In this case the level surface is usually not prepared on the ground but on a firm foundation, perhaps of stone. The construction for the Indian circle is already described in the *Hypotyposis* of Proclus (*loc. cit.*) in the same way as by the Arabs.

We now deal with the tests used to see if a thing is perpendicular:

1. The simplest method is to hang a plumb-line beside it. In the case of level perpendicular surfaces, this must touch it all the way down if its point of suspension is on it. This method is always recommended in working with the quadrant (s. also below).

2. If the point of suspension is a little in front of the surface the thread must be equidistant from it all the way down.

3. In the side of the gnomon, a perpendicular rod, often with a cone-shaped top, Ibn Yūnus (see below) cut out a groove which ended in a hemispherical cavity. In the groove a thread is hung from the top of the gnomon with a ball shaped weight. If this comes to rest in the hollow, the gnomon is perpendicular.

4. The gnomon is moved backwards and forwards (turned about on its foot: *muḳbil wa-mudbir*); its shadow must only move so far on the level surface, on which it stands, as is in keeping with the movement of the sun during the turning (Ibn Yūnus, see below).

5. A circle is described at the foot of the rod and a pair of compasses used to test whether the distance of the top of the gnomon is the same from all points of the circle.

8. Ibn Sīnā drills a small hole through the gnomon parallel to its base, puts it in a vessel with a horizontal bottom which is filled with muddy water and examines whether the surface exactly coincides with the level of the hole.

7. In order to examine whether a level surface is standing exactly perpendicular, two exactly equal parallelepipedal blocks of wood (fig. 16) are placed

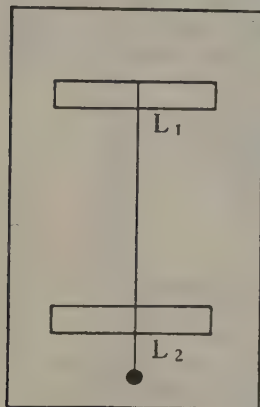


Fig. 16.

on it, L_1 and L_2 , one above the other. From the upper edge of L_1 a plumb-line is hung; one watches whether its thread exactly touches L_2 ; the best plan is to place a very thin ruler between L_1 and the plummet and test the position of the thread with respect to L_2 (al-Mar-rākushī, see below). II. In order to ascertain the difference in height between two points s_1 and s_2 which are at a distance a from one another, as is necessary in making

a canal for example, one looks horizontally from s_1 with an apparatus which is at a height h from the ground to a vertical rod at s_2 and ascertains the height h_1 at which the point observed is above the ground. A mark can be made on it (in modern mensuration, the rod at s_2 has divisions marked on it). The difference in height is $h_1 - h$. According to fig. 19, the Arabs, like Hero, seem to have used something similar. Ibn al-ʿAwwām (see below) uses a square board on which are marked a number of circles touching one another, which are distinguished by different colours or have different centres. In order to place the rods absolutely perpendicular, plumb-lines are hung beside them (fig. 17).

The horizontal line of vision is obtained in various ways:

1. A rod (e.g. an ell long) with square sides is put up in such a way that the upper surface appears horizontal to the eye and one looks along this surface.

2. The rod (*ḫubṭāl*) is put on the above mentioned dish or plate (fig. 8) and one looks along it.

3. At the end of the rod nails are fastened at the same height and their heads are pierced and one looks through the holes.

4. For a rough examination, one can put, at the two places, two tube-shaped bricks which for convenience may be made each out of two half-pipes (Ibn al-ʿAwwām, see below).

5. An astrolabe is put in a horizontal place such as the edge of a well or on its cover and one looks through the eyepiece.

Other methods of ascertaining differences of level are as follows:

1. An assistant is sent from the higher position to the lower holding a rod of a known length l vertically until one sees just the end of it; if h then is the level of the eye, $l - h$ is the difference in height. If the distance is too great for the top of the rod to be distinguished, a light is put on it, for example a lighted candle and the observation is made by night.

2. If it is a question of ascertaining whether a place outside a well is lower than the level of water in the well, the distance of the latter from the surface of the ground or from the edge is ascertained by letting a rod and thread down with a shining heavy object at the end and used in calculation.

Two apparatuses, closely connected with each other, are the following:

3. To a rod (fig. 17) the triangle with the plumb-line is attached. To its two ends two threads with weights at the ends are attached, a and b .

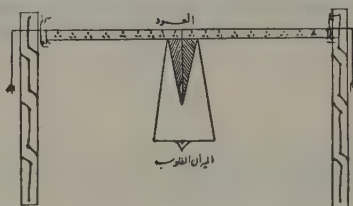


Fig. 17.

Two posts 1 and 2 are erected at the points, the difference in level of which is to be ascertained. The one thread is fastened to the end of the lower post 1 and the other hung along and over the post 2 until its weight comes to rest. The amount of shifting of the thread measures the difference in height (al-Khāzinī, see below).

4. The *murḍijāl* (the bat, fig. 18) consists of an equilateral triangle with a plumb-line which hangs from the middle of one side. The triangle is suspended by this side. Two rods, an ell in length, are erected 10 ells apart; a rope is passed from the top of one to the top of the other and by two threads a and b the *murḍijāl* is suspended in its centre. If the plumb-line goes through the apex of the triangle, both places are on the same level, if not, one is raised by putting stones below it for example; but the end of the rope can, as in 3, be moved along (Ibn Luyūn, see below).

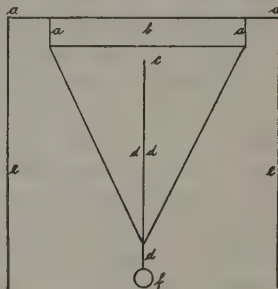


Fig. 18.

5. In the Paris manuscript N^o 2468, an unknown author describes 3 apparatuses for levelling (fig. 19a-c). In the first (*al-mashhūr*, the known) a rod of wood an ell in length is bored through its entire length and tongs with a tongue suspended from its centre (fig. 19a). Through the hole a rope some 15 ells long is drawn which is fastened to the two vertical rods already mentioned. The second apparatus (fig. 19b: *al-shābiḥa*, the similar) corresponds to the *murḍijāl*: only the two threads a and

are replaced by rings which are put over the long rope *aa*. The third arrangement (fig. 19c: *al-anbûb*, the pipe) is also mentioned by al-Karkhî

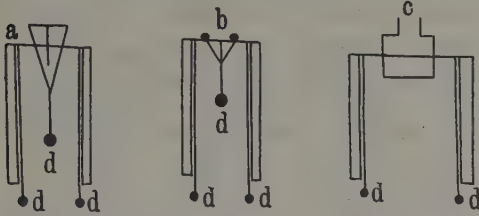


Fig. 19a.

Fig. 19b.

Fig. 19c.

(From the Paris MS. Nr. 1417.

a is the known, *b* the similar
c the pipe, *d* the weight).

and Bahā' al-Dīn but not described; it probably corresponds to our canal-level, a communicating pipe filled with water, such as is very fully described by Hero (*Dioptra*, p. 197 and *loc. cit.*); but he gives it no particular name, probably because it is associated with a dioptra. On the plumb-line of the figure is written *thakkāla* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xxxv., see below).

Tighnārī mentions another instrument called *mizân al-kaḥf*, Ibn Wahshiya (see below) one of brass called *kafar* or *kakar*. Neither are described however. Arab authors who give full descriptions of Arab instruments are the following:

1. Ibn Wahshiya (or Abū Tālib al-Zaiyāt, † 870) in *Kitāb al-Falāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya*, in "the Book of Nabataean Agriculture" (cf. H. Schmeller, in *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der Naturwissensch. und Medizin*, Erlangen 1922, Heft VI, p. 36). His data are supplemented by those of numerous commentators.

2. al-Khāzinī (c. 1100) in the *Kitāb Mizân al-Hikma*; cf. Th. Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum u. Mittelalter*, Diss. Erlangen 1908, p. 159 *sqq.*

3. Ibn al-Awwām (c. 1130) in *Kitāb al-Falāḥa* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x., see below).

4. Abū 'Othmān b. Luyūn (c. 1348) in *Riḍāʾa fi 'l-Falāḥa*, deals with levelling ground etc., and gives notes on al-Tighnārī and others (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x. 317 and Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 302 and 579).

5. Bahā' al-Dīn al-Āmilī, *Essenz der Rechenkunst*, ed. F. Nesselmann (1547–1622, s. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x. 319).

Full details of levelling are given in the astronomical books in discussing the ascertainment of the meridian, e.g. in Kutb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (d. 1311; cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Zeitschr. für Physik*, vol. x., 1922, p. 267), al-Khalkhālī etc. Many books on the astrolabe give information on the subject in discussing surveying problems, e.g. al-Birūnī (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xviii. 59 *sqq.*).

I give once again the names of the levelling instruments:

mizân, *mizân al-bannā'in*, *mizân al-kaḥf*, *mizân al-izur*, *kubṭāl*, *kūniya*, *fādin*, *kādin*, *afādain*, *djafna*, *murḍjīkāl*, *kakar*.

I know of no comprehensive treatise on levelling in connection with canal building etc. in the early Muslim period. For the literature see my *Beiträge*, iii. 229; xviii. 26 and H. Schmeller, *loc. cit.*, p. 41. — For knowledge of these matters in ancient times see C. Merkel, *Die Ingenieurtechnik im Altertum* and H. Diels, *Antike Technik*², Leipzig 1920.

Bibliography: Lerchondi and Simonet, *Crestomatia arabigo española*, Granada 1881, p. 138–139 (see also Ibn Luyūn, i.e. Leon); cf. also Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii., 1888, p. 187–198; K. Schoy, *Die Gnomonik der Araber* (Ibn Yunus), p. 6–7; E. v. Bassermann-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, vol. i., fasc. F, 1923; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x., *Zur Technik der Araber*; iii., *Über Nivellieren und Vermessen*, in S.B.P.M.S. Erl., xxxviii., 1906, p. 310–321; do., *Beiträge*, xviii., N^o. 3: *Geodätische Messungen*, *ibid.*, vol. xli., 1909, p. 59–78; do., *Beiträge*, xxxv.: *Über Nivellieren*, *ibid.*, vol. xlv., 1914, p. 15–16; Kutb al-Dīn, al-Shirāzī, *Nihāyat al-Idrāk fi Dirāyat al-Aḥḥāk* (cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Zeitschr. für Physik*, x., 1922, p. 267; *Verhandlungen der deutschen physik. Gesellschaft.*, 1919, p. 663); al-Marrākushī, *Traité des instruments astronomiques*, ed. L. A. Sédillot, i. 376; Ibn Sinā, *Fī Ittikhād al-Ālat al-raṣḍiyya* (Cod. Leyden, N^o. 1061); cf. also E. Wiedemann, *Über ein von Ibn Sinā (Avicenna) hergestelltes Beobachtungsinstrument*, in *Zeitschr. für Instrumentenkunde*, 1925, p. 269–275; Husain al-Husainī al-Khalkhālī, *Risāla fi 'l-Dā'ira al-hindīyya*, *Abhandlung* (Cod. Gotha, N^o. 1417); Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-'Urdī, *Risāla fi Kaifiyyat al-Irṣād wa-mā yuḥitādu ilā 'l-Imiḥi wa-'Amalihi min al-Turuk al-mu'ad-diya ilā Ma'rifat al-'Awdāt al-Kawākib* etc. (Paris Cod., N^o. 2544; also contains descriptions of the instruments in the observatory at Marāgha; s. H. J. Seemann, *loc. cit.*).

(E. WIEDEMANN)

MIZMÂR means literally "an instrument of piping". In the generic sense it refers to any instrument of the "wood-wind" family, i.e. a reed-pipe or a flute. In the specific sense it refers to a reed-pipe (i.e. a pipe played with a reed) as distinct from a flute, as we know from Ibn Sinā (d. A.D. 1037) who describes the *mizmâr* — a reed-pipe — as an instrument "which you blow into from its end which you swallow", as distinct from an instrument like the *yarâ* — a flute — "which you blow into from a hole". Ibn Zaila (d. 1048) writes similarly but substitutes the Persian word *nây* for the Arabic word *mizmâr*. In Ibn Sinā's Arabic treatise *al-Nadājât* we read of the *mizmâr*, but in the identical passage in his Persian *Dānish-nāma* the word is *nây*. Further, the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* says, "the *mizmâr* is the *nây*" (p. 236). For the present purpose, "wood-wind" instruments (*mazāmīr*) may be divided into: 1. reed-blown types; and 2. pipe-blown types. Among the former we have single reed-pipes of the clarinet, oboe, and saxophone types, as well as double reed-pipes, the bagpipe, and the *chêng*. Among the latter we have the flute and recorder, as well as the panpipes.

a. Reed-blown types. — Single reed-pipes occur in ancient Semitic art and literary remains (Lavignac, i. 35 *sqq.*). Hoary gossip attributes the "invention" to the Persians (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūʾī*, viii. 90), whilst Djāmshīd himself is claimed to have been the actual "inventor" (Ewliyā Čelebi, i. 641). With Islāmic peoples, reed-pipes are found with a conical or cylindrical tube (*unbûb*) pierced with finger-holes (*thukûb*), and played with a single or double beating reed (*kaṣāba*, *kaṣhsha*). Among the Arabs of the viith century, the *mizmâr* finds a place at convivial

parties (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, xvii.), and in the viiith century it is one of the martial instruments of the Jewish tribes of al-Ḥijāz (*Aghānī*, ii. 172). When Islām came, an anathema was placed on reed-pipes mainly, it would seem, on account of the female reed-pipe player (*sammāra*) who, as was common in the East, was looked upon as a courtesan, and, indeed, the terms *sammāra* and *sāniya* became almost synonymous. It is improbable that the Prophet Muḥammad could have referred to a reed-pipe (*mizmār*) in the well-known *ḥadīth* in praise of the chanting (*ḳirā'a*) of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari. The reference was rather to "a *mazmūr* (Hebr. *mizmōr* "psalm") from the *mazmōr* of the House of David" (cf. my *Hist. of Arabian music*, p. 33). In early days, what the Arabs called the *mizmār*, the Persians called the *nāy*, and the latter distinguished the flute by the name *nāy narm* (soft *nāy*). Later they called the reed-pipe the *nāy siyāh* (black-*nāy*) and the flute the *nāy safid* (white *nāy*) because of the colour of the instruments. About the beginning of the ixth century, a musician at the Abbāsid court named Zunām invented a reed-pipe which was named after him the *nāy zunāmī* or *zunāmī* (*Taḍj al-ʿArūs*). What the invention was we can only conjecture. It may have been the cylinder used for altering the pitch of the instrument, or perhaps it was the introduction of a conical tube (see my *Studies*, p. 79, 82). At this period we have no information whether the various reed-pipes had cylindrical or conical tubes or whether they were played with single or double beating reeds. The word *zunāmī* was accorded little recognition in the East, whatever favour the invention itself found. In the West, where the name eventually became vulgarized into *zullāmī*, it became the most important reed-pipe not only in Spain as we know from al-Shakundī (d. 1231; al-Maḳḳārī, *Moh. Dyn.*, i. 59), but also in the Maghrib (Ibn Khaldūn, ii. 353). It became the *xelāmī* of the Spaniards (see also Schiaparelli, s. v.).

The *mizmār* (= *mizmār wāḥid*) is described and delineated by al-Fārābī (d. 950). It had eight holes for fingering, giving a complete octave. He also describes a smaller reed-pipe called the *sur-yānai* (Kosegarten, p. 95; Land, p. 122; D'Erlanger, p. 262). One special feature of this instrument was called the *sha'ira*. In the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm* (p. 237) we read: "The *sha'ira* of the *mizmār* is its head, and it is that by which it is made narrow and wide [in compass]". It was actually the cylinder inserted into the head of the instrument which lowered the pitch when required (see my *Studies*, p. 82), a device called later the *ṣawḳ* (*Kanz al-Tuḥaf*) or *faṣl* (Villoteau). It was called the *sha'ira* perhaps on account of the button at the top of the cylinder which was turned round. The word *sur-yānai* came to be modified into *sur-nāy* and then *sur-nā*. Popular etymology opined that the word was derived from *sūr* "fête" and *nāy* "reed", but this form only appears in the lexicons (*Burhān-i ḳāṭi*). Some moderns even write *ṣurnāy*. The *sur-nāy* found its way into martial music as early as the beginning of the ixth century (*Aghānī*, xvi. 139: the text has *sur-nāb*).

In the xth century, Ibn Zaila shows how, by devices in the fingering and embouchure, other notes were obtained on the reed-pipe (Pers. *nāy*). In the Persian *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* (xivth cent.) the *mizmār*, also called the *nāy siyāh*, is both de-

scribed and delineated. More valuable is the explanation of the actual making of the beating reed with which the instrument was played, from which we learn that it was a double reed. In the next century a Turkish author Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrullāh copied extensively from this work (Lavignac, i. 3012). Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) says that all the notes could be obtained on the *zamr siyāh nāy* by accommodating the fingering and the embouchure. The smaller instrument, the *sur-nā*, was defective in the upper octave he says. A similar type of reed-pipe to the latter called the *balabān* is also mentioned by him. Ewliyā Čelebī says that it came from Shīrāz. In the Muḥammad b. Murād Treatise (xvth cent.) we learn that the *nāy aswad* (= *nāy siyāh* = *mizmār*) was 27 cm. long.

With the Turks, the Persian word *sur-nā* had been altered to *zurnā* and the term had become common to both the *zamr* (= *mizmār*) and *sur-nā* in the East. Ewliyā Čelebī (xviith century) mentions among the Turkish reed-pipes of his day the *ḳabā zurnā* or *ʿadjamī zurnā*, the *ʿarabī zurnā*, the *aṣafī zurnā*, and the *shihābī zurnā* (a Moroccan reed-pipe). He also speaks of the *ḳurnāṭa* which, he says, was an English invention (i. 642). If this is the same as the *ḳurnaiṭa*, it was the clarinet, an instrument which Denner is said to have "invented" about 1690, which is after its mention by Ewliyā Čelebī. The Persians still continued to call their reed-pipe the *sur-nā*, and a xviith century design of the instrument is given by Kaempfer. Both Russell in Syria (i. 155) and Villoteau in Egypt (i. 356 sq.) refer to several kinds of reed-pipes in use in the xviiith century.

The latter delineates these and describes them fully. They are three, the *ḳabā zurnā* or *zamr al-ḳabir*, the *zamr* or *zurnā*, and the *zurnā dījurā* or *zamr al-sughaiyir*, the first being 58.3 cm. and the last 31.2 cm. in length. The modern instrument is also delineated by Lavignac, p. 2793; Sachs, p. 428. For specimens see Brussels, Nrs. 122, 355, 357; New York, N^o. 1331.

In the West also we find a new name, or instrument, the *ghaiṭa* or *ghāyṭa* [q. v.]. It is said to have been introduced by the Turks (Delphin and Guin, p. 48) but the name is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1377) who likens the Mesopotamian *sur-nāy* to the Maghriban *ghaiṭa* (ii. 126). There are, however, two kinds of *ghaiṭa*, one — a cylindrical tube blown with a single reed, and another — a conical tube blown with a double reed. This may explain why *ghaiṭa* does not always equate with *sur-nāy* and *mizmār* in the West (*Tadhkirat al-Nisyan*, p. 93; Muḥammad al-Saghīr, p. 34). The cylindrical tube instrument is known in Egypt as the *ghīṭa*. For details see Bū ʿAlī, p. 103; Delphin and Guin, p. 47. For specimens and designs see Höst, p. 261, tab. xxxi.; Brussels, N^o. 351; New York, Nrs. 402, 2824; Lavignac, p. 2921.

A reed-pipe that became quite famous in Western Europe was the *būḳ* played with a reed. The original *būḳ* [q. v.] was a horn or clarion, and was made of horn or metal. Pierced with holes for fingering, and played with a reed, a new type of instrument, somewhat similar to the modern saxophone, was evolved. In the xth century, this *būḳ* was "improved" by the Andalusian Caliph al-Hakam II (*Bibl. de autores Españ.*, li. 410). Ibn Khaldūn, who describes it, says that it was the best instrument of the *zamr* family (ii. 353). Ibn Ghaibī,

in his holograph MS. in the Bodleian Library, writes *bāḡ*, but adds, "also called *būḡ*", but the latter remark has been deleted. It appears to be delineated in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Riaño, fig. 41, b.).

Another interesting instrument is the *ʿIrāḡiya* or *ʿIrāḡya*, which may have been the forerunner of the European *rackett*. It has a cylindrical pipe and is played with a double reed. It is probably the descendant of the *Nāy al-ʿIrāḡī* that al-Ḡhazālī (d. 1111 A.D.) speaks of. It is delineated and fully described by Villoteau (i. 943 sq.). Examples are given at Brussels, N^o 124; New York, N^o 2861.

With Islāmic peoples, reed-pipes belong to outdoor music. Just as we see them in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* as being essential to folk, ceremonial, processional, and martial music, so they are today, and probably have always been.

Double reed-pipes. Ibn Ḳhurḍādhbih says that the Persians "invented" the double reed-pipe called the *diyānai* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 90), the earliest instrument of this type that we know by name in Arabic literature, although it appears in the viiith century frescoes at Ḳusair ʿAmrā (Musil, pl. xxiv.). It has been suggested that the word should be *dūnāy*, but *diyānai* is also given by al-Fārābī (see my *Studies*, p. 57), who describes and delineates the instrument which, he says, was also called the *mizmār al-muḥannā* or *muḥawwāj*. The two pipes were of equal length and each was pierced by five finger-holes, which gave an octave between them. Probably the instrument known in the Middle Ages as the *zummāra* (vulg. *zummāra*) was actually the old *diyānai*, although it merely equates with *fistula* in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (xith century) and the *Vocabulista* (xiiith century). As early as the xiiith century we read of the *mauṣūl* in Egypt (al-Makrīzī, i. 136). The name itself means "joined" (see my *Studies*, p. 78), and it was doubtless a double reed-pipe. Since the xviiith century at least, *zummāra* has been the name for this instrument in the East (cf. Niebuhr, i. 145), and Lane (p. 367) describes and delineates it. It has cylindrical tubes and is played with single beating reeds. It is to be found with a varying number of finger-holes and is named accordingly (Sachs, p. 433). In the Maghrib it is called the *maḡrūn* and *maḡrūna* (Lavignac, p. 2793; *R. A.*, 1866), whilst in Syria it is given a vulgarized or metathetical form of the old *muḥawwāj* (cf. Sachs, p. 257; Dalman, *Pal. Divan*). For specimens and descriptions see Brussels, Nrs. 115-118; New York, Nrs. 2167, 2633; and *Z.D.P.V.*, 1927, p. 19. Specimens in my collection range from 18 to 43 cm. in length.

Another type of double reed-pipe has only one pipe pierced with finger-holes, whilst the other serves as a drone. This also carries the name of *zummāra* when the two pipes are of the same length (cf. Niebuhr, i. 145). When the drone pipe is longer than the chanter pipe it is known as the *arghūl* (*arghūn*, *Mushārḡa*, p. 29; *ʿarkūn*, Lavignac, p. 2812) in modern times (cf. Freytag, *Chrest. Arab.*, 1834, p. 34) in Egypt and Syria. Villoteau (i. 962) gives a detailed description with scales and designs of three sizes, 107, 82.6 and 38.6 cm. in length. (In South Kensington Museum there is one 144 cm. long). Like the preceding instrument it is played with single beating reeds. The drone pipe is furnished with additional tubes (*ziyādāt*) which are affixed to lower the pitch.

In Syria the smaller type of *arghūl* is named the *maṣhūra*, a most significant name, in spite of it being ignored in the lexicons. Lane (p. 367) figures a six finger-holed instrument which, he says, was used at *dhikrs*, and by Nile boatmen. For specimens see Brussels, Nrs. 342-346; *Z.D.P.V.*, 1927, pl. 2.

Bagpipe. An ancient instrument in the Orient. Just prior to Islām we have it figured on Sāsānian sculptures (Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii., pl. 64). We do not know its ancient Semitic name, but Ibn Sinā and Ibn Zaila mention it as the *mizmār al-djirāb*, describing it as being played by "an artificial contrivance". Although Niebuhr (i. 146) calls it the *zummārat al-kirba*, and Lane, p. 386 names it the *zummāra bi-suʿn*, the more general term used in Arabic speaking countries is *zakra*, although we find *mizawd* used in Tunisia (Von Hornböstel, p. 4). The word *zakra* is given variations by some European writers as in the *zūḡkara* of Villoteau (i. 970) and the *sūḡkara* of Rouanet (Lavignac, p. 2812). In Persia, the bagpipe has long been known as the *nāy anḡān* and *nāy maṣḡk* or *maṣḡkak* (*Burhān-i ḡāfi*) from whence the Hindūstānī name *maṣḡk* or *mushḡuk* (Tagore, p. 24; Day, p. 151). In Turkey, the older word was *ṭulum*, *ṭulum* or *tuṭum* (Meninski, Sachs; cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, i. 642: *ṭulum dūdūk*), but *ghaidā* would appear to be equally popular, and this name is to be found throughout the Balkan countries (cf. Arab. *ghaiṭa*; Span. *gaita*; Engl. *wayghte*).

The bagpipe used by Islāmic peoples is generally equipped with a chanter pipe (with five or six finger-holes) and mouthpiece, but rarely with a drone pipe. The chanter, terminating in a horn bell (Schallstück), is often double, a feature which was probably the original reason for the term *zummāra* being used with the bagpipe. The woodwork is sometimes inlaid with metal, whilst another feature is the adornment of the instrument with tassels, beads, shells, and other trappings. Designs may be found in Niebuhr (tab. xxvi.) and Sachs (p. 434), and actual specimens in Brussels, N^o 372.

Instrument of free reeds. The Chinese *chēng* is such an instrument. Probably it was not used by Islāmic peoples although known to them. The *chēng* is described in the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm* as follows: "The *mustak* is a musical instrument of the Chinese. It is made of compounded tubes (*anābīb*), and its name in Persian is *bīṣha mushṭa*" (p. 237). We get a little more information from Ibn Ḡhaibī who informs us that the *ṭubṭīḡ* or *mūsikār-i khatāy*, was made of tubes of reed joined together. It was blown through a tube and the notes were obtained by finger-holes. For description and designs see Van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, p. 80.

6. Pipe-blown types. — The flutes of the Arabs, Persians and Turks, unlike those of Western Europe, are played vertically, a current of air being blown across the orifice (*manṣakh*) at its head. Ewliyā Čelebi (i. 623, 636, 642 read قوال

not قوال) is not sure whether it was Pythagoras or Moses who "invented" the first instrument of this type, the shepherd's flute, called the *ḡawāl* (cf. *καυλός*). Ibn Ḳhurḍādhbih says that it originated with the Kurds (al-Masʿūdī, viii. 90), and Ibn Ḡhaibī (*Sharḡ al-Adwār*) says that this instrument was the *nāy abyad* (white *nāy*). We know from Ibn al-Aʿrābi (d. 846) that the Arabs called

this flute or reed-pipe the *shiyā*^c. A characteristic of the Arab flute was its length, hence the ancient Greek proverb which likened a talkative person to an Arabian flute (*Menandri Fragm.*).

In the early days of Islām, the Arabs called their flute the *kuṣṣāba* (later modified into *kaṣaba*), and this is the name used by the poets al-A'ṣhā (d. 629) and Ru'ba b. al-ʿAdjdjādī (viiith century). These terms fell into desuetude in the East when Persian musical influences were at their height. The Persians called their flute the *nāy narm* (soft *nāy*) so as to distinguish it from the *nāy* proper and the *surnāy*, which were reed-pipes, and so the Arabs of the East called their flute the *nāy*, although in the West the old word *kuṣṣāba* or *kaṣaba* was retained. Another term for the flute in early days, perhaps a different kind, was *yarā*^c (*Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm*, p. 236), and in the xth century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* it equates with *calamaula*. In the xiiith century it was still a common name with Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (p. 9) in the East, and with al-Shakundī in the West (al-Makkarī, i. 59, read *yarā*^c not *barā*^c). In the contemporary *Vocabulista in Arabico* it (*yarā*) agrees with *fistula*. The words *haira'a* and *hair'a* (al-Djawharī, al-Firūzābādī) would appear to be vulgar forms of *yarā*^c.

Whilst the diminutive *kaṣība* (*kuṣaiba*) sometimes occurs in reference to a small flute, *shabbāba* and *shabāb* (*Ṣhabba* "to grow up") were the more general terms used in Irāk (*Iḥwān al-Ṣafā*, i. 97), Egypt (al-Makrīzī, i. 136), Spain (al-Shalāḥī, *Voc. in Arab.*), and the Maghrib (Ibn Khaldūn, ii. 352). It became the *exabebe* of Western Europe. Another name for a small flute was *djuwāk*, and this word also found a place with the Latins as the *joch* (Du Cange). In Persia, the small flute was called the *pīsha* (*Kanz al-Tuhaf*), hence the Balkan *piscoin* and *pisak*.

We read of the *nāy* in the *Aghānī* (ix. 71) but we cannot be sure whether it was a flute or a reed-pipe. Al-Fārābī (Kosegarten, p. 45) ignores the flute (*nāy*) and says that it was inferior (*ukhur*) to the *mizmār* (reed-pipe), but it soon gained wide recognition in chamber music probably by reason of *ṣūfī* appraisal and the *dhikr* of the *darwish*. Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 1294) describes the *nāy* with eight holes for fingering, the thumb-hole at the back being called the *shudjā*^c ("vehement"), its name revealing its function. In the Persian *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xivth cent.) we find two very small flutes mentioned, but in the *Sharḥ al-Adwār* (xvth cent.) we find that the *nāy abyāḍ* was normally 63 cm. long. Five larger sizes are given, the longest being 99 cm., with two smaller sizes, the limit being 31.5 cm. Ibn Ḡhaibī also registers several varieties including the *nāy bamm* of 67.5 cm. approximating in pitch to the *bamm* string of the lute, and the *nāy sir* of 33.75 cm. approximating to the *sir* string. Ewliyā Ćelebī (xviiith cent.) gives the names of a number of Turkish flutes (i. 623) including the *shāh manşūr*, the *dāwūdī*, and the *bol-āheng*. Villoteau (i. 954) describes and delineates the Egyptian instruments of the late xviiith century. The largest, 77 cm. long, was the *nāy shāh* (= *shāh nāy*), and the smallest, 48.8 cm. long, was the *nāy djiraf*, the *kirāft* of modern Syria (Mushārka, p. 29). Other flutes named by him are the *nāy kushuk*, the *nāy sufurdja* (? *supurda*), the *nāy muṭlak*, and the *nāy ḥusainī*. In Turkey the *supurda* is the smallest

flute used in chamber music (Lavignac, p. 3019). Turkish and Egyptian flutes are usually well made, with a head to support the lips. In Palestine and the Maghrib they still retain, more or less, a primitive appearance, and although the seven holed flute is common (Christianowitsch, pl. 2), the five and six holed instrument has acceptance (Delphin et Guin, p. 45: *Z. D. P. V.*, 1927, pl. 1). In the Maghrib the flutes in the orchestras still retain the name of *kaṣaba* (vulg. *kaṣba*), and they are generally about 40 cm. long, whilst the *djuwāk* or *shabbāba* (*shabāb*) is smaller. In the interior, longer flutes like the *giblī* and *sudāssi* may be found. Delphin and Guin give an account of these.

The recorder, or flûte à bec, also found favour in the East. This is the Arabic *nāy labak* (mouth *nāy*), the Persian *sūt*, the Turkish *dūdük*, and the Hindūstānī *alghūza*. As early as the *Iḥwān al-Ṣafā* and the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm* (xth cent.) we read of the *ṣaffāra*, which was doubtless a flûte à bec (see my *Studies*, p. 83). Villoteau (i. 951) says that it was an instrument of this type in his day in Egypt. The *dūdük* or *dūdük* is mentioned by Ewliyā Ćelebī in nine different species (i. 642), and is also mentioned by Ḥājjdī Khalifa (i. 400). The *shāhin* would appear to have been a small three-holed recorder such as was common with pipe and tabor players in Mediaeval Western Europe. It was played with the fingers of one hand, the other hand being used for beating the *ṭabl* or drum, hence the phrase in al-Ḡhazzālī: "the *shāhin* of the drummer (*ṭabbāl*)".

Panpipes are also common to the folk. Both Pythagoras and Moses are credited by Ewliyā Ćelebī (i. 624, 636) with the "invention" of the *mūsikār* or panpipes. Although the word stands for "a composer of melodies" in the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm* (see also Meninski), it referred to a musical instrument in the xvth century (*N. E.*, xiv. 312). A contemporary writer, Ibn Ḡhaibī, says that "the *mūsikār* is one of the [wind instruments with] free pipes. Its notes are determined by size [of pipes]. The longest have the low notes, and the shortest the high notes". We find the instrument called *mūsikāl* (*Farhang-i Shūʿarī*) whilst Ḥājjdī Khalifa (i. 400) has *mithkāl*, and Toderini (i. 237) *mescal*, which probably gave birth to the Roumanian *muscal*. The term *mūsikāl* survived up to modern times (Villoteau, i. 963), but the more general word used today (Mushārka, p. 29) is *djanāḥ*. (Pedro de Alcalá [1503] mentions a harp by this name, but perhaps he confused the name with *djanḳ*). Russell (*The Natural History of Aleppo*, i. 156) writing in Syria in the xviiith century says that panpipes were to be found with from three to twenty-three pipes. Kaempfer, p. 743, delineates a xviiith century Persian instrument.

The names of instruments in the *mazāmīr* group in Arabic are legion. Many of those not mentioned in this article are regional and are of folk origin, their source being often discernable, such as in the *zamdjara* and *zamkhar*, to name only two. More interesting however, are the older words like *hundūka*, *naḳīb* and *zanbāk*. The first two occur in al-Firūzābādī (d. 1414), and *naḳīb*, which equates with *mizmār*, reminds us of the much debated passage in *Ezekiel*, xxviii. 13. *Zanbak* occurs in al-Azharī (d. 981) and even earlier (cf. Lane). The Greek *σαμβούκη* and the Latin *sambuca* were stringed instruments, and Isidore of Seville's *sambuca* as a "wood-wind" instrument has long been

suspect, but since *zanbaḡ* is to be found in Arabic equating with *zammāra* and *mizmār* there would appear to be good reason for accepting Isidore of Seville.

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(H. G. FARMER)

MIZWĀR, arabicised form of the Berber *amzwar*, he who precedes, he who is placed at the head, equivalent to the Arabic *muḡaddam* and like this frequently has in North Africa the meaning of chief of a religious brotherhood (*ṭarīḡa*, q. v.), the superintendent of a *zāwiya* [q. v.] or the chief of a body of *shorfa* (q. v., dialect form from the class. plur. *shurafa'*). In those districts of the Maghrib, where the old Berber organisation has survived, mainly in the Great Atlas and Central Atlas, *amzwar* is sometimes the equivalent of *anṣūs*, the political adviser to a body; cf. R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc* (Paris 1930, p. 222).

The term *mizwār* (or *mazwār*) is early found in the histories of the Maghrib in connection with Almohad institutions. There it means the head of a faction and the corresponding office seems

at this time to be often confused with those of *ḡafīḡ* and *muḡtasib* [q. v.]. In the time of the Mu'minid Caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb [q. v.] al-Manṣūr, each of the twenty-one Almohad tribes had two *mizwārs* "one for the first rank of the hierarchy, i. e. the earliest recruits of the Almohads, and another for those who had joined them later (*ghuzāt*)". (*Kitāb al-Anṣāb*, in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, p. 70; cf. also p. 63—64 and M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, introduction to the translation of the *Masālik al-Aḡḡār* of Ibn Faḡl Allāh al-'Umari, Paris 1927, p. xxxvi).

At the present day, *mizwār* is in constant use in Fās for the *naḡīb* [q. v.] of the principal *Sharīfan* groups who live in this capital.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MÖBEDH, a Persian word which passed into

Arabic in the form *موبذ* or *موبذ*; we also find in Arabic the Persian plural, *mōbedhān*, but usually combined with *mōbedh* in the expression *mōbedhān mōbedh*, which means "chief of the *mōbedhs*", "grand *mōbedh*". It is also found alone (*mōbedhān*) standing for *mōbedhān mōbedh*. The Arabic plural is *marwābidh*. The word is derived from the Pehlevi *magupat*, which means "chief of the *magi*" and therefore indicates a priestly office; according to al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishkrāf*, B. G. A., vii. 103, the word would mean *ḡafīḡ al-dīn* and be derived from *mu* = "religion" and *badh* = "protector", and according to al-Ya'qūbī (*Tarīḡh*, i. 207) 'alim al-'ulamā'. In Armenian texts the word is rendered by *mogpet*, in the Greek acts of martyrs by *μαυπτᾶς μαυπτᾶς μαυπτᾶς μαυπτᾶς*; in Syriac and especially in the acts of the Persian martyrs not only by *ܡܒܕܗ*, but also by *ܡܒܕܗܐ*; in one passage (Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 88, cf. below), the word *ܡܒܕܗܐ* is used immediately before *ܡܒܕܗܐ*. The Syriac has also *rēsh mgūshī* or *rēshā damegūshē* corresponding to the Greek ἀρχιμαγῶς ἀρχιεπιστῶν τῶν μαγῶν. We have no satisfactory information regarding the functions of the *mōbedhs*; we know more about those of the chief of the *mōbedhs* or *mōbedhān mōbedh*. The information given below relates to the Sāsānian period, a period in which the clergy were reorganised and which is reflected in the Arabic and Persian Muslim sources.

In the later *Avesta* we find references to the sacerdotal organisation but the names do not agree with those of the Sāsānian period; for example the principal office, that given in the Sāsānian period to the *mōbedhān mōbedh*, is called *Zarathustrotēma*, and had judicial functions like the chief of the *mōbedhs*. The term *magupat* is only found in the Pehlevi commentaries on the *Avesta*.

The sources from which we can extract information about the *mōbedh*, and the *mōbedhān mōbedh* or chief of the *mōbedhs*, are of course Pehlevi or go back to Pehlevi texts. Among the former which have come down to us is the *Bundahishn* which among other things contains a list of *mōbedhān mōbedh*; the *Arda Wirāf Nāmak*; the *Kārnāmaki Artakshshir-i Pāpakān* (transl. by Nöldeke in the *Benfey-Festschrift* = *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, iv., 1878, and by Pagliaro in *L'Epica e il Romanzo nel Medio Evo persiano*, Florence 1927; a part of the text 1—3 is reprinted in the *Hilfsbuch für das Pehlevi* by Nyberg); the *Mātikān-i ḡazār Dāte*.

stān, a legal work studied by Bartholomae in *Zum sasanidischen Recht, Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1922, is valuable for our knowledge of the judicial functions of the *mōbedhs* and *mōbedhān mōbedh*; a few short moral treatises preserving traces of law (cf. Pagliaro in *R. S. O.*, x., 1925, p. 468—577) etc. The numerous references to the *mōbedhs* and the *mōbedhān mōbedh* which we find in Persian and Arabic sources come from lost Pehlevi sources or Arabic and Persian versions of them. Thus the *Book of Kings* especially in the latter part contains some information about the *mōbedhs* but nothing very full or precise about their functions; the matter of the *Shāhnāma* is taken, as we know, from a Persian prose version of the *Khwadānāmagh*. The version which we have of the letter of Tansar (publ. and transl. by Darmesteter in *J. A.*, 1904, i.) gives very interesting information about the Sāsānian hierarchy and also about the *mōbedhs*; it comes from a Pehlevi document which, according to Christensen, goes back not to the time of Ardashīr but rather to that of Khusrāw the Great (cf. *Empire des Sasanides*, 111—112, and more recently *Abersam et Tansar*, in *Acta Orientalia*, x. 43 sqq.).

The numerous writers in Arabic and Persian whose works give us notes on the *mōbedhs* derive their matter, as regards Persia, from information supplied directly by contemporary *mōbedhs* or grand *mōbedhs*, from Pehlevi works translated into Arabic (especially the translations of Ibn al-Mukaffāʿ) which no longer exist, such as the *Khwadānāmagh* and the *ʿĀin-nāma* or “book of offices” (*Kitāb al-Rusūm*; cf. below). Of great importance is the *Kitāb al-Tādj* or *Akhlaq al-Mulūk* by al-Djāhiz (cf. F. Gabrieli, in *R. S. O.*, x. [1928], p. 232—308) and others written by al-Djāhiz himself and the *Kitāb al-Maḥāsīn wa 'l-ʿAddād* which is attributed to him; very important also are the works of the historians, chroniclers, geographers and polygraphers or men of letters like al-Yaʿqūbī, Ibn Qutaiba, al-Dinawari, al-Ṭabari, al-Masʿūdī, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, al-Thaʿālibī, al-Nuwairī, al-Shahrastānī, etc.

Of course all these sources bear different relations to the Pehlevi originals or to one another and they differ greatly in value, apart from the fact that they frequently combine legendary matter with accurate statements, e.g. some concerning certain of the functions of the *mōbedhs*.

Information of value can also be extracted from Syriac, Greek (especially Acts of Martyrs) and Armenian (historians etc.) sources.

Even by combining all these sources it is not possible to give a precise account of the office of *mōbedh* in the Sāsānian ecclesiastical hierarchy as laid down in the organisation of the kingdom attributed to Ardashīr (cf. *Kitāb al-Tādj*, p. 23—30) nor to follow its developments (cf. the letter from Tansar, al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 103—104 and *Murūdj*, ii. 156; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, i. 202; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 193; transl. Haarbrücker, i. 292). Nothing definite can be deduced from the Parsi hierarchy of the present day as the ecclesiastical organisation has profoundly changed. But we may assume that high priests regularly called *mōbedhs* were given the task of supervising in the different divisions of the empire (one might say dioceses) the very varied work of the hereditary clergy, the *magi*, who had so great an influence over the lives of the Persians; that is to say not only the very elaborate ceremonies of worship, the sacrifices, the care of the pyres, but also the cure of souls

and the education of the people. These *mōbedhs* and their chief (cf. below) were like all priests the repositories of learning, profane as well as sacred (cf. *Tanbih*, p. 97, where there is an allusion to the unbounded knowledge of the *mōbedhs* and *herbedhs*) and the Arab writers must also have obtained information from *mōbedhs* (cf. Inostranzen, *Études sassanides*, p. 10). The *mōbedhs* had also judicial functions (cf. below); in the Acts of the martyrs they appear vested with executive power; but since courts of inquiry were composed of lay officers and priests, it is probable that this power was exercised by the whole college or by delegation. It is also certain that the title of *mōbedh* is not applied exclusively to these heads of administrative divisions or dioceses (of whom it is nevertheless characteristic) because at the court of the king, according to the sources, especially the *Shāhnāma*, there were many high priests called *mōbedhs* or *herbedhs* who formed a kind of council around the grand *mōbedh* (cf. below) or who had other special offices. Gradually the name *mōbedh* must have come to mean, as at the present day, a priest fully qualified to do everything in connection with worship. The other terms for Persian priests seem to refer rather, either to their dignity (e.g. *dastūr*) or to functions occasionally performed by them [cf. ZOROASTRIANISM]. *Rat* and *magupat* are sometimes put on the same level. The relation of the *mōbedh* to the other degrees of the hierarchy like the *herbedh*, another office (perhaps teacher) having supervision over a body of priests, is not clear. Al-Masʿūdī says in the *Tanbih*, p. 103, that *herbedhs* were lower in rank than *mōbedhs*.

At the head of the hierarchy of priests were no doubt the *herbedhān herbedh* or chief of the *herbedhs* and the *mōbedhān mōbedh* or chief of the *mōbedhs*. Tansar, the writer of the famous letter, is called by the *Dēnkart*: *herbedhān herbedh*, according to Darmesteter “chief of the religion”, while al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 99) calls him better the *mōbedh* of Ardashīr. Indeed it is quite certain from our sources that the supreme head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was the chief of the *mōbedhs* (*mōbedhān mōbedh*) who was also the first dignitary of the court; all the power of the Zoroastrian clergy which constituted a state within the state was concentrated in this pontiff. Al-Masʿūdī in the *Tanbih*, p. 103, says of his rank that it was almost equal to that of a prophet.

In accounts of the ceremonial of the Sāsānids, he is always given first place and he frequently appears surrounded by a council of high priests, *herbedhs* or *mōbedhs*. Besides all the functions which he exercised as head of the clergy, i.e. the supervision of the whole religious life of the country, the settlement of theological questions, of problems of ecclesiastical policy, the appointment and dismissal of ecclesiastical officials, he had others which we must outline. Christensen thinks he can deduce from several sources (letter of Tansar, al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 103—104; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, p. 1—202), that four or five high officials formed with the king a kind of ministry, the composition and number of members of which perhaps changed from time to time but which always included the *mōbedhān mōbedh* (cf. e.g. the *Shāhnāma*, ed. Mohl, vi. 223 where the *mōbedh* is called the king's vizier). But he was also supreme judge as head of the *mōbedhs* of the administrative divisions, as the latter were the

judges of higher degree in their respective areas. It is evident from the studies of Bartholomae on Pehlevi legal texts (and especially on the *Mātikān-i hazār Dātestān*; cf. *Zum Sasanidischen Recht*, p. 34, etc.) that in the different districts there were judges of first instance and of two degrees (*kas* lower, *mas* higher), above whom was the *mōbedh* of the district. The supreme judge was ultimately the *mōbedhān mōbedh* whose final sentence could not be disputed. For the judicial functions of the *mōbedhs* it is interesting to consult the acts of the Persian martyrs in Syriac and Greek (cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880; the texts of Beḍjan, etc., in *Patrologia Orient.*, etc.). The Arab writers also give us a pretty clear idea, especially as regards the *mōbedhān mōbedh*; for example in Ṭabarī, i. 952; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 230, the *mōbedhān mōbedh* in advising the king in the matter of the son of Dhū Yazan, lays particular stress on the young man's right to have his prayer granted; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* (ii. 156) and *Tanbih*, p. 103, calls him *kādi 'l-kuḍāt*; in the *Murūdj* also (ii. 211) we are told in connection with the abuses of Hurmuz son of Khusrāw that, having abolished the jurisdiction of the *mābedhs*, the good old tradition and the ancient laws fell into desuetude. In al-Tha'libī, *Hist. Pers.*, p. 506-7, we find two answers which are interesting in this connection; they were given by the *mōbedhān mōbedh* to the king, who had consulted him with regard to the sentence of death to be pronounced against his chief wife and his cook; in the *Kitāb al-Tādj*, p. 78 it is related that king Kawādḥ full of admiration for a subtle answer given by the *mōbedh* exclaimed: "It is with justice that kings have given you the first place and that they have entrusted you with the control of jurisdiction!"

Some Arabic sources also allude to the court of justice which was held on the occasion of the great festivals of the *Nawrūz* and the *Mihrdjān* (e.g. *Kitāb al-Tādj*, p. 159-63; *al-Maḥāsīn wa 'l-Addād*, p. 359-65; al-Birūnī, *al-Athār al-bakiya*, ed. Sachau, p. 215-219, 222-223; *Siyāset-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 38-40, etc.). According to these stories, the people on those days had the right to bring any complaint against the king before a commission of which the grand *mōbedh* was the most important member; the first complaint was judged by the grand *mōbedh* who thus had the right to condemn the king, the latter having pronounced a formula of submission, kneeling before him. The complaints that followed were judged by the king. According to al-Nuwairī, the *mōbedh* also offered to the king on these ceremonial occasions a basket of fruits over which he had uttered a prayer. Tansar's letter (*J. A.*, 1904, p. 544-545) informs us that in the procedure laid down by Ardāshīr for designating the heir to the throne the grand *mōbedh* played the most important part, that is to say he proclaimed the new heir chosen by divine inspiration should it happen that the other dignitaries summoned to deliberate with him were not in agreement. The position of the grand *mōbedh* as intimate councillor and mentor of the king who placed complete confidence in him (he is often called "councillor of the king") is very clear in the *Shāhnāma* as well as in the Arabic and Persian sources (cf. al-Tha'libī p. 504-505; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 171 where Bahrām son of Bahrām, son of Hurmuz, addresses

the grand *mōbedh*: "Thou, support of religion, councillor of the king and the man who directs his attention to affairs of state neglected by him"). According to al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 104, only the *mōbedhs* and a few other high officials of state possessed a copy of the *Gāhnāme* or register of offices, a very large book, forming part of the *Ā'in-nāma* (an *Ā'in-nāma* was translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffa' with the title *Kitāb al-Rusūm*).

Among the details which are preserved in the sources about the grand *mōbedh*, we are told that he was one of the three who shared the king's table in time of war when the royal meals were very frugal; and that when a victory was won, he along with other dignitaries pronounced a discourse (*Kitāb al-Tādj*, p. 173-174). A very marked feature in the sources is the wisdom of the grand *mōbedh* and indeed of all the *mōbedhs* (cf. below). In the *Shāhnāma* (we pick out only a few of the more interesting episodes) the Byzantine ambassador who was, the grand *mōbedh* tells Khusrāw, of the school of Plato, puts seven questions to the *mōbedh* which he answers (Mohl, vi. 3 sqq.) and thus excites the admiration of the king. In this story, as usual, the grand *mōbedh* appears surrounded by other priests called *mōbedhs* or *hērbedhs* as the case may be, and he is also given the title *dastūr*. Cf. also the questions put by the grand *mōbedh* to Khusrāw Anūsharwān (Mohl, vi. 394 sqq.) and the assembly of the *mōbedhs* under the presidency of the grand *mōbedh* to put questions to Hormuz son of Anūsharwān (*ibid.*, p. 424-430). Another passage (Mohl, vi. 442 sqq.) describes the heroic piety of the grand *mōbedh* who consoles a high official, a victim of king Hurmuzd, and is poisoned by the latter. The grand *mōbedh* is also represented as interpreting the language of birds (cf. also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 169-170: the dialogue of the owls denouncing the cruelty of king Bahrām son of Bahrām son of Hormuz [276-293 A. D.]), and in al-Ṭabarī (i. 965; Nöldeke, p. 250) he explains the invasion of jackals in the reign of Khusrāw as a punishment for the impiety of the land.

The story is very well known among the Arabs of the dream of the grand *mōbedh* in the night of the birth of the Prophet and his interpretation of other marvellous happenings of the same night (al-Ṭabarī, i. 982 sqq.; Nöldeke, p. 253; *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 150); Hamza al-Isfahānī (ed. Gottwaldt, p. 27) quotes a list of Sāsānian kings drawn up by the *mōbedh* Bahrām son of Mardānshāh (Nöldeke, p. 401).

In religious discussions the steps to be taken against heretics, in the persecutions and inquisitions against the Christians, the *mōbedhs* and the grand *mōbedh* are always most prominent (Hoffmann, *Auszüge*; texts of Beḍjan; *Patrologia Orient.* etc.). Cf. also the articles MAZDAK, ZINDIK.

A list of grand *mōbedhs* of the Sāsānian period and of *mōbedhs* contemporary with the last editors of the book is found in the *Bundahishn*, ch. 33 (Christensen, *Empire des Sasanides*, p. 35). The first grand *mōbedh* appointed by Ardāshīr was, according to Ṭabarī (Nöldeke, p. 9), a man named *Pahr* (?). The *mōbedhān mōbedh* Āturpāt-i Zartuštān lived, according to the Pehlevi sources, 150 years and was grand *mōbedh* for 90. Elisée (Langlois, ii. 230) mentions a grand *mōbedh*, who had the honorific title of Hamakden ("he who knows all religion") on account of his vast theological learning; this title seems to have been often given to the

mōbedhs. A number of names of grand *mōbedhs* are given in various sources, among them the Acts of the Martyrs in Syriac, Greek and Armenian; some are also preserved on the seals published by Herzfeld in his work on the monument of Paikuli. Mazdak was according to some texts *mōbedh* or even grand *mōbedh*. In Ibn al-Fākih, p. 216, we have a description in verse of pictures representing with other dignitaries "their *mōbedh* and their *hērbedh*" who judges ignorantly and iniquitously. On the *zamzamaḥ* cf. the article ZOROASTRIANISM and Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 170 and al-Djāhiz, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī, Cairo 1927, iii. 7, on the *Shu'ūbiya*. It is known that the Zoroastrian clergy played an important part in the *Shu'ūbiya* movement (Inostranetz, *Études sassanides*, St. Petersburg 1909, p. 10—15).

After the Muhammadan conquest the importance of the grand *mōbedh* and of the *mōbedhs* diminished in proportion as Islām spread; our sources of course continue to mention them and Arab writers give information obtained directly from *mōbedhs* (al-Ṭabari, i. 2874, year 31 A.H., mentions the *mōbedh* who advised the governor Māhawaihi not to kill king Yazdagird; al-Mas'ūdi, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, p. 104 gives the name of the *mōbedh* of all Persia in 345 A.H. etc.).

The organisation of the Parsis at the present day is different; *mōbedh* means a priest qualified to perform all the offices of worship. This, however, is beyond the scope of this article.

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MODON, a town in the Morea on the south-west point of Messenia, about 20 miles N.W. of Cape Akritas, opposite the island of Sapienza at the foot of Mount Tomeus. Modon is frequently mentioned in ancient times under the names *Μεδών* and *Μοδών*; from the latter comes the Italian name of the town, Modon, under which it has been known since the middle ages in Europe. In the middle ages it was of much greater importance than in antiquity. The good harbour of the town, sheltered by cliffs of varying heights, has long been a haven of refuge and of supply for ships going from the west to the Levant. Hence pilgrims frequently mention the town and their accounts of their travels even contain maps.

The Arab Idrisi, in his geographical work finished in 548 (1153) for Roger II of Sicily, enumerates many seaports and towns on the mainland of Greece. Among these is Modon of which he records that it is a fortified town and has a citadel which commands the sea (*Géographie d'Edrisi*, ed. A. Jaubert, Paris 1846, p. 305). By the treaty of 1199 with the Byzantine emperor Alexius III, Venice was allowed to trade freely in Modon. The town had suffered severely at the hands of the Venetians in 1125 and again of the Normans in 1146 but

was recovering again slowly. After the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders (1204) and the division of the lands which had previously formed the Byzantine empire, Modon fell to the Venetians, under whose rule it remained for nearly three centuries. It is this period that marks the golden age of the town, which, carefully administered by her merchant princes, developed a new prosperity and became an important and secure centre for trading with Egypt and Syria, while previously it had often been a nest of pirates. In the xvth century the population of Modon was a mixed one of Greeks, Jews, Albanians, Turks, Gipsies and Western Europeans. The Turks of the neighbourhood reared swine which they sold to the townspeople. According to some sources, at the end of the xvth century five thousand swine were exported annually from Modon to Venice. About the same time a settlement of gipsies in Modon is mentioned, who came from Gyppe, a district about forty miles from Modon, from which they said they had fled — for the sake of the Christian faith — and were seeking refuge in all lands with a letter of recommendation from the Pope (cf. *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*, ed. E. v. Groote, Cologne 1860, p. xxviii., 67 sq.; *Z.D.P.V.*, xvii., 1894, p. 144). The fact is, however, that the gipsies of Modon after 1500 went over *en masse* to Islām, about the end of the xviii century were again mainly Christians, outwardly at least, after 1715 again became Muslims and finally after 1821 became Christians again.

During the second half of the xivth century the population of Modon increased considerably for many Christians and Jews of the Peloponnesus, seeking to escape the Turkish yoke, took refuge here. While the town itself was immune, the country round, which was flat, suffered a great deal from the Turks. Thus for example about 1480, the Turks raided this plain and destroyed by fire the olive-trees there. In the last decades of the xvth century, the Venetian republic had much anxiety about Modon and her other possessions in the East, which the Turks had long coveted. In 1499 the Admiral Antonio Grimani was ordered by his government to see to the defence of Modon against the Turks. In July of this year, the Turkish fleet came to the vicinity of Modon and soon afterwards several naval encounters with the Venetian fleet took place. In a naval battle fought on Aug. 8, 1499, outside Modon, the heroic Venetian Andreas Loredano, governor of Corfu, was taken by the Turks and put to death. Another Venetian admiral, Melchior Trevisano, was now entrusted by the Venetian republic with the defence of Modon and her other possessions in the East. At the same time the republic endeavoured to make peace with Turkey, but the negotiations broke down in face of the impossible conditions laid down by Bayazid II. Among other things he insisted on the surrender of Modon. In the meanwhile on March 23, 1500, the Turks had occupied Merona, a little town near Modon. Marcus Gabriel, the commander of Modon, had previously, on February 18, 1500, reported to the Venetian government the great straits of the town. According to his report, the garrison was not sufficient to defend the town against the Turks, and for a successful defence it would require four thousand trained men, in addition to artillery, arms, munitions and gunpowder, which the town lacked. In spite of her difficult financial

situation, Venice managed to provide the town with money, troops and artillery. But the Turkish fleet again appeared before Modon while Bāyazīd II advanced on the town by land at the head of a well equipped army. An attempt by the Venetian fleet under Admiral Hieronymus Contarini to raise the blockade on July 24, 1500 failed with heavy losses. The Turkish fleet, according to the Venetian admiral, had very good artillery. In the meanwhile famine had broken out in the garrison so that they could hold out no longer. Four Venetian galleys were able to steal through the Turkish fleet into the harbour and bring the garrison food, munitions and men, but this could not avert the fate of the town. After a siege of twenty-eight days during which the town was bombarded by heavy artillery, the Turks stormed it. On Sunday, August 9, 1500, the Venetian garrison had to yield to this onslaught.

The lot of the surviving garrison and other inhabitants of the town was a hard one. They were either massacred in most inhuman fashion or sent into slavery. Very few of them succeeded in escaping. But the number of people captured did not come up to the expectation of the Turks, because the Venetian authorities had earlier sent thousands of old men, women and children from Modon to Crete and Zante. Among those who fell at the capture of the town was the Roman Catholic bishop of Modon, Andreas Falcus, a number of prominent Venetians and high officials of other origin. When the news of the capture of Modon by the Turks reached Venice, it was plunged into deep mourning. This is reflected in a letter which the Doge Augustino Barbarigo sent on September 7 to the Pope and several European rulers with reference to the catastrophe. The sole consolation of the Venetians was the deceitful hope that their fleet might succeed in retaking Modon. The Venetian Senate at once saw to the settlement of a number of the refugees from Modon in Cephalonia. Sultān Bāyazīd II regarded the conquest of Modon, at the fortifications of which he was rightly amazed, as a gift from God. When he entered the town as a victorious conqueror, it had already been partly consumed by fire which had been begun by the defenders themselves. The fugitives from Modon, who had taken refuge in Zante, watched the flames that were destroying their homes burn for several days. Sultān Bāyazīd II promoted the first janissary to leap over the walls of Modon to the rank of Sarak-bey. He had two towers built of the skulls of the fallen and massacred Christians and turned the cathedral of the town, the venerable church of St. John, into a mosque. On August 14, 1500, he went to the new mosque to return his thanks in prayer. He then saw to the resettlement of Modon, the walls of which were rebuilt. By imperial decrees, each Peloponnesian village had to send five families to become permanent settlers in Modon, the revenues of which were allotted to Mecca. After a brief stay, Sultān Bāyazīd left his new conquest. He took with him as a prisoner the last Venetian defender of the town, Marcus Gabriel, whose life he had spared with the intention of using him for his own purposes later. The historian Safa'i, a native of Sinope, wrote some time before 1521 an account of the taking of Lepanto (Naupactos) and Modon (*Fethnâme-i Ainabakhli we-Modon*). The brief description of the capture of Modon written by Münshi Seiyid Mehmed also gives details of the sultān's treatment

of the town (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, Leipzig 1909, p. 49).

In 1531 the Knights of St. John endeavoured to take Modon from the Turks and to establish themselves there. To do this they equipped a small fleet under the command of the Abbot Fra Bernardo Salbiati, a nephew of Pope Clement VII. Two Greeks employed in the harbour of Modon and Johannes Skandalis, a Greek from Zante, whose father was a customs officer in Modon, were to assist the enterprise. The fleet, led by Salbiati with two merchant ships, which also concealed soldiers, sailed for Sapienza. The warships were hidden in the vicinity of this island, while the two merchant ships under the guidance of Johannes Skandalis, made for the harbour of Modon. Permission to land was given without trouble to the crews of the two ships, who gave themselves out to be some merchants and some janissaries, and they were allowed to spend the night in the tower at the harbour. Johannes Skandalis and his little body of followers then succeeded in overpowering the Turkish guard at the tower and taking nearly the whole town. The rest of the Turkish garrison shut themselves in the palace which had once housed the Venetian governors of the town, and offered a stubborn resistance. In order to overcome the Turkish garrison the warships hidden at Sapienza were necessary. These now came up, although very late, and bombarded the town with their guns. Scarcely had they begun when a strong Turkish fleet appeared. The Knights and John Skandalis therefore abandoned Modon but not without carrying off some sixteen hundred prisoners.

The years 1532—1534, during which a Spanish force in the service of Charles V occupied the adjoining Coroni, were a critical period for the Turks in Modon. But after this, it was left in peace for a considerable period. The *Travels* of Ewliyā Çelebi who visited the Morea in 1667 to 1668 contain valuable notes on Modon and its vicinity, while Hādjdjī Khalifa (d. 1658) contains nothing essential.

During the war which broke out in 1684 between Turks and Venetians in which Germans, Poles and Russians also shared as allies, Modon with the whole of the Morea was restored to the Venetians. General Francesco Morosini in 1686 broke the resistance of the Turkish garrison with the help of Greek and German troops and secured it for the Adriatic republic. The chief mosque of the city, i. e. the old cathedral, was once more dedicated to Christian worship. Only in 1699 after the peace of Carlowitz, did the Turks recognise the Venetian claim to Modon. Venice now did her utmost to restore the city which, with its commerce, had much declined during the Turkish occupation. Of the seven administrative divisions (*camera*) into which the Venetians had divided the Morea, the third was that of Modon. This district was again divided into four areas (Fanari, Arcadia, Navarino and Modon). From a Venetian record of September 29, 1690, giving the results of a census by the Venetian officials, we see that the district of Modon had been depopulated to an incredible degree. The 218 villages detailed in this list were inhabited by only 11,202 souls. Modon itself, including the citadel, had only 236 inhabitants of whom some must have been Muḥammadans. A large number of villages which at the turn of the xviith—xviiith centuries belonged to the district of Modon, have

Turkish names, some of which survive to this day. These villages were originally fiefs granted to Turks whose names in time passed to the village (cf. S. P. Lambros, in *Delion*, publication of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, vol. ii., 1885, p. 686—710, pl. vii.; thereon *Ἱστορικά Μελετήματα*, Athens 1884, p. 114 sqq.; Pier' Antonio Pacifico, *Breve descrizione corografica del Peloponneso o' Morea*, Venice 1704, p. 125 sqq.).

After the conquest by Morosini whose services to Modon are commemorated in inscriptions still in existence, the town remained for some nineteen years under Venetian rule. In 1715 the grand vizier 'Ali Kumurtzi with the help of a number of Greeks took not only Modon but almost the whole of the Morea from the Venetians in a very short time. The Venetian garrisons of Navarino and Coroni as well as the inhabitants abandoned them when the Turkish army approached in the summer of 1715, in order to take refuge in Modon, which was much more strongly fortified. Soon afterwards the Turkish fleet and army began the siege of the town. After a brief resistance Modon surrendered voluntarily. After the capture of the town the grand vizier ordered a general slaughter of the Christians. Many in the district thereupon adopted Islām in order to save life and property in this way. The Turks who had formerly owned property in Modon or the neighbourhood were allowed by imperial edict to resume possession of it. The peace of Pessarowitz (1718) finally ceded Modon to Turkey. The town recovered from the catastrophe of 1715. From 1725 onwards a busy trade developed between Modon and the lands of North Africa, especially Algeria and Tunis; this trade had existed previously but not to the same extent. Modon played a certain part during the war between Turkey and Russia in 1768—1774. The Russian vice-general Georg Vladimir Dolgoraki in 1769 with 500 Russians, 150 Montenegrians and 100 Greeks (mainly Mainotes) besieged Modon. The Turkish garrison of Modon consisted of 800 janissaries and a large number of Turks of the town and vicinity able to bear arms. The walls of the citadel were in good condition, and the supply of food and munitions ample. The siege lasted a long time; the fighting was conducted mainly by the artillery on both sides. The Russians had also two warships co-operating on the sea. At the end of May 1769, Turks and Albanians from the interior of the Morea came to the help of the besieged who undertook a valiant sortie, when they learned of the approach of help. In the battle that now developed the Russians suffered heavily. They were forced to abandon most of their artillery and to escape to Navarino, from which they sailed with the rest of the Russian army and a few Greek notables. A few years later, the Turks in Modon were still displaying the guns which they had taken from the Russians in 1769. According to reliable sources, the Turkish population of Modon about 1820 was four to five hundred fighting men. About the same time 'Ali Agha was prominent among the Turks of the town for his wealth and in other respects also. The vicinity of Modon was almost exclusively inhabited by Greeks who cultivated the land, which mainly belonged to the Turks, and were despised by them as contemptible menials. During the Greek War of Independence of 1821—1827, all

the attempts of the Greeks to take the town failed. At the end of March 1821, a Peloponnesian force led by the orthodox patriarch of Methone, named Gregory, and other notables, besieged Modon and the adjoining towns of Koroni and Neokastron. The besiegers were joined in the spring by Greeks from the Ionian islands and later by Philhellenes from Europe. On May 18, 1821, Greek ships, under the captains of the Speziots, Nikolaou Mpotasis and Anastasiou Koladrutos blockaded Modon. But neither the Turkish garrison nor the armed Turkish civilians in the town were the least dismayed. On the contrary, they undertook raids in all directions and did their best to impede the progress of Greek emancipation. Many fierce encounters took place between the Turks of Modon and their besiegers. In July 1821, Turkish ships re-provisioned Modon but they were not successful in their attempt to re-provision Neokastron, the garrison of which was in dire straits from want of food and even water. On August 8, 1821, the Turks of Modon decided to attempt the relief of their compatriots in Neokastron, who had in the meanwhile been forced to capitulate to their Greek besiegers. On the road between Modon and Neokastron a battle was fought on August 8, 1821, in which the valiant chief Constantine Pierrakos Mawromichalis, a member of a notable Mainote family, fell. On the same day, the Greeks took Neokastron; but they gradually abandoned the siege of Modon. The town was able to continue to hold out, only, however, with the frequent help of the Turkish fleet.

When Ibrāhīm Pasha, the adopted son of Mehemmed 'Ali, undertook to suppress the Greek rising and to pacify the Morea, Modon and its neighbourhood formed his main base. There he landed troops on February 24, 1825, and dug entrenchments. Modon became an important base for Ibrāhīm Pasha's operations. On October 8, 1828 the town was taken from him by the French General Maison. Not before 1833 the French left and Modon has since then belonged to the Greeks.

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MOGADOR, a town in Morocco on the Atlantic coast. The Bay of Mogador, protected against the north winds by the rocky promontory on which the town is built, against those from the west by an island about 1,000 yards in length, forms a natural harbour which, although not large and inaccessible for ships of large tonnage, has however the merit of being accessible at all seasons, an advantage which secures it a favourable place among the anchorages of the Atlantic coast of Morocco which is, generally speaking, inhospitable. This favoured situation was taken advantage of at a very early period. In spite of the lack of precision in the sources, it is probable that we should seek at Mogador the site of one of the five Phoenician colonies founded by Hanno (vth century). The island seems to have been known as the island of Hera or of Juno. Pliny records that at the end of the first century B.C. the king Juba II founded purple dye-works on the *Purpurariae Insulae*, islands in the Ocean, "opposite the Autololes", a Getulic people who lived in the north of the High Atlas. Getulic purple, which was celebrated at Rome, was supplied by the molluscs abundant on this coast. It is only at Mogador that we find an island and islets which can be identified as the *Purpurariae Insulae*, but no archaeological discovery has yet been made to confirm the deductions made from the ancient geographers.

In the xth century of the Christian era, according to al-Bakrī (who finished his book in 1068), Amogdul, a very safe anchorage, was the port for all the province of Sūs. We see in the name that of a local saint, Sīdī Mogdūl, still venerated in this region, whose tomb is on the bank near the mouth of the Wādī 'l-Kṣob. It is however possible that the saint, of whom we know nothing, gets his name from an old Berber place-name. Mogador is only a Spanish or Portuguese transcription of Mogdūl, through the forms Mogodul, Mogodor, which we sometimes find in the texts. The harbour and the island bear the name Mogodor or Mongodor on a series of portolans of the xivth and xvth century

(publ. by Ch. de la Roncière, *La Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen-âge*, 1925) but there was not a town here, when in Sept. 1506, the king of Portugal Dom Manuel I commanded a gentleman of his court, Diogo d'Azambuja, to build a fortress here which was called *Castello Real* of Mogador. Built with great difficulty in face of the hostility of the natives, the Portuguese stronghold did not long resist them. While at Safi and Santa Cruz of Cape Guer (Agadir), the state of anarchy in which the tribes lived favoured the rapid progress of the Portuguese, it seems that at Mogador they came up against strong resistance probably organised by the old Berber marabout body of the Ragrāga. The garrison had to remain blockaded in Castello Real, revictualled with difficulty from Portugal and Madeira, until in October or November 1510, the tribes were strong enough to seize the fortress in circumstances which we do not know.

A sketch of the xviiith century and plans of the xviiith leave no doubt as to the site of Castello Real. It was situated, not at the mouth of the Wādī 'l-Kṣob, where is now shown an alleged Portuguese fort which however only dates from the end of the xviiith century, but on the shore of the northern passage opposite the island, on the rocky point which supports the mole west of the present harbour. Sometimes abandoned, sometimes more or less restored by the rulers of Morocco, who from time to time kept a small garrison there, the old Portuguese castle survived till 1764 or 1765 and was only destroyed when the town was built.

In spite of the lack of success of the Portuguese attempt, this privileged situation continued to attract the envy of European nations. At the beginning of the xviiith century, Spain, fearing that Moroccan, Algerian or even European corsairs would establish themselves at Mogador, thought of seizing it herself to protect the route to the Indies. At the same time, English agents were thinking of making Mogador a base against Spain. The Sultān Mawlay Zaidān in 1611—1612 and his son 'Abd al-Malik in 1628 drew up a scheme to fortify the place to prevent foreigners from establishing themselves there. This was the time when in France Richelieu and Père Joseph were drawing up schemes for a colonial policy. The Chevalier de Razilly in 1626 suggested to them the occupation of Mogador and the organisation of a factory and fisheries there. He had it reconnoitred in 1629 but found it impossible to take it by surprise.

In spite of so many projects and attempts against it, the island and the shores remained practically deserted. Ships however frequented the roadstead. It was through Mogador that in the first quarter of the xviiith century, the greater part of the trade between Marrākush and Holland took place. Later, in the time of Mawlay Ismā'īl, the harbour was mainly used as a refuge for corsairs who came there to rest and repair their vessels.

In 1751, Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, then *khalīfa* of his father for the district of Marrākush, desiring to develop commercial relations between his subjects and Europe, ceded the island of Mogador to a Danish company, which however preferred to establish a centre at Agadir and was not successful there. A few years later on becoming sultān and having made Marrākush his capital, Sīdī Muḥammad decided himself to found a town at Mogador and to conduct all the commerce of

the south of his kingdom through it, to the greater benefit of the royal treasury, which would obtain not only the customs from this increased trade but also profit by the rents of the buildings, most of which had been built by the sovereign and were his private property. The harbour also served as a base for the corsairs who, through the menace they offered to the fleets of Europe, forced the Christian nations to conclude treaties with the sultān by which he received valuable presents and even sums of money. In order to populate the town and start business in it, he demanded that European consuls and merchants should settle there and have houses built at their own expense.

By 1760 he had begun work but it is from the autumn of 1764 that the foundation of the town really dates; it was given the name al-Suwaïra (Souira), the little fortress, by which it is known to the natives; the name Mogador is only used by Europeans. We also find a Berberised form (*Tasūiri*). The sultān went in person to choose and distribute the sites for the buildings. He had asked the English to send him an architect. They sent him a French "engineer", a native of Avignon, called Nicolas Cournot, who had made the plans for the fortifications of some places in Roussillon. He was an adventurer who, after working in France as a contractor, had entered the English service during the Seven Years' War. He was living at Gibraltar where he entered Sidi Muḥammad's service. The sultān did not gain much by his services and sent him back to France at the beginning of 1767. None of the present buildings in Mogador can be attributed with certainty to Cournot, for after him a number of European architects and masons worked for the sultān, notably a Genoese architect who built the battery called the *skāla* situated on the western rampart facing the sea. Mogador owed to its builders the narrow streets, massive gateways and bastions of European type, the like of which cannot be found in other Moroccan towns and which give it quite a specific character. Sidi Muḥammad also built outside the town a country palace which still stands half buried in sand opposite the little village of Diyābāt.

The dreams of the sultān were only imperfectly realised. The merchants, attracted to Mogador by the promise of a reduction in the export duties on goods, were soon undeceived when they saw that the sovereign did not keep his promises but constantly imposed new burdens on trade. The prosperity of Mogador remained insignificant under Sidi Muḥammad and declined under his successors. The situation of the town, a long way from great cities and main roads, made it frequently used in the sixteenth century as a political prison and compulsory place of residence for high officials in disgrace. Mogador remained however the starting-place for the caravans to Sūs, Mauritania and the Sūdān and has retained from this position a certain commercial importance, to which the opening of the port of Agadir to commerce will now do considerable harm.

On August 15, 1844, after the battle of Isly, a French squadron commanded by the Prince de Joinville, who had just bombarded Tangier, came and bombarded Mogador. It was intended to make an impression on Sultān Mawlay 'Abd al-Raḥmān by striking at a town which belonged to him personally and from which he drew considerable revenues. A three hours' bombardment silenced the batteries; the French army then disembarked on

the island, the garrison of which, entrenched in the mosque, made a vigorous defence until the next morning. On August 16, a detachment of 600 men went to spike the guns, throw the gunpowder into the sea and destroy the last defences of Mogador. The town, which had suffered very little from the French shot, but had been evacuated by the inhabitants, was burned and plundered by the tribes of the country round (Shiyādma and Hāḥa).

Mogador is now the headquarters of a *contrôle civile*. It had 18,401 inhabitants at the census of 1926. The Jewish element is particularly large, numbering 7,730.

The extremely temperate climate is remarkably equable; but it is spoiled by the wind which blows almost incessantly, laden with the sand from the neighbouring dunes.

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MOGHUL. [See MUGHAL.]

MOHUR, an Indian gold coin. The name is the Persian *muhṛ*, which is a loanword from the Sanskrit *mudrā*, seal or die. The earliest occurrence of the word on coins is on the forced currency of Muḥammad b. Tughlaq where it has the literal meaning of "sealed" or "stamped". By the xvith century it had come to be used as a popular rather than precise name for gold coins in general.

Very little gold had been issued in India for two centuries before the reign of Akbar. One of his reforms was the issue of an extensive coinage in gold. In addition to many pieces which had only a brief circulation, he revived the old gold tanka [q. v.] of the Sultāns of Dehli on a standard of 170 grains (11.02 grammes) to which he gave the name *muhṛ*. That the name at first could be applied to any gold coin is shown by Djahāngīr's reference in his *Memoirs* (transl. A. Rogers, *O.T.F.*, vol. xix., p. 10) to muhrs of 100, 50, 20, 10, 5 and 1 tola. After the numismatic experiments of Akbar and Djahāngīr, only one gold piece was struck, occasionally with subdivisions so that the general name acquired a particular meaning, especially among the English merchants in India. Mohurs continued to be struck to the end of the Mughal Empire and by the states into which it broke up in the xviiith and xixth centuries. Akbar and Djahāngīr issued

square as well as round pieces and the former also struck a few *mihrahī* pieces, so called from their shape. Of the numerous large denominations recorded by Abu 'l-Faḍl and Djahāngir, only 5 muhr pieces of Akbar and of Djahāngir are known to exist.

As the silver rupee was the standard coin of India the value of the mohur fluctuated with the price of gold. In the latter half of the xviiith and early xixth centuries, the East India Company endeavoured to make gold the standard of India and issued mohurs (called gold rupees in Bombay) with the legends of the Mughal Emperor. None of their attempts to keep gold and silver in currency at a fixed rate were successful. When in 1835 a uniform currency was introduced for British India a gold mohur or 15 rupee piece with English types was struck in name of William IV but never attained general circulation; this was the last attempt to restore the mohur to circulation. The mohurs occasionally seen of Victoria of 1861, 1862 and other dates are patterns.

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MOKHĀ, a small seaport on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea in 13° 19' 50" N. Lat. and 43° 12' 10" East Long. (Greenwich).

The once imposing town lies on a small bay between two promontories with forts on each about one and a half miles apart. The wall which surrounds the town in a semicircle is pierced by four gates. In the north the Bāb al-Ḥamūdīya leads to the citadel of the town and to a tongue of land which runs out into the sea; in the east roughly in the centre of the wall is the Bāb al-Shādhilī through which the fort of al-Barīdh is reached and to the east the road to al-Ta'izz from it, while the road to al-Ḥodeida runs north via Bēt al-Fakīh. In the south the Bāb al-Sundūl admits to the fort of al-Baḥr and the road to 'Aden; in the west through the Bāb al-Baḥr the harbour is reached; its stone breakwater is now much decayed. This also holds of the wall which connects the city-gates. Seen from the sea the town, which covers an area of about half a square mile, still looks very fine; the white mass of houses stands brightly out from the dark blue waters of the Red Sea. But as one approaches, the damage which wars, dilapidation and turbulent times have done to the often sore tried town, is apparent; the houses are for the most part deserted, while the inhabitants, consisting of Arabs, Sōmālīs, Danākīl, Jews and a few Parsees, have settled in huts outside the town. East of the Bāb al-Shādhilī, for example, there is a large group of huts, inhabited by Arabs, south of this another group belonging to Sōmālīs, while farther south and on the other side of the Wādī 'l-Kebīr is the Jewish quarter (Ḳā' al-Yahūd). In the north lies the great cemetery and a white-washed mosque which contains the tomb of the patron saint of the town, *Shaiḫ* 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhilī; in the east of the town is a second important mosque with a minaret 118 feet high, which forms a landmark visible from a considerable distance, along with several smaller ones. The country round is barren. Drinking water is brought

by a conduit from the Mawzā' twenty-four miles to the north. The population has varied considerably in the last hundred years. In 1824 it was 20,000, in 1878—1879: 5—8,000, in 1882 it was put at 1,500 inside the town and in 1901 it had sunk to about 400.

al-Mokhā is briefly mentioned by al-Ḥamdānī in connection with al-Mandab as lying in the land of the Banū Maḍīd; al-Mas'ūdī also refers to it briefly in his geographical work. The Portuguese gave the town the name by which it has become known in Europe: Moca. P. Manoel d'Almeida calls it *Moguā* in his *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta por B. l'thesar Telles* (Coimbra 1660).

About 850 years ago Mokhā was an insignificant village, but rapidly grew in importance when *Shaiḫ* Shādhilī discovered the peculiar qualities of the coffee bean and introduced the habit of drinking coffee. In 1513 Alfonso Albuquerque found Mokhā still a modest place but by 1610 it had become the most important port for trade with Abyssinia, and England was endeavouring to trade with it while the Dutch had a factory here. Coffee was the chief article of export along with other specialities of the Yemen, and received its name from the town. As late as 1763 Niebuhr found the town very prosperous; but the capture of 'Aden by the English put an end to its prosperity. 'Aden and al-Ḥodeida attracted all the trade of Southern Yemen. Under Turkish rule Mokhā was a ḳaḍā in the sandjak of Ta'izz but its trade was insignificant. In 1916 for example, only about £ 10,000 worth of coffee was sent to 'Aden. There is a minimum of industrial activity and that only to supply local needs. Indigo dyeing and the manufacture of spirits may be mentioned; the latter is in the hand of Jews. Mokhā is connected by telegraph with Ṣan'a' (via Ta'izz), al-Ḥodeida (via Zabīd), *Shaiḫ* Sa'īd and Perīm. Mokhā has acquired a new importance by the creation of the imāmate of al-Yemen and is now beginning to share the trade with al-Ḥodeida.

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(A. GROHMANN)

MOLLĀ. [See MAWLĀ.]

MOLLĀ KHUSRAW. [See MUḤAMMAD B. FARĀMARZ.]

MOMBASA (مومباسا, [—]anciently Mvita), an island and town on the east coast of Africa, in Lat. 4° S., Long. 39° E. The island, about 3 miles in length from north to south and nearly the same distance from east to west, is remarkably compact in shape and is so placed in the deep inlet formed by the converging of several creeks as to be almost entirely surrounded by the mainland, only presenting its south-eastern angle

to the Indian Ocean. This peculiarity of its situation suggested to the late W. E. Taylor the derivation of the name Mvita [the "Curtailed Headland"] from (*n*)*ta* "point". The more usual derivation from *vita* "war" seems inadmissible on phonetic grounds; another explanation connects it with *fit*a "hidden", either from its hidden position, or from the inhabitants, as it is said, having hidden themselves in the bush during a raid from Pate.

The town of Mombasa is situated at the eastern end of the island and, being the terminus of the Uganda railway and the only port of the colony, is of considerable commercial importance. The population, according to the latest information available, is something over 44,000, of whom 26,906 are classed as "Africans" (i.e. the permanent residents, mostly Swahili, and a floating contingent of labourers belonging to other tribes). The remainder includes 7,523 Arabs, 7,556 Indians, 1000 Europeans, and a proportion of "other races". The Arabs, Swahili and many of the Indians are Moslems; the two former chiefly Sunni of the *Shāfi'i* sect, though a few of the older men belong to the *Ibādīya*. There are several mosques, very plain buildings, as a rule, and devoid of minarets; the *mu'adhdhin* stands on the flat roof to give the call to prayer. The largest and most imposing of these structures is that belonging to the *Khōdjas*.

The origin of Mombasa is involved in some obscurity. It is certain that Arab trading stations existed on the East African coast at the beginning of the Christian era, and we learn from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* that the traders frequently married native women. This indicates a fairly early origin for the Swahili race. The first permanent settlements, however, seem to have been post-Islāmic: 69 (689) is given as the date for the settlement of Pate; and, as Lamu is said by native tradition to have been founded by colonists sent out by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (A.D. 684-705), these two towns were no doubt contemporary. There is no mention of Mombasa in the traditions of Lamu or Pate, at this period, except for a statement made to the late Captain Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 29), that 'Abd al-Malik sent out Syrians, who "built the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa". Other authorities place the founding of Kilwa much later, viz. 365 (976). The *Chronicle of Kilwa* states that 'Alī b. Hasan of *Shirāz*, the founder and first "Sultān", installed one of his sons as ruler of Mombasa, no doubt the first of the "*Shirāzi Shaikhs*", the last of whom was deposed by the Portuguese. It would appear that Mombasa was for some time under the suzerainty of Kilwa; but how far the "King of the Zandj" described by Idrīsī and, later, by Ibn Sa'īd as residing at Mombasa, was independent, is not clear. The names of the twelve tribes (called indifferently *qabila* or *qā'ifa*) said by native authorities to make up the Swahili population indicate a composite origin and possibly a late one, as the bulk of the people came from settlements already founded. It is possible that the Wamvita (who either take their name from the city or gave theirs to it) go back to the alleged foundation under 'Abd al-Malik; but against this is the assertion, repeatedly made, that the Wachangamwe, Wakilindini and Watangana are the *taifa tatu*, "the three" — i.e. the three aboriginal — "tribes". Some native authorities give these three as "Kilindini", separate from Mombasa. Changamwe

is a village on the mainland, a mile or two from the crossing at Makupa; Kilindini (now important as the principal harbour for steamers from Europe) is at the western end of the island. Tradition says that Kilindini was a city before Mombasa existed, and, in fact, the jungle near the present port contains numerous ruins of uncertain date, which, so far as I know, have not yet been competently examined. Tangana is on the island of Mombasa, now included in the town. The remaining tribes are those of Kilifi¹⁾ (a town to the north of Mombasa; its inhabitants are said to have come from "*Shirāzi*", either *Shirāz* in Persia or a town of the same name in Tanganyika Territory, a colony from the original *Shirāz*), Pate, Paza (or Faza, in the island of Pate), Shaka (a Persian settlement near the mouth of the Tana), Mtwapa (between Mombasa and Takaungu), Jomvu (on the creek known as Port Tudor), the Wagunya (the people on the mainland north of the Lamu archipelago) and the Wakatwa (the Somali). Another account omits this last name and substitutes that of the Wamalindi. Krapf (*Dictionary*, p. 240) mentions a tradition that the town was built (not on the present site, but at the place known as Kwa Mashekh, a little to the north) by one Shehe Mvita, whose tomb was pointed out to him; but it seems probable that this eponymus was invented to account for the name. When that of Mombasa was introduced we have no information, but it was used by the Arab geographers as far back as the xiith century. It is mentioned, as already stated, by Idrīsī. Ibn Sa'īd speaks of "a great estuary" to the west of Mombasa, by which must be meant the creek now known as "Port Tudor", and says it is distant about one degree from Malindi. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who spent one night there, on his way to Kilwa, describes it as "a large island, two days' journey by sea from the Sawahil country. It possesses no territory on the mainland. They have fruit-trees on the island, but no cereals, which have to be brought to them from the Sawahil. Their food consists chiefly of bananas and fish. The inhabitants are pious, honourable and upright, and they have well-built wooden mosques". This would imply that the coast opposite Mombasa was not reckoned as part of the Sawahil. Present-day Swahilis restrict the term "Swahilini" to the strip of coast between Malindi and Lamu, which they look upon as the cradle of their race and this might be taken as intended by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, but for his reference to cereals being brought from "Sawahil", which would place it in the south, since the dhows laden with millet come up from that quarter with the S. W. monsoon (cf. Taylor, *Aphorisms*, § 128).

The first European to reach Mombasa was Vasco da Gama, who touched there, April 7, 1498, but did not land, owing to the real or suspected treachery of the Arab pilot sent by the Shaikh. He went on to the rival state of Malindi and established friendly relations with its ruler, who hoped to find in him an ally against Mombasa. Mombasa — after the city had been repeatedly destroyed, in whole or in part, by Almeida in 1505, by Nuno da Cunha in 1528 and by Continho in 1589 — was rendered tributary to the Portuguese in or about 1590, after the adventurer Mir 'Alī Bey had induced the *Shaikh* to tender his allegiance to the Turkish Sultān and had been

1) In these names of places, I omit the *wa-*, which is the prefix indicating plurality of persons.

driven off by Continho's fleet. At the same time occurred the invasion of the Zimbaz, an unidentified tribe who had spread desolation on their march north-eastward, "probably from some locality on or near the West coast" (cf. Theal, i. 352). From Mombasa they passed on to Malindi, where the Portuguese garrison, with the help of native allies, effectually resisted them, and, if not exterminated, they ceased to exist as a tribe. The fort, still in existence, was erected between 1593 and 1595, and Mombasa was held by the Portuguese for some sixty years. The last *Shirāzī* *Shaikh*, Shaho Mshaham b. Hisham, was deposed and the *Shaikh* of Malindi, Aḥmad, installed in his stead with the title of Sultān. Immigration from Portugal was encouraged, but in 1615 the settlers, apart from the garrison, only numbered 50 (cf. Strandes, p. 173). In 1605, a convent of Augustinian monks was founded, which, with other ecclesiastical establishments, was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa till 1612. In that year a separate diocese of Mozambique was created. *Shaikh* Aḥmad died in 1609 and was succeeded by his son Ḥasan, whose treatment by the Portuguese authorities ranks among the scandals of Colonial history. He was finally murdered, at the instigation of the governor, De Mello Pereira (1615). His son, Yūsuf, aged seven, was sent to Goa to be educated and there baptized by the name of Geronimo Chingulia. After an inquiry held at Lisbon in 1618, the highest ecclesiastical tribunal in Portugal pronounced Ḥasan innocent and decreed that Yūsuf should be restored to his inheritance. In 1630 he was sent home and installed as Sultān, continued for a time to profess Christianity, but, being accused of apostasy because he had been seen praying at his father's tomb and apprehensive of being sent to Goa (the seat of the Inquisition), revolted, openly declared himself a Moslem and massacred all the Portuguese in Mombasa (cf. Faria y Sousa, vol. iii, iv., i., p. 391). His example was followed by Tanga, Mtangata and some other towns (1631). Mombasa was besieged for three months by F. de Mowra, with a fleet from Goa, but without success. Yūsuf, however, probably seeing that he would be unable to hold out permanently, retreated to Arabia after dismantling the fort and destroying the town. The new governor, Seixas de Cabreira, subdued the revolted towns and repaired the fort, as recorded in the inscription still legible above the gateway. The Portuguese rule becoming more and more oppressive, the Coast Arabs appealed in or about 1660 to Sultān b. Seif al-Ya'arubī, Imām of 'Omān, who had already expelled the Portuguese from Maskat. He took Mombasa after a long siege and various operations; and though it was retaken shortly afterwards, the power of Portugal was already on the wane, and Seif b. Sultān again captured Mombasa in 1698 and installed Naṣr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mazrui as governor. Internal quarrels and a revolt against this governor laid the town open to a last Portuguese attack, in 1728, when Luis de Mello Sampayo seized it, with the help of Bwana Tamn Mknu (Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad), Sultān of Pate. This occupation lasted but a short time and was terminated by another massacre, probably that commemorated in the tradition recorded by Taylor (*Aphorisms*, § 401). A period of anarchy ensued, which became so intolerable that not only the "Twelve Tribes" of Mombasa but the chiefs of the pagan Wanyika on

the mainland, appealed to Seif b. Sultān for help. He sent three ships and appointed a governor. In 1739 this office was held by Muḥammad b. 'Othmān al-Mazrui, the first of a line who became practically independent rulers of Mombasa. When the Ya'arabī Imāms were ousted by the Al Bū Saidi, the Mazrui refused to recognise the new dynasty. They were left undisturbed for a considerable time, but the more energetic policy pursued by Sa'īd b. Sultān (1804—1856) induced them to seek British protection in 1823. This was provisionally granted by Captain Owen, but withdrawn three years later, as the Home government refused to sanction it. Sa'īd finally gained possession of Mombasa in 1837, when the leading Mazrui were captured by treachery and deported to Bander 'Abbās. From that time till the establishment of the British protectorate in 1890, Mombasa remained subject to the Saiyid (now called Sultān) of Zanzibar, who indeed retains a certain jurisdiction over the ten-mile strip of coast leased from him by the British East Africa Company in 1887. The principal event in its history since that date is the rising of the Mazrui in 1895, coincident with, but not caused by the proclamation of the British protectorate over the mainland territory, which was taken over from the Company by the Imperial Government. Since then the completion of the Uganda Railway and the harbour works at Kilindini have noticeably changed the character of Mombasa, which is now a flourishing seaport, much frequented by European shipping.

The dialect of Swahili spoken at Mombasa was considered by the late W. E. Taylor "the truly central" language, "the best fitted for accurate statement and grave discussion"; though that of Zanzibar has now attained a wider currency. The art of poetry was, till recently, much cultivated there; the best known of the native poets are Muyaka b. Mwinyi Haji, Mwalimu Sikujua (died 1891), and Hemedi b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mambassi, who was still living during the last decade of the nineteenth century (since deceased), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 'Abd Allāh Borashidi, Mwinyi Mugwama.

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(A. WERNER)

MONASTIR (pronounced *Mnestir*, *Mestir*; ethnic *Mestiri*), a town in the Sâhel, the eastern coast of Tunisia, on the site of the ancient Ruspina at the end of a cape which runs out to the south-east of Sūsa. The Arabic name raises a problem which is not yet solved. The name clearly conceals the Greek word *μοναστήριον* which suggests that there was an important Christian monastery here at one time. This is however a pure hypothesis, supported by no text, although Tissot (*Géographie comparée de la province d'Afrique*, ii. 165—166) seems to take it for granted. If on the other hand we remember that the Arab Monastir from the end of the eighth century was a great Muslim monastery and probably the first to be founded in the west, it is tempting to accept the explanation (suggested by Si Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb) that the name was given to the Muslim foundation by the Greeks of the country or Berbers speaking Greek, still Christians or recently converted, to Islām.

It was in 180 (796) that Harthama b. 'Aiyān, who ruled the province of Ifrīqiya in the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, founded the *ribāʿ* of Monastir. This fortified monastery attained considerable importance in Western Islām. A century after its foundation, *ḥadīths* were quoted which proclaimed its great importance and promised the highest rewards to those who came there to fight the infidel or to prepare themselves for the holy war. The Prophet foreseeing the foundation of al-Monastir is said to have said: "On the coast of Ifrīqiya, there is one of the gates of Paradise which is called al-Monastir; one enters it by the grace of God's mercy and leaves it by the effect of his pardon"; or again: "He who keeps watch in the frontier town of al-Monastir for three days has the right to Paradise" (cf. Abu 'l-'Arab, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, transl. Ben Cheneb, 5, 7, 9, 14, 15; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, transl. Fagnan, i. 1). In the xith century al-Bakrī gives a description of Monastir, the substance of which is taken from al-Warrāk (d. 973) and which is not quite clear to us. It is a large fortress (*ḡaṣr*), he says, which contains a quarter (*rabadh*) of considerable size. In the middle of this quarter stands a citadel (*ḡiṣn*) which contains suites of rooms, oratories and castles (*ḡiṣāb*) of several stories. To the south of this citadel is a great court (*ṣaḡn*) with *ḡubbas*, called *ḡibāb ḡjami*, around which women who wish to devote themselves to religion come to live. It seems that the "fortress" was the town itself with its ramparts, still known by the name, common in Tunisia, of *bled*. Outside the *bled* is the quarter also encircled by ramparts and turrets in which we have the *ribāʿ*. This occupies the north-east angle of this "faubourg"; its walls and high tower called *nadhur* dominate with their proud silhouette

the shore and the country round. To the south is a courtyard with tombs; here no doubt we have to locate the abodes of the pious women mentioned by al-Warrāk. The interior of the *ribāʿ* shows traces of frequent attention and repairs which makes its plan singularly complicated. We can however perhaps recognise the general arrangements of which the *ribāʿ* of Sūsa, founded twenty-five years later, gives us a clearer scheme on a smaller scale: a central rectangular court surrounded by two storeys of cells. On the first floor on the south side, the cells are replaced by a hall for prayer of no great height, very simple with cradle vaulting. It is probably the same as is mentioned by al-Bakrī: "On the first storey is a mosque where there is always a *shāikh* of great virtue and merit, who has the direction of the community". The signal tower, circular in plan, occupies almost the same position as that which dominates the *ribāʿ* of Sūsa. In addition to the dwellings of the marabouts there are reservoirs, baths and "Persian mills" in the monastery. Every year a great fair was held at Monastir on the 'Āshūrā day when the pious began their temporary withdrawals from the world. Some, however, shut themselves up for life and devoted themselves entirely to prayer and the defence of the lands of Islām. The people of Ḳairawān supplied them with provisions, in itself a pious work.

The ninth century was undoubtedly the golden age of the *ribāʿ* of Monastir. Its importance however must have diminished somewhat as a result of the foundation in 821 of the *ribāʿ* of Sūsa, which was the starting point for the expedition to Sicily. Al-Bakrī would regard the *ribāʿ* of Monastir as a dependency on that of Sūsa. It was nevertheless, as well as the land around it, an auspicious place. We can date to about 1000 A. D. the building of the Great Mosque, close to the *ribāʿ*, and that of the little mosque of the Saiyida, both of which have preserved *mihrābs* of a very curious transitional style. It is probable that the "Lady" whose tomb has given its name to the oratory of the Saiyida was a princess of the family of the Zirids of Ḳairawān. Monastir was, especially after the Hilālī invasion (middle of the xith century), the St. Denis of the Ṣanhādja rulers. According to al-Idrīsī (xiith century), the dead were brought there by boat (the roads were by no means safe at this time) from the town of Mahdiyya. The tombs of this period are numerous in the cemetery in which the patron saint of Monastir, Sīdī al-Māzarī, is buried.

Although Monastir did not play a great part in history after this period, the town and the *ribāʿ* continued to be an object of care to various Tunisian dynasties. From the Ḥafṣid al-Mustansir (1260) date the two gates of the *bled*: Bāb al-Darb and Bāb al-Sūr. As to the *ribāʿ*, one of the gates was rebuilt by the Ḥafṣid Abū Fāris in 828 (1424); another dates from 1058 (1648) and is the work of the Turks.

Monastir is at the present day a town of some 7,000 inhabitants. Three little islands, one of which contains a number of puzzling artificial caves, shelter the roadstead outside, which is frequented by a considerable number of ships at the tunny and sardine fishing season.

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MONTENEGRO (Turk. KARA DAĞ, Serbo-Croat: CRNA GORA) is in its heart a steep rocky citadel, the interior of which is difficult of passage and much cut up orographically and hydrographically; it has only a gateway in the south from Lake Skutari and in the north from the Herzegovina; these two gateways are connected by a corridor, the valley of the Zeta. This route which, as the main line of communication, has been the scene of fierce fighting between the natives and invaders and is also the dividing line between western and eastern Montenegro or Crna Gora in the narrow sense, the oldest part of the modern state on the one hand and the eastern districts called Brda on the other, is formed by the undulating plain of Zeta on the lower course of the Morača, which flows into Lake Skutari, by its right tributary the Zeta, the large but little fertile basin of the Nikšić and the depression of the Duga passes. Crna Gora and an adjoining strip of the Brda running north and south belong to the most desolate and poorest parts of the Dinaric or Illyrian limestone region which runs along the Adriatic, the forests of which, still existing down to modern times, have been sacrificed to get pasture land, lime, charcoal and tar (C. Patsch, *Historische Wanderungen im Karst und an der Adria*, i., Vienna 1922, p. 28) and which, with a poor water supply, have only a little arable land in little hollows and cups on their cold rocky highlands, on which we also have the few little villages and towns of which Cetinje at the eastern foot of the Lovćen (5,750 feet) with 5,473 inhabitants is the largest. It is not till we come east of the Brda to the valleys of the Piva and Tara with their deep ravines, which join to form the Drina on the northern frontier, and on the Lim, around the massif of the Durmitor (7,200 feet) and Kom (8,000 feet), where the soil is of gravel, that we have favourable conditions with a regular water supply, extensive forests of pine and other woods, rich meadows which enable cattle to be reared in large numbers; in many places in this region bread is dearer than meat. A very small fruit-growing region is the alluvial plain of Crmnica, the "garden of Montenegro" which lies around Virpazar on the north-western shores of Lake Skutari, which is full of fish, with a Mediterranean climate and vegetation, which is also found in the narrow strip of land along the Karst river Crnoyeviča Riyeka, to the north.

1. The oldest known inhabitants of the country were the Illyrian tribes of the Docleates and Labeates, of whom the former lived in the wilds

of Montenegro and the latter in the Mediterranean area around Lake Skutari down to the coast. After the destruction in 168 B.C. of the Illyrian kingdom of the Ardiaei whose last capital was Skutari, to which they, along with the Herzegovina, Southern Dalmatia and Northern Albania, had belonged, they came under the rule of the Romans and later formed part of the province of Dalmatia. In the first century A.D. we find the two tribal areas replaced each by a town organised on Roman lines with the old tribal territories attached to them, but ill defined: Doclea, at the corner formed by the junction of the Morača and Zeta, and Scodra, now Skutari, which latter, in the division of Dalmatia under Diocletian, became the capital of the provincia Praevalitana or Praevalis and has maintained a dominating position almost down to the present time [cf. SKUTARI]. Doclea, on the other hand, is representative for Montenegro of the economic and cultural decline of south-west Europe since ancient times. In spite of the step-motherly nature of the country, we know from the ruins of public and private buildings bleaching in the miserable desert of the Karst and from epigraphic evidence that it was once a prosperous city with considerable trade with the interior across Lake Skutari and on the Boyana which flows out of it (Patsch, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, v. 1251 sqq.). It suffered severely in 395 when the Balkans suffered so much at the hand of the Teutons at the time of the migration of the Visigoths, but in spite of the plundering of the Adriatic territory which followed at other hands also, it was still the see of a bishop in 602, in the period when the towns of the peninsula were finally destroyed as a result of the raids of the Avars and Slavs and the permanent settlement of the latter, who having no understanding of town life, retained in their new homes their traditional poor and primitive mode of life, for the most part in family groups settled on the land and mainly engaged in cattle-rearing.

II. Its situation and tradition, from traces in place-names, remnants of the old population and the city walls, now much decayed, preserved for the ruined town of Doclea which hitherto had held the position later occupied by Montenegro, its old ecclesiastical position — there is a record of a bishopric of Doclea subordinate to the Greek metropolitan of Durazzo — and seem also to have given it a military and political preponderance, since the little Slav state which later grew up here bore after it the name of Dioclia, Slav Diokliya down to the xiith century. This originally comprised only southern Montenegro and the stretch of territory called Krayina along the west bank of the Lake Skutari. The littoral itself (with Cattaro, Budua, Antivari and Dulcigno) and Northern Albania, with many Roman towns like Skutari and Drivasto, remained Byzantine on the contrary, as part of the theme (province) of Dyrrachion down to the xiith century, while eastern and northern Montenegro belonged to Serbia and the north-west to the principality of Travunia (capital Trebinje).

Of the early obscure pre-history of Dioclia all that we have is a Byzantine seal of a ruler of probably the tenth century: Πέτρος ἄρχοντας Διοκλιάς; the country was then not only ecclesiastically and culturally but also politically under Greek influence like the larger Slav Adriatic states. From 1000 A.D. our information is fuller, if not absolutely reliable

Prince John Vladimir, a figure much obscured by legend, is inextricably associated with the last efforts of the Western Bulgar state. First a prisoner, then the son-in-law of the Czar Samuel (d. 1014), he was murdered (drowned in Lake Prespa) by the last Czar John Vladislav (1015—1018) in the Bulgar capital. Remembered in Montenegro as a saint by Christians and Muslims alike, he now rests in the monastery of Shen Jon near Elbassan in Central Albania.

In the years that followed, Byzantium, after the Bulgars, its opponents for centuries, had been finally disposed of by the Emperor Basil II Bulgaroktonos in 1018, being again in possession of the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula, enforced its suzerainty to the northwest also. Dioclia under three able rulers not only survived this danger but attained an importance never reached by Montenegro itself in its best days. Prince Stephan Voyislav — it is not known in what relationship he stood to John Vladimir — in spite of great opposition from the Byzantines (1036—1042) obtained Travunia (see above), Zachlunia adjoining it (on the central and lower Narenta), almost the whole Adriatic coast between the Narenta and Boyana along with Cattaro and Antivari as well as Northern Albania with Skutari and established the still existing Latin bishopric in Antivari, out of political hostility to Byzantinism. His son Michael was the first to take the title of king; the choice of his son Constantine Bodin as Bulgar Czar by rebels in Macedonia (1073) ended however in a — temporary — humiliation of Dioclia. Michael and Bodin, who succeeded his father presumably in 1082, made an alliance with the Normans in Italy and supported Robert Guiscard in his fighting in the west of the Balkan peninsula (1081—1085) with Alexius I Comnenus. Bodin succeeded at the same time in extending his rule over Bosnia also (then practically only the territory on the lower course of the Bosna, the Vrbas and the Narenta) and Serbia or Raszia (in the modern north and eastern Montenegro, the sandjak of Novi Pazar, S. W. Serbia and S. E. Bosnia). The kingdom of Dioclia attained its greatest extent with the conquests of Stephan Voyislav — but only for a brief period. Bodin's good fortune faded away. After the restoration of Byzantine rule on the Adriatic, reprisals were begun (1085—1094) under the personal direction of the emperor Alexius. The king was defeated; the links that bound the various parts of his kingdom together were loosened and quarrels broke out within the royal family itself. In 1096 Bodin could still receive Crusaders in his capital Skutari: Provençals under Raymond of Toulouse, who had marched through Dalmatia and probably through the Zeta valley (cf. above) and were making for Durazzo in order to reach Constantinople from there by the old Via Egnatia. After this we have no certain information about him and his successors. All that is certain is that Dioclia was driven from the coast and out of Northern Albania by the Byzantines and became tributary to them, while Serbia, which had hitherto been politically insignificant in comparison, began to expand at the expense of Dioclia under the Grand Župan Vlkán, Bodin's governor, and his successors, especially after the Byzantine empire fell steadily into decline from 1180 onwards. The Grand Župan Stephan Nemanya, a native of Dioclia, deprived it of the former possessions of Dioclia in

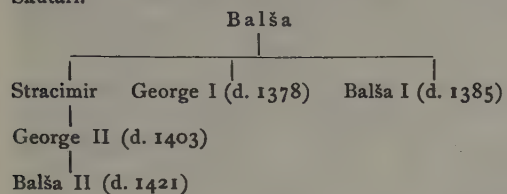
Northern Albania and on the coast from the eastern shore of Lake Skutari to Cattaro, disposed of the last Dioclian prince Michael in 1189, and united his territory with Serbia. From the xiii century the old name of the country was replaced by that of the river Zeta (Latin: Zenta, Genta).

III. Under Nemanya's dynasty Zeta (with Northern Albania and the coast) remained for 170 years under Serbia and was frequently governed by princes, repeatedly by heirs to the throne. Widows of kings also had estates on this sunny strip of coast. A benefactress of the land as a builder was Helena (d. 1314), the French wife of Stephan Uroš I (1243—1276). She had the towns on Lake Skutari restored, which had suffered severely from the Mongol storm which in 1242 had swept southwards along the Adriatic, and built and repaired numerous churches and monasteries in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory around the Lake and on the coast which was under the bishops of Antivari and numerous suffragan bishops, including also the great Benedictine Abbey of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus on the Boyana (now the ruins of Kisha e Shirjit), at which there was an important trading centre with much visited animal markets. St. Sava (d. 1236) created an Eastern Greek bishopric for the Zeta on the island of Prevlaka on the Gulf of Cattaro; the land also had many well-endowed monasteries of this creed on the islands in the Lake Skutari (like Vranjina), and what fertile soil existed elsewhere belonged for the most part to monasteries in Serbia, on Athos and in Jerusalem, granted by the, in this respect, extravagant Serbian ruler. The population received a considerable admixture, now completely absorbed, by the immigration of Wallachians and Albanians.

A grave danger to Serbia was the power of the nobles, which had increased out of all proportion as a result of the constant feuds in the royal family. When after the death of the Czar Stephan Dušan (d. 1355) a general collapse of the great but only loosely knit state began, the centrifugal forces led in Zeta also (1360) to the formation once more of an independent principality by the brothers Stracimir, George and Balša, sons of Balša, a nobleman of Wallachian origin, to whom the government of the country was entrusted.

IV. The break-up of Serbia took place just at the time when the Ottomans were vigorously extending their power in the Balkan peninsula. Their victories at Čirmen on the Marica (1371) and at Kosovo ("field of the blackbird", 1389) destroyed the independence of the petty Serbian states in Macedonia and reduced Serbia itself to the district of the Morava, where it however not only maintained itself till 1459 but, as a result of the Turkish defeat at the hands of the Mongols at Angora (1402), was able for a time to rise to considerable power again. In spite of the danger which threatened Zeta also, George and Balša exhausted their strength in continual feuds with their neighbours over pieces of land, and in the reign of George II the turbulent nobles, among whom the most prominent were the Crnojević or Gyurašević between Budna, Cattaro and the lower Morača, broke the kingdom up into little baronies. The result was that when the Ottomans under Khair al-Din entered Albania from Macedonia, Balša in 1385 lost a battle and his life north of Valona, and George II after fighting with varying

fortune, realising his own weakness, handed over his Albanian possessions in the south and east of Lake Skutari as far as Tuzi (S. E. of Podgorica) for an annual pension of 1,000 ducats (1396) to Venice, who thus became till 1479 the southern defender of Zeta against the Ottomans. George retained Dulcigno, Antivari and Budna for himself as well as the lands west and north of Lake Skutari.



But even this reduced territory found no peace. Under Balša II, the last of his warlike but unimportant house, two long and trying wars with Venice were fought: during the second, the prince died (1421) and left his lands to the despot (Duke) of Serbia, Stephan Lazarević, who lost Dulcigno to the republic.

V. The second period of Serbian rule very soon alienated the sympathy with which it was at first received and had to fight increasing difficulties caused by the influential Crnoyević (see above). In addition there was an inroad by the Turks in 1430 and the demands of Venice. The latter took Antivari and Budua and appointed the woiwod Stephan Crnoyević its salaried governor in the little mountain country now quite cut off from the coast; he (1455) induced the people to take the oath of fealty to the republic in the island monastery of Vraniya (cf. above). The end of Serbia (1459) seemed to secure Venice complete possession of the lands round Lake Skutari, but soon afterwards the Ottomans surrounded this land on all sides, for the conquest of Bosnia (1463) was followed (1466) by the annexation of the Herzegovina and of the present Northern Montenegro as far as Nikšić, which then belonged to it.

Like Stephan Crnoyević (d. 1465) his son Ivan (1465—1490) who called himself Gospodar Zetski (lord of Zeta), was also a vassal of Venice, who gave him so little support in the wars with Muhammad II over Upper Albania that, after the evacuation of Skutari (1479), he had to fly to Italy, and Zeta was occupied by the Turks, which was the beginning of their long rule here. The contest for the throne after the Sultān's death (1481) induced Ivan to return and renew the struggle, which however ended in 1482 with the recognition of Turkish suzerainty. His youngest son Staniša, a hostage in Constantinople, adopted Islām in 1485, and took the name Skender Beg. Ivan, also called Ivan Beg — his country was also known as Ivanbegovina — resided in Cetinje where he built a small monastery in 1484—1485, to which the Eastern Greek bishop of Zeta (see above) moved. The state suffered from the great independence of the tribes, who had strong separatist tendencies, like the Nyeguši, Biyelice, Ozrinići, and Čeklići; each formed a political entity with a well-defined territory, its own chief chosen for life, courts, tribal and family feuds, blood-vengeance, etc., institutions which survived in Montenegro down to the sixteenth century and existed in the north Albanian highlands until quite recently.

Not even the greatest submissiveness earned for

Ivan's elder sons, at constant enmity with one another, the goodwill of the Turks. George (1490—1496) who introduced the printing-press into Cetinje and in 1493—95 printed beautiful Cyrillic ecclesiastical works, died in Asia Minor in exile. Stephan (1496—1499) was interned in Skutari, where he is said to have ended his days as a monk. On the other hand in 1514, a separate sandjak with capital Žabljak (to the north of Lake Skutari) was created for the Muslim Staniša Skender Beg Crnoyević out of Zeta, which had been incorporated in the sandjak of Skutari. The latter did not deny his descent; he was also tolerant in matters of religion, used his Slav mother-tongue in his correspondence and was in regular communication with Venice, although their relations were occasionally overclouded; in Venice Božidar Vuković of Podgorica (d. 1540) and others from 1519 printed Cyrillic ecclesiastical works. Skender Beg's title Sandžak Crnogorski naturalised the name Crna Gora for the country, which we find as early as 1435 and as Montenegro in 1496 for the highlands above Cattaro. In 1528 all notices of this remarkable Montenegrin-Turkish ruler cease. Crna Gora again becomes a *kāđıllık* of the sandjak of Skutari.

Montenegro under Turkey, under the unassuming ecclesiastical suzerainty of the bishop or Vladika of Cetinje chosen by the tribal chiefs, formed five *nāhiyas* or districts in the shape of a small triangle between Cattaro, Podgorica and the N.W. end of Lake Skutari, which in 1614 contained 90 villages with 3,524 houses and 8,027 men capable of bearing arms, of whom however only 1,000 had guns. The poll-tax was readily paid and they shared in the wars of the Porte against Venice and in suppressing rebellions in the adjoining lands, such as the closely related Brda, which had much more desire for independence. This long stereotyped monotony did not change till 1688 when the Montenegrins with the Vladika Visarion placed themselves under the protection of Venice, whose lands marched with those of the Turks, and who since the failure of the siege of Venice had been fighting with the Turks from 1684 to the peace of Carlowitz (1699). After the failure of his first attacks Sulaimān Pasha, Sandjak of Skutari, as a punishment destroyed Cetinje in 1692 with the support of a number of Montenegrin tribes.

VI. The process of liberation thus begun found vigorous support in the warlike Vladika Danilo I Petrović Nyeguš (1697—1735)¹⁾ after whom the dignity of bishop became hereditary in the family, and its holder gradually increased his importance at the expense of the tribal chiefs. In 1711 an embassy from Peter the Great introduced relations with Russia, which however were only occasionally of benefit to the land. Even in the joint war on the Porte which immediately followed, Montenegro was left in the lurch at the peace of the Pruth (1711). The protection which fugitive Montenegrins found in Dalmatia was used in 1714 as a pretext by Turkey for declaring war on Venice. In the same year Nu'mān Pasha Köprülü laid waste Montenegro entirely, Cetinje which had been rebuilt in 1704 being once more destroyed. As a result of the peace of Passarowitz (1718) more peaceful conditions

1) The story that all Muhammadans in Montenegro who would not be baptised or leave the country were put to death as partisans of Turkey on Christmas Eve 1707 is however a patriotic fable.

began to prevail except for the almost daily guerilla fighting on the frontiers. Danilo took advantage of the peace to build up the country again after the overthrow of the Turkish administration, with the help of Venetian subsidies, so far as the poverty and the intractable nature of the people permitted. In 1724 Cetinje was rebuilt.

Under his incapable successor Sava Petrović Nyeuş (1735—1782), there was a complete relapse into the previous barbarism: no authority, clan and blood feuds, murders. No one dared to leave his house unarmed. The whole people lived by murder and robbery. In addition there were secret conspiracies with the Turks against their own countrymen, abject appeals to Venice and journeys of appeal to St. Petersburg, notably that of the able but powerless episcopal coadjutor Vasiliye (d. 1766).

In the general distress the Vladika only thought of enriching himself. Some relief was afforded Montenegro in 1767 by the south Slav Šćepan Mali (Little Stephen), the Lažni (false) Czar, who was accepted as the Czar Peter III murdered in 1762, and received such general recognition, out of respect for Russia, that in spite of his unmasking by the mission of prince Yuri Volodimirovič Dolgorukiy (1769), he was tolerated by Russia also until he was murdered by a servant in 1773. Able, unselfish, strict and just, he restored for a time unwonted order and security.

There was no considerable war with Turkey for a long period. All the more serious then were the relations with the suzerain in the reign of Peter I the Saint (1782—1830). The hereditary wazir of Skutari, Kara Mahmūd Pāshā Bushatli, taking advantage of tribal feuds, laid waste the whole country in 1785, forced it to pay the poll-tax again and burned down Cetinje. During the Austro-Russo-Turkish war of 1787—1792, there were only trifling encounters, for which in 1795 Kara Mahmūd Pāshā again threatened serious reprisals. He was however defeated in 1796 at Slatina and later killed in the great battle of Kruse; his head was long preserved as a trophy in Cetinje, in keeping with the Montenegrin head-hunting custom which had become a regular practice in war. The consequence was that the tribes of Biyelopavlići and Piperi, in the Brda east of the Zeta valley, joined Montenegro.

A welcome and more profitable change were the wars of 1806—1808 and 1813—1814 in alliance first with the inhabitants of the Bocche di Cattaro and the Russians, later with the English against the French, who had occupied Dalmatia under General Marmont after the peace of Pressburg (1805). Numerous ruins stretching as far as Ragusa still testify to the thirst of the Montenegrins for destruction and plunder even on Christian soil.

Peter I, a cultured ecclesiastic educated in Russia, full of good intentions, endeavoured throughout his life by legislative (1798 and 1803) and personal effort to unite his people, raise their moral tone and avert distress by introducing the potato, but in spite of great patience he met with bitter hostility, contributed to also by Russia which, only after being appealed to for a long time, in 1799 granted 1,000 ducats a year for public purposes but did not pay it regularly.

The first ruler over the Montenegrins, Gospodar Crnogorski i Brdski, was Peter II (1830—51), a highly gifted man of the world, bishop only in

name, one of the greatest of Serbian poets and also of unbending vigour which did not hesitate at severe punishments and death sentences. The Radonjić family which claimed secular (*guvernadur*) power for itself had to leave the country. Supported by Russia from 1837 by a grant of 9,000 ducats yearly and occasional gifts of grain, and on this account more highly esteemed by his covetous countrymen, he concentrated the government in his own hands. The powers of the tribal chiefs were restricted. A senate of 12 regularly paid members under the presidency of the Vladika henceforth formed the supreme governing body and court of justice: its authority was enforced by well-paid troops stationed throughout the country, the *Guardiya*, in addition to whom the head of the state had a bodyguard, *Peryanici*. The building of the first public school and a small state printing-press in the capital, the purchase of two cannons and the building of a powder mill, show the small scale of the state but mark the desire for progress. The innovations, and still more poverty and a great increase of population, as in earlier times led to the emigration of numerous families to Serbia and Russia.

Foreign politics were mainly characterised by troubles on the Austrian frontier, continual fighting, celebrated in song, with the neighbouring Muḥammadans, especially in the Herzegovina, which was then ruled by 'Alī Pāshā Rizvanbegović (d. 1851) as a practically independent sovereign, under whom Smail Aga Čengić (d. 1840) distinguished himself in the fighting.

VII. Centralisation and reforms generally formed the programme of the next two reigns, which was firmly and successfully carried through in spite of much opposition. Under Danilo II (1852—60) the clan system was dealt a shattering blow, when the chiefs were replaced by captains of princely birth and legislation regulated by the code of 1855. His accession however marks the close of a period in as much as a hereditary secular power now replaced a theocracy. Danilo renounced his spiritual rank and with the approval of Russia and Austria had himself proclaimed Knyaz i Gospodar Crne Gore i Brda. The attempt of the Porte to obtain by force under Serdar Ekrem 'Omar Pāshā in 1852—1853 recognition of her suzerainty thus threatened was vigorously opposed by Austria after giving ample assistance in 1853 through Feldmarschalleutnant Count Leiningen's mission to Constantinople. During the Crimean War (1853—1856) Danilo remained neutral to the discontent of his people. On the other hand, he became involved in a war in 1858 because he supported the rebels in the Herzegovina; this ended in the defeat of the Turks in the valley of Grahovo (north of Risano) and in an enlargement of Montenegrin territory in 1859. In 1860 the ruler, who had previously had to put down conspiracies, some led by relatives, was murdered in Cattaro by a Montenegrin emigrant.

His able nephew Nikola I (1860—1918, d. March 1, 1921) who had been educated in Trieste and in France, son of the doughty Woiwod Mirko (d. 1867), completed the building of the state. By long steady work, first as an absolute and from 1905 as a constitutional ruler, and by very skilfully managing foreign relations, he created out of the ill-famed, unfertile, rocky little country a kingdom which was enlarged by the addition

of fertile valleys with its own sea coast, good communications and post routes, a busy economic life, modest prosperity increased by emigration to America, more law abiding and secure since the institution of the civil code of 1888, with a good system of education and a well organised soldiery with modern equipment to be reckoned with in Balkan questions. Relationship by marriage, notably with the courts of Russia and Italy, gave reflected glory to the pretty little capital of Cetinje which had also become a centre of culture; 1910 crowned the work by raising Montenegro to be a kingdom.

While interested great powers, notably Russia, gave grants of money, arms, munitions, etc., which were readily accepted and also requested, this development was conducted mainly at the expense of Turkey, with whom three wars were waged at longer intervals in addition to minor friction in 1869—1870, 1872, 1874—1875, 1895, 1898, 1911, 1912. The first (1862), a combined attack by Derwish Pāshā from the north and Serdar Ekrem 'Omar Pāshā from the south in the Zeta valley as a reprisal for the support given to the rising led by Luka Vukalović in the eastern Herzegovina, forced Nikola by the threat to Cetinje to conclude an unsuccessful peace in Skutari. The second war was declared in 1876 by Montenegro in alliance with Serbia in order to profit by the new insurrection in the Herzegovina which had begun in the summer of 1875 in Nevesinje. His victory over Mukhtar Pāshā at Vrbica and at Bileća and the defeat of Serbs were followed by a truce and the intervention of Russia in 1877. Sūlaimān Pāshā succeeded at heavy cost in fighting his way out of the Herzegovina through the Zeta valley into Albania, but in 1877 Nikola took Nikšić and Antivari and in 1878 Dulcigno. The Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878, Articles 26—33) recognised the independence of Montenegro and granted it, after cutting down very much the terms of the preliminary peace of San Stefano, a broad ring of land around the original land of Montenegro with Antivari, Nikšić, Banyani, Piva, Kolašin, Spuz, Podgorica, Žabljak and the district of Gusinje. The latter, as a result of the opposition of the Albanians, was exchanged for Dulcigno in 1880. The area was increased from 4,366 to 9,080 square kilometres with over 200,000 inhabitants, including 12,500 Catholic Albanians; there was on the other hand a considerable emigration of Muslims from the new territories.

The third war with Turkey was the first Balkan War, which Montenegro began on Oct. 8, 1912, before its allies, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece; but while the sandjak of Novi Pazar and Upper Albania were easily occupied, Skutari, the main objective, was only taken after a long siege and with the help of treachery on April 23, 1913. After the allies had quarrelled among themselves, Montenegro also took part in the second Balkan War against Bulgaria. By the peace of Bukarest (Aug. 10, 1913) it received the south-western half of the sandjak of Novi Pazar (with Plyevye, Biyelo Polye and Berane), the greater part of the Metohia plain (with Peć and Gyakova), the valley of Gusinje and lands round Lake Skutari, increasing its area by 5,937 square kilometres to 15,017 square kilometres, with 437,000 inhabitants.

In the Great War, king Nikola reluctantly declared war on Austria-Hungary on Aug. 5, 1914. After the capture of the Lovćen (see above) the Monte-

negrins laid down their arms unconditionally on Jan. 16, 1916 and the country, which had gone back a great deal since 1912, was administered by an Austrian military general-gouvernement. The king went first to Italy, then to France, never to return again, for after the War he was deposed along with his sons on Nov. 29, 1918 by an assembly in Podgorica on the charge of treachery.

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(C. PATSCH)

MOORS, a rather vague name still applied in the sixth century to certain elements in the Muslim town population of various countries and especially to the inhabitants of the Mediterranean ports of North Africa. The word, presumably of Phoenician origin, corresponds to the ancient local name of the natives of Barbary reproduced by the Romans as *Μαῦροι*, *Mauri* and by the Greeks as *Μαυροί* (Strabo, vii. 825). The term *Mauri* used by the Romans in a general way for the Berbers passed into Spain in the form *Moro*, and it was by the name of Moros that the people of the Iberian peninsula throughout the whole period of Muslim rule knew the Arab conquerors and arabicised Berbers who had come to settle in Spain from the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar. The name Moros passed into various European languages: French *Maures*, English *Moors*, German *Mauren*. At the time of the "Reconquista" the name *Moriscos* was applied in Spain to these Muslims (usually crypto-Muslims) who had remained in the country until their final expulsion in 1610. The *Moriscos* went mainly to North Africa, where they were known to the natives as *Andalus* while Christian travellers gave them the general name of Moors.

In modern times the Moors to the European were therefore the urban population of the North African ports, irrespective of the proportion of immigrants from Spain. Since then the word has been generally used with the meaning Muslim of the towns of the western end of the Mediterranean (cf. such expressions in "Moorish bath", "Moorish coffee" etc.).

The name Moors has also been given to the Arab or Berber peoples, pure or mixed with negro blood, who live to the north in the Senegal in the province to which the French now give the ancient name of Mauritania (see below), and to the offspring of the marriages of Arabs from South Arabia and Cingalese who form an important Muslim colony in Ceylon (c. 200,000).

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

The land of the Moors is MAURITANIA or Mauretania. This name which has been derived either from a Phoenician word *Mauharim* "the Westerns" or with more probability from the name of a tribe living before the Christian era in North Africa, was applied in ancient times to northern Morocco (Mauretania Tingitana) and to the north-west of Algeria (Caesarean Mauretania). At a later date, by extending the application, Europeans have given the general name of Moors to the Arabo-Berber peoples of Mediterranean and Saharan Africa. Then gradually they came to distinguish out of this mass the groups with which they came more frequently into contact (Tripolitans, Tunisians, Algerians, Moroccans), so that the name Moors came to be limited to the people of Spanish (Muslim), Jewish or Turkish origin of North Africa and particularly to the nomads of the western Sahara, who traverse what Ahmad al-Shinkīṭī (in *al-Wasit*, Cairo 1329 A.H.) calls the "land of Shinkīṭī", from the name of its chief village; this country is bounded, says the author, by the Atlantic Ocean, the valley of the *Sakīat al-Hamrā'*, the plain of Ibn Ḥaiba (plain

of the Brākna) on the right bank of the Senegal and by the two towns of Walāta and Na'ma (Nema); if, like him, we take into account all inhabited areas, we ought to extend it to the east as far as the meridian of Timbuktu.

Mauritania, which now forms one of the eight colonies of French West Africa, is only a part of this vast area. It lies to the north of the Senegal between this river, the Atlantic Ocean and the marigot of Karakoro; to the north and east, a frontier settled by agreements separates it from the Spanish Sahara (June 27, 1900; Oct. 3, 1904; Nov. 27, 1912) and from the territories of the south of Algeria (agreement of June 7, 1905) and from the French Sūdān (decree of 23rd April, 1913). It has an area of 835,000 square kilometres, 289,000 inhabitants, the density of population being 0.34.

Except for the banks of the Senegal, the country is steppe or desert, and only suitable for stock rearing. To be brief, it is a military frontier district defending on the north the more favoured lands of the Senegal rather than a country suitable for development by colonisation.

I. GEOGRAPHY.

A semi-circular range of hills of no great height, worn by erosion but often difficult of access, starts as it were out of the ocean to the south of the Rio de Oro and reaches the middle course of the Senegal after running round the contours of an ancient gulf of the quaternary period. The Adrār Ṭmar and the Tāgant separated by the depression of the *Khat* form as it were the cornerstones of this system and are continued to the north-west in the "petrified sea" (a plain scattered over with rocky islets) of the Tiris and by the arêtes of the Adrār Suṭuf, to the south by the Rgaiba and Asaba.

The interior of this gulf consists almost entirely of sands, brought from the desert by the predominating north-east winds. The dunes in the south are all fixed and are called "dead"; in the north they are "alive" and constantly changing. Like the other dunes of the western Sahara they run in the direction of the wind, N.E.-S.W., and are separated from one another by contours of firmer soil along which traffic can go.

The Shamamah is a plain, formed of lands of alluvial origin, along the lower Senegal and as such particularly suitable for cultivation; as we go up the river it is known as Litama and then as Gidimaka. Other plains, those of the Brākna and the Gorgol, are more remote from the river; they contain permanent pools of water to which their girdles of high trees gave a characteristic appearance (*tāmurt*). To the north of the Shamamah and the land of the Brākna stretches a series of dunes among which may be mentioned those of Amatlish. The couloir of the Inshiri continued by that of the Amsaiga separates the latter from the similar ranges, the Akshar and the Azefal, which stretch to the Tiris; they are difficult to cross, but between them the Tijiri supplies an easy route. Beyond to the north-west, the Tasiast and the Swiḥel al-Abyaḍ are great plains of denudation.

On their convex face, the Adrār and Tāgant are prolonged to the north in the massif of the Kudiat Ijfel and by that of the Zemmur, separated by the Tizel-kaf, towards the north-east by the cliffs of the Dhar Adrār and the Hānk and by the plateau of the Eglab, which stretches to the

great sand-dunes of the Igidi, to the east by the Dhar Tishit which runs to Walata. Between these lines of rock, great ridges of moving dunes make passage difficult but provide good pasturage for the flocks; these are from north to south, the Erg al-Hamami, the Makteir, the Waran, the Adafer and the Aukar. Lastly, to the north of all these masses of sand, the Ghallaman, Karet and Yetti are "tanezrufts" without water, of hard and flat soil, which run as far as the Hammada of the Dra.

The coast consists of dunes and plateaux with numerous *sebkhas* or salt lakes. There is usually a large sand-bar; nevertheless the sea, which is very rich in fish, gives a livelihood to a population of fishermen.

The Sahara in the proper sense of the word hardly extends beyond a line marked by Cape Timiris, Mejriya (Moudjeria), the northern bank of the Tagant (depression of Khat), the southern margin of the Adafer and Walata. It is especially dry on both sides of the Adrar: to the west in the region of Port Etienne and in the dunes bordering on the Tiris, and especially to the east where to the north of Walata, the Mraya, Djuf and the western part of the Erg Shesh, still almost unknown, form a waterless no man's-land; this district is visited only by antelopes, gazelles and ostriches, and by the Nmadi, hunters who can manage to go for days without water and live like their game on green stuffs.

To the south of the line above given, the steppe gradually changes to forest as we near the river. The climate is very hot; the influence of the sea is not felt beyond a score of miles inland. Subtropical rains fall as far as the north of the Adrar.

II. POPULATION.

At the earliest period to which the chronicles and native traditions go back, Mauritania seems to have been peopled by negroes. Later, in the course of centuries, it received various immigrations of Berbers, especially *Sanhādja* and *Zanāta*, Arabs and probably also of Jews. The *Sanhādja* came first, certainly before the *Hidjra*; later the development of Trans-Saharan commerce brought to the few towns that had been built, merchants of varied origin (Arabs, Berbers, *Zanāta*, *Nafūsa*, *Lwāta*, *Nafzāwa*, etc.); at different periods also, Jews came there to seek refuge from persecutions, the last of which drove them out of Tuāt at the end of the xvth century; lastly the Arabs belonging to the Maḳīl group in their turn invaded the country from the xvth century onwards, bringing with them more *Zanāta* or driving them in front of them.

The Jews have been completely absorbed into the Berbers (they form, it is believed, the foundation of the caste of smiths, *ma'allemin*) or into the Fula, so that it is not possible to estimate their numbers at the present day. The negroes, who have been gradually driven towards the river, are now represented by approximately 36,000 Tukulors (Takrūr), 21,600 Sarakole and 13,000 Wolof, Fula and Bambara. The Arabo-Berber Moors number about 216,000.

III. HISTORY.

a. Prehistory. Such researches as have been made in Mauritania, notably in the Adrar and in the Aukar, have revealed there, as throughout the

Sahara, the existence of important prehistoric sites; if it is not possible to date them, they are at least evidence of a very early population whose utensils seem to connect them with the negroes. These conclusions are further confirmed by the native chronicles and traditions, and perhaps we ought to connect with these remote inhabitants of the country the *Bafur*, to whom the Moors attribute the creation of the palm-groves of the Adrar and who are said to have built a town, the "city of the dogs", on the site of the present Azuggi, ten miles N. W. of Aṭar. What seems probable in any case is that these black Mauritians were more or less subjects of the first kingdoms known to the southwest of the desert: that of Takrūr, which ruled Senegalese Futa, that of Ghana, the capital of which was on the site of the modern Kumbi, 100 miles S. W. of Walata and that of Diara which succeeded them and ruled the whole of the western Sūdān. To the north, the lands of the negroes no doubt marched with the lands in which the *Sanhādja* and *Znāga* Berbers led a nomadic life in the south of Morocco.

b. The *Sanhādja* invasion. We do not know at what date the *Sanhādja* invaded Mauritania; but it was certainly a very early one. It is possible that expeditions by the Arab emirs to al-Maghrib al-Akṣā, beginning in the latter years of the seventh century, which marked the first contact of the *Sanhādja* with Islām, may have driven them to the south but their first incursions into the Tiris, into the Adrar and to the Tagant were probably much earlier. Their conquest of the country, it is true, seems to have been fairly slow and it was not, it appears, till the xth century that they succeeded in reaching the banks of the Senegal for the first time.

c. The first *Sanhādja* kingdom. At the beginning of the ninth century, a certain number of *Sanhādja* tribes (among them the Lemtūna, the Guddāla and the Beni Wāret) occupied the Adrar, with their advanced posts in the Tagant, and made raids into the Ḥawḍ (Hodh) against the negro Soninke empire of Ghana. The Lemtūna supplied them with chiefs at this time, and one of them, Tilutan (d. in 836 or 837), succeeded in imposing his authority on all the Berbers and making twenty negro kings pay tribute to him. The chief towns of his dominion were Azuggi and especially Audaghust, forty miles N. E. of the site of the modern Kiffa (Kiffa). Audaghust seems to have been founded in the seventh century by the Soninke and its fame as a centre of trans-Saharan trade brought it a large foreign population, already in part converted to Islām: Berbers of different branches and Arabs. In spite of this brilliant start, this Lemtūna dynasty lasted only a short time and disappeared in 919. Each tribe then led an independent existence and the emperors of Ghana were able to extend their power towards the Tagant and to take Audaghust at the end of the tenth century.

d. The second *Sanhādja* kingdom. Towards 1020, the chiefs of the various *Sanhādja* tribes agreed to combine again as in the time of Tilutan and thus to resist the encroachments of the Soninke. The power was placed in the hands of a Lemtūni called Tarsina, who seems to have been the first really Muslim *Znāgi* ruler. He went to Mecca and his enthusiasm as a new convert led him to a holy war on the negroes, in which he lost his life (1023). His son-in-law Yaḥyā b.

Ibrāhīm of the tribe of the Guddāla succeeded him, according to the custom which made the supreme command go to the two tribes alternately. Like Tarsina, he was a zealot and on returning from the pilgrimage, he brought from Morocco a holy man, 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, to whom he entrusted the task of educating his brothers, who were still very ignorant of the principles of Islām. The saint was at first well received by the Ṣanhādja and he made them build the town of Aret-nenna near the site of the modern Tishit. But soon his commands appeared too difficult for the nomads, who rebelled against him. He sought refuge with his disciples in a *ribāṭ* or fortified monastery on an island in the ocean (sometimes identified with Tidra) and they were henceforth known as the *al-Murābiṭūn* (the men of the *ribāṭ*), a word which has been corrupted in Europe to Almoravids under which name they have become famous.

e. The Almoravids. Their reputation for sanctity spread very rapidly and attracted many disciples to them. When 'Abd Allāh had gathered around him a sufficiently large body of men, he led them against their rebellious brethren and against the negroes. In a few years they subdued the whole of the western Sahara, from Tafilalt and the Dra to the Senegal. In 1050, Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm died, and Yaḥyā b. 'Umar, chief of the Lemtūna, became the political head of the confederation, 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn remaining the religious chief. While the first recaptured and plundered Audaghust, the second attempted the conquest of the Maghrib. But soon they were both slain, Yaḥyā in a rising in the Adrār in which the negroes of the Takrūr tried in vain to help him, and 'Abd Allāh in fighting the Barghawāta heretics of the plains of Morocco. Abū Bakr, brother of Yaḥyā, was then for some time supreme chief of the Almoravids, then to gratify his ambitious nephew Yūsuf b. Tāshfin he handed over to him his conquests in North Africa, keeping only to himself the sovereignty of the south. He devoted himself to a holy war against the negroes and to their conversion to Islām. He succeeded in driving them back towards the river and in taking Ghana in 1076 and the capital of the Takrūr in 1080, extending his teaching, the tradition says, as far as the lands of a Mandingo prince of the Upper Niger. He was slain in the Tāgant in 1087 and his death marked the break up of the Ṣanhādja confederation in Mauritania; each tribe regained its independence.

f. The Tashumsha and the negro reaction. Between this date and the end of the xvth century we know very little of the history of Mauritania. We only suspect that the influence of the negro kingdom of Mali must have extended up to the Adrār and Tāgant and that a new Marabout Berber element formed by the Tashumsha of Sūs, came and settled in the country.

The Tashumsha seem to have at first taken up the mantle of the Almoravids and to have made themselves the champions of the *djihad* against the negroes. But after a few successes, they were driven back from the region of the river and fell back upon the Tiris and Adrār, where they gave up fighting and devoted themselves to study and religious devotions. The successes of the negroes then became serious: Wolofs, Soninkes and Tuculors recaptured a whole part of Mauritania and might

perhaps have succeeded in subjecting the Berbers, who were exhausted by their campaigns of conquest in the Mediterranean region, if the coming of the Ma'kil Arabs had not checked them.

g. The Ma'kil invasion. It is not possible to date this new invasion exactly; it is, however, certain that it was not a single effort. It went on almost down to the nineteenth century with little groups filtering into the Ṣanhādja encampments and at length submerging them.

Setting out from Egypt, the Ma'kil passed along the northern border of the desert and reached the Ocean to the south of Morocco in the first half of the xiiith century. They then entered the service of the Marinid rulers of Fās, who used them to keep in subjection the provinces beyond the Atlas and to collect taxes. These undisciplined nomads very soon took advantage of their privileged position. Measures had to be taken against their brigandage and their threats to overrun Morocco, and military expeditions were sent against them. Either as a result of these reprisals, or because they were called in by the Ṣanhādja to help them against the negroes, or because a year of drought drove them in search of new pasturage, some of them, belonging to the confederation of the Dwi Ḥasan or Beni Ḥasan, went down towards Mauritania. But the chronicles do not say why. In any case, having helped to drive the negroes back towards the river, supported by the Zanāta Kunta who came from Tuāt at the same time as the first of them, they reduced to vassalage the Ṣanhādja of Upper Mauritania (Ijjel and Zemmūr) in the xvth century, Western Mauritania, Wadan and Tāgant in the xviith and the Adrār and Lower Mauritania in the xviiith century. Throughout the long period from the xvth century to the present day, we find the authority in the hands of a certain number of Udāya tribes: the Ulād Rizg, the Mghāfra Ulād Mbārka, the Brākna, the Trārza and the Ulād Yaḥyā b. 'Uthmān. Other Beni Ḥasan also went south, but barely reached Mauritania. The Ulād Dlim have always remained in the desert zone and the Brābiṣh seem to have passed some years a little to the north of the Senegal before migrating to the region of Timbuktu.

h. The Ma'kil and the Sultāns of Morocco. From their first sojourn in the south of Morocco, these Ma'kil long retained the character of Makhzen tribes; under the Sa'dians and 'Alawis, many of them supplied contingents to the *gish* tribes. This status gave their migration southwards the appearance of a conquest in name of the Sultāns. This was no doubt the legal justification of the tribute which they exacted from the conquered Beduins; it also explains why the rulers of Fās or Marrākesḥ sometimes claimed as theirs the territory of Mauritania, why they sent several expeditions there in the xviiith and xviiiith centuries, why they granted investiture to certain chiefs and lastly why the author of *al-Wasit*, after consulting several learned men, thought that the "land of Shingit" should be included with the Maghrib and not with the Sūdān.

i. The Ṣanhādja reaction. Whatever was the actual success of the Arab conquests in Mauritania, it were not effected without violent reaction on the part of the Ṣanhādja. The poverty of the Tashumsha, the negro danger and the looseness of links between the various bodies of invaders facilitated the settlement of the early Arab invaders. But the tyranny of the Ma'kil towards the Berbers

brought them in the xviith century to such desperation that a general rising broke out in the form of an attempted restoration of the Almoravids led by Naṣīr al-Dīn, a marabout descendant of the Lemtūna. This individual, who camped in western Mauritania, first preached a holy war there against the negroes, being sure of re-uniting the various contingents against the traditional enemy. Then having given the troops sufficient training in a campaign which brought them across the river to plunder the left bank, he turned openly against the Arabs. This was the celebrated "War of Babbah", in the course of which the Arabs were held in check for thirty years; but in the end quarrels within the Ṣanhādja ranks destroyed their strength and in 1674 the defeat at Tin Yefḍāq doomed them to vassalage.

In much the same way in 1745 the Ideiṣhilli Berbers of the Adrār had to bow before the Ma'kil and at the end of the xixth century we find them again rising against the Arab amir and assassinating him. Finally in the Tāgant, the Ṣanhādja Idu'aish well led by their chief Muḥammad Shein regained their independence at the end of the xviiith century. They almost succeeded in seizing the Adrār in 1892, drove the Zanāta Kunta out of the Tāgant and extended their power to the Senegal, under the able rule of amirs who are still reigning and claim to be true descendants of the Almoravids.

j. The rule of the amirs. All over, from the xviith century, the political situation of the tribes became stabilised, and regular little nomad states seem to have been formed, usually under Arab chiefs. Thus we now find the dynasty of the Ulād Aḥmad b. Damān ruling among the Trārza with distinguished sovereigns like 'Alī Ṣhan-dura (1703-1727) who, supported by Sulṭān Mawlāi Isma'il, delivered his tribe from Brākna domination, and especially Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb (1827-1860) whose long reign is marked by the first Moorish resistance to European penetration. Among the Brākna also, the Ulād 'Abd Allāh amirs played a preponderating role after the war of Babbah and their possessions extended from the Tāgant to the Ocean. Later, and particularly from the xixth century, their power declined, in spite of the brilliant reign of Aḥmaddu I (1818-1841), and their desperate resistance to the advance of the French caused them to disappear from the political scene. In Adrār the Ulād Yaḥyā b. 'Uṭhmān also furnished great leaders: Aḥmad uld Muḥammad (1871-1891) who was able to keep his turbulent subjects at peace with their neighbours and who tried to develop trans-Saharan commerce, and Aḥmad uld Sidi Aḥmad (1891-1899) who by his military successes earned the title of "amir of war". Lastly in the person of Bakar uld Sweid Aḥmad, a descendant of Muḥammad Shein, the Tāgant produced the greatest Moorish ruler of the xixth century.

The rule of these amirs was continually beset with great difficulties, produced by their rivalries, the lack of discipline, rebellion and intrigues among their subjects, by the warlike raids of the negroes, and particularly by the efforts of Europeans to establish their rule on the Atlantic coast and on the banks of the river.

k. European rivalries on the coast of Mauritania. It was in the first half of the xvth century that the Portuguese visited the coast of Mauritania and the north of the Senegal for the

first time. At the instigation of the Infante Henry the Navigator, expeditions followed which brought back slaves, gold and gums. After João Fernandez had gone to Wadan in the eastern Adrār, where he spent some months among the Ṣanhādja in 1446, a permanent settlement was founded in 1448 on the island of Arguin, which afforded excellent conditions of security. From there the Portuguese endeavoured to extend their power into the interior and to command the great caravan routes which led from the Sūdān to Morocco; to them are attributed the fortresses, now in ruins, near Wadan and at Azuggi. But if it is certain that for a short time they extended their relations as far as the capital of the negro empire of Mali on the Upper Niger, it seems that they did not own factories for any length of time except on the coast.

The trade of Arguin flourished for two centuries in the hands of the Portuguese, then of the Spaniards and it extended as far as Lower Mauritania through Portendik (corruption of "Port d'Addi" from the name of an emir of Trārza), a not very good roadstead where barter was carried on. The French at a later date established themselves at the mouth of the Senegal (1626), the Dutch at war with Spain took Arguin in 1638, which the English took from them in 1665 and a struggle for influence began among these three nations which lasted for a century. Arguin and Portendik continually changed hands, while France developed her trade along the Senegal by building factories. Finally the Treaty of Versailles (Sept. 3, 1783) recognised her exclusive sovereignty over the Atlantic coast from Cape Blanc to the mouth of the Salum. The wars at the beginning of the xixth century brought the English back there for a time, and it was only in 1817, three years after the treaty of Paris, that France definitely took possession of the country. Arguin and Portendik had in the meantime been almost completely ruined as a result of these vicissitudes.

l. The French conquest. Down to 1857 England retained the right to trade at Portendik, which allowed the Trārza chiefs and in particular Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb to play off against one another the two nations who seemed to threaten her independence, and thus to gain a footing on the left bank of the Senegal. The position of the Europeans with regard to the natives was however difficult and trade with them was permitted only on payment of heavy customs dues. It was only in 1854 with the appointment of Faidherbe as governor of Senegal that a more vigorous policy was introduced into Lower mauritania. In four years he reduced Walo on the left bank to submission and drove the Moors out of it and forced the emirs of Trārza and Brākna to sign a treaty, which if it did not abolish the customs, at least recognised that France had a right of suzerainty over the peoples living near the river and guaranteed freedom of trade there.

For nearly fifty years, these treaties were respected and the Moorish chiefs, too much occupied in maintaining peace among their subjects and in defending themselves from the intrigues of pretenders, no longer thought of coming into conflict with French troops; commercial agreements were made which extended as far as with the Idu'aish of the Tāgant and one treaty was even made with the emir of the Adrār. This period also saw a great deal of exploration of the interior; after

Mungo Park (1795—1796), Caillié (1825), Caille (1843) and Panet (1850), Vincent, Bu al-Mugdad, Bonnel, Aliun Sal, Mage, Fulcrand, Aube, Soleillet, Quiroga and Cervera, Douls, Soller, Fabert, Donnet, Blanchet, Gruvel and Chudeau contributed to our knowledge of this country and prepared the way for its occupation.

In the last years of the sixteenth century the troubles of which Lower Mauritania was the centre finally had repercussions on the trading centres on the river which became daily more serious. The insecurity hampered commerce and in proportion as the memory of the vigorous policy of Faïdherbe became obliterated, marauders ravaged the country down to the left bank of the river, right into the administered country. The conquest of Mauritania had to be planned in order to protect effectively the colony of Senegal and with this object an endeavour was made to use the influence of the marabouts, tired of a perpetual warfare, of which too often they bore the expense. The diplomatic action of M. Coppolani, Commissaire Général of the government since 1902, judiciously supported by police operations, brought about the occupation of the Trārza country in 1903, of the Brākna country in 1904 and of the Tāgant in 1905.

This rapid advance, however, was checked before the anti-foreign propaganda of a marabout of the Hawd, Mā' al-A'inin, son of Muḥammad Faḍil, who after spending a long period in Upper Mauritania, had been settled for some years at Smara near Sagiat al-Ḥamrā'. His prestige as a magician, supported by the veneration shown him by the Moroccan sultāns, was not long in winning him the support of the greater number of the Moorish tribes and especially of those of the Adrār, the emir of which had been brought up in his entourage. At his instigation, Coppolani was assassinated and a cousin of the Sultān Mawlāi Idris came to lead the *djihad* in Mauritania. A success gained by him at Nyamilan led to nothing, but on the return of a delegation of Moorish chiefs who had gone to seek help from the sovereign of Morocco, a general offensive was begun against the French troops (1908). To put an end to an agitation which threatened to become dangerous, Colonel Gouraud conquered the Adrār in 1909 and his victory was completed in 1910 by the death of Mā' al-A'inin and in 1912 by the capture of Tishit and joining up with the troops of the Hawd. The conquest of Mauritania by the French was thus practically completed. The march of el-Ḥeiba, son of Mā' al-A'inin, on Marrākesh in 1912 revived some inclination to rebel among the Moors, but the destruction of Smara in 1913 checked this, and France now only had to secure the protection of her colony from raiders from the Sahara.

IV. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

The negroes are settled agriculturists who have their villages mainly in the Shamamah and the Gorgol and in the main they belong rather to Senegal than to Mauritania.

The Moors have a few villages (the principal are Aṭar, Shingiti, Wadan, Tijigja, Tishit) with palm groves and a few farms in the Adrār, the Tāgant and the Ḍhar. They are great nomads who live under cone-shaped tents of camel-skin and follow the rainfall with their flocks. Those who wander in the zone of the steppes oscillate

between the river and the desert, except the Trārza of western Mauritania, who, on account of the dryness of their country, move over a much greater area and sometimes even reach Tiris and Adrār Suṭuf. The people of the Adrār go down as far as Tāgant, and on the north at one time were in contact with the Tekna of the south of Morocco around the Sagiat al-Ḥamrā'. Their supply of meat is very scanty and it is not an exaggeration when Psichari calls them "the most wretched of mankind".

Their groups have been much gradated by the constant influx of Moroccans. Before French rule, the Ḥasan, pure Arabs, formed the noble and warrior class who protected the encampments and lived by cattle-rearing and marauding. The Zwaya or marabouts, generally Ṣanhādja or Zanāta Berbers, paid an annual sum called *ghafer* to the Ḥasan for their security; they were likewise breeders of cattle, but also included among them merchants and men of letters who were regular travelling universities; the more or less open practice of sorcery served them as a means of defence against the exactions of the Ḥasan. The Znāga or tributaries (*lahma*), Ṣanhādja Berbers, were the exploited. The feudal dues which they paid to the Arabs (*ḥorma*) did not always exempt them from periodical payments to the marabouts nor from arbitrary sums levied upon them by one or the other. They were in part agriculturists. The Ḥarāṭin, freed slaves, formed tribes of serfs, usually better treated than the preceding. Finally the Ḥasan and the marabouts owned numerous slaves in which they did a busy trade. On the fringe of all these groups, the Ma'llemin, the griots (*igaun*) and the Nmadi were respectively the workmen, poets and singers and hunters who supplied the encampments of eastern Mauritania with meat.

The barriers between these castes were in theory rigid. A certain number of marabouts, however, and even of Znāgas succeeded in escaping from Arab tutelage, like the Idu'aish of the Tāgant, and devoted themselves to the adventurous life of the Nmadi hunter (*geimer*) just as "penitent" Ḥasan sometimes adopted the pious life of the Zwaya (*Tiyad*).

French administration has left this traditional organisation intact, only suppressing slavery; it has, however, checked the abuses of the Ḥasan by putting a stop almost everywhere to the payment of the ḥormas and ghafer.

Economic Life. Mauritania has only one port, Port-Étienne, on the peninsula of Cape Blanc; it is, however, only a fishing centre. The course of the Senegal is used as far as Podor in the dry season, as far as Bakel in the winter months. No road has yet been made, but the important points are linked up by automobile or caravan services. The telephone is in use only in the south, but its place is taken by the wireless, which connects Mauritania with Dakar, Casablanca, Agadir, Bamako and Timbuktu.

The principal source of wealth of the country is stock-breeding: 51,000 camels, 3,800 horses, 239,000 cattle, 2,000,000 goats and sheep, 66,000 asses. The abundant game (antelope, gazelle, ostriches, guinea fowl and bustards) supplies further food for the inhabitants. Among agricultural products, special mention may be made of the date-palms in the north (3,000 tons of date a year), along the river and in a few favoured valleys of

the plateaus, millet, rice, maize, wheat and barley. In the south gum is a traditional article of export (1,250—2,500 tons a year).

The natural resources of the country have hardly been investigated as yet. We may mention, however, the salt of the *Sebkhet Ijfel*, which has for long supplied the caravans to the south; along the coast a few salt-pans are worked by the Moors. The annual export is 4,700 tons.

Industry is in a very rudimentary stage and confined almost entirely to the manufacture of leather goods which form the equipment of the cameleer and the furniture of his tent. Fishing supplies the encampments near the coast.

A certain number of caravans transport merchandise from the north to the south along the coast and through the *Adrār* and *Tāgant* to the trading centres on the river and the *Sūdān*. They take with them animals, gums, salt, dates, ostrich feathers, skins and leather, and bring back cloth, arms, powder, candles, sugar, tea, spices and cereals, and supply the markets of *Aṭar*, *Shingiti*, *Wadan* and *Tijigja*. As a result of the insecurity in the desert there is no longer any regular trans-Saharan trade.

V. POLITICAL LIFE.

The negroes are ruled by their village headmen and chiefs of districts. The Moors are grouped in tribes under the authority of a *shaikh* assisted by a council of notables or *djemā'a*. Sometimes several tribes are combined in a hereditary amirate, the ruler of which surrounds himself with a regular court generally recruited from among the *Znāga* or *Ḥarāṭin*. The *shaikh* or *amir* is practically all-powerful; only the right to judge in civil matters is not completely his; the *qādis* exercise it. The *amir* further reserves to himself a kind of right to supervise their judgments through the intermediary of his private *qādi* who forms a court of appeal.

The French administration has been superimposed on this traditional organisation. A Lieutenant-Governor, residing at St. Louis, on the right bank of the river, is the head of the colony and is assisted by a military commandant, an inspector of administrative affairs, a secretary for military and political affairs, a secretary for finance and a department of public works. The local administration carried out by administrators or officers is divided into eight districts (*Trārza*, *Brākna*, *Gorgol*, *Gidimaka*, *Assaba*, *Tāgant*, *Adrār* and *Baie du Lévrier*) and seventeen sub-divisions or administrative posts. It controls the native administrative and judicial organization.

The Moors pay the *Qur'anic* taxes (*zakāt* and *ashur*) from which their riding-camels and gums alone are exempt. The negroes pay a poll-tax and a tax on cattle. Indirect contributions are paid by the markets, the salt-pans, the carrying of arms, the exploitation of the woods and ferries. The Budget for Mauritania for 1930 was 14,623,000 francs.

VI. LANGUAGE.

The language spoken in Mauritania is Arabic, the *ḥasania* or language of the *beidān*, the "whites". Some 7,000 *Znāga* in the south have retained a Berber dialect related to that of the dialects of southern Morocco. At *Wadan* and *Tishit*, the language *azair* (Azer) which is a form of Soninke

is now spoken only by a few individuals. Lastly the negroes of the river have retained their own language.

VII. RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

History does not tell us what was the religion of the *Ṣanhādja* before their conversion to Islām; we can only think that they had to some extent been influenced by a monotheistic faith like Judaism or even Christianity. Their first contact with Islām probably dates from 'Ukba b. Nāfi's expedition to the south of Morocco (681), but it is certain that their real conversion was much later and can hardly have been earlier than the energetic proselytising campaign of 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn.

At the present day all the inhabitants of Mauritania are Muslims of the *Mālikī* rite, but many of them and more particularly the warriors and the *Nmadi* have only a very superficial acquaintance with their religion and take little interest in it; superstitions and sorcery further corrupt their Islām almost everywhere, revealing the primitive state of the people and negro influence. Islām is not really known and practised, except among the tribes of marabouts; among the latter, a mystical tradition and a fairly advanced culture have always made themselves felt and for this reason they play in Moorish society the part of a kind of sacerdotal body such as is found nowhere else in the Muslim world of the west. This is no doubt a remote consequence of the Almoravid movement, revived for a time in the war of Babbah, and of the peculiar situation of these Muslim nomads, who have here long been the advance-guard of the white race, face to face with the negro fetish-worshippers of the Senegal and *Sūdān*. Perhaps, like Renan and Psichari, we ought also to give credit to the influence of *religiosité* of the desert. In any case in thus assuming a kind of sacred character and surrounding it with a magic prestige, certain Berbers have had a regular revenge of their amour-propre on the pride of race of the Arab invaders and have opposed to their tyranny and brigandage a defensive weapon which has not been without effect.

The principal brotherhoods of Mauritania are those of the *Tidjāniya* and of the *Qādiriya*; their influence extends into the lands of the negroes. The first are represented by the *Ida u 'Ali* of the *Trārza*, of the *Tāgant* and of the *Adrār*, who claim to be *shorfā'* and say they came from *Tabel-bala* at the beginning of the *xivth* century. Since the early years of the *xixth* century they have been connected with the branch of the *Tidjāniya* in *Fās*. The second are much more numerous and influential; they have several branches; that of the *Bekkāya* dates from the *xvth*—*xvith* centuries and is represented from the bend of the *Niger* to the *Tāgant* and *Adrār* by the tribe of the *Kunta*. About a century ago it received fresh impulse in a new "path" and its autonomy in Lower Mauritania was secured by the great prestige of the *Shaikh* *Sidiya*, of the *Ulud Biri* (d. 1924). We may also mention the branch of the *Fādiliya*, founded in the early years of the *xixth* century, which enjoyed particular fame some 20 years ago under the direction of *Mā' al-'Ainin* and his brother the *Shaikh* *Sa'd Bū*. These two branches have lost their importance since the deaths of these famous individuals. Lastly the *Qādiriya* are still represented by the some 600 members of the

Ghūdīya brotherhood, whose practices are regarded as heretical by the other Muslims.

Shingitī, benefiting by its situation on the routes of the caravans which came from western Morocco or Sebkhēt Ijjet down to the Ḥawq or the Senegal was at one period an intellectual centre, the reputation of which extended to all the western Sahara and to the Sūdān. We see this in the fact that it was able to give its name to all the Moorish tribes (*Shenāgita*) and to the territory in which they led their nomadic life and that the tradition of the country makes it one of the "seven holy cities" of Islām. It has now lost its old prestige. In the xvth century the fame of the medersas of Timbuktu must have offered serious competition to it. At the present day Shingitī is seriously threatened by the sands of the Waran and its trade is much reduced. Aṭar is assuming an increasing importance; the insecurity and eccentric development of North Africa and the Sūdān have led to the almost complete disappearance of the trans-Saharan trade by which it lived and in particular, as is natural in a land of nomads, it has been rather under tents and particularly in the marabout encampments of western Mauritania that intellectual culture has developed. Universities have been created there where the teaching of the Qur'ān, theology, law, grammar and logic still flourishes. Some of them have known outbursts of glory under famous teachers, who have sometimes created schools of mystic initiation, like those directed by the Shaikh Sidiya, Ma' al-Ainin or Sa'd Bū or like that of the Ahl Muḥammad Sālem, which is a kind of university in the Tiris which produces almost all the jurists of Mauritania.

A whole original literature has been able to develop. Qur'ānic matter, Ḥadīth, law according to Sidi Khalil and his commentators, are its essential elements, with the doctrines of the Sūfis and their mysticism. But historical studies have also had and still have their eager followers, especially among the tribe of the Ulād Daman (Trārza). Lastly poetry is held in honour among all the tribes, warrior and marabout alike, and supports a whole caste of troubadours, the griots, who enjoy the favour of the courts of the emirs.

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(F. DE LA CHAPELLE).

MORĀDĀBĀD (Murādābād), a district in the Rohilkhand division of the United Provinces of India and also the chief town in it. The district has an area of about 2,300 square miles and a population of 1,200,000 of whom over 420,000 are Muḥammadans. Nothing is known of the early history of the district. In the Muḥammadan period it was successively ruled by the Sultāns of Dehli, from whom it was occasionally taken by the Sultāns of Djawnpūr, the Moghuls, the Rohillas, and the Nawābs of Oudh until it was ceded to the British in 1801.

Morādābād is the principal town in the district; it is situated on the Delhi-Bareilly road and on the main line of the Oudh-Rohilkhand railway. It has a population of 75,000 of whom over half are Muslims. The town is a Moghul foundation of the second quarter of the xviii century. Its founder was Rustam Khān who also built the Djāmi' Masdjid, as an inscription testifies, in 1632. The town takes its name from Murād Bakhsh, the ill-fated son of Shāh Djahān. It rapidly ousted Sambhal from its place as the chief town of the district. Its industries are flourishing (chiefly textiles and brass-work). It was a mint of the Moghul Emperors and also of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī during his invasion of India in 1760. Sambhal is a very ancient site but has lost much of the importance it possessed in mediaeval times. It has an old mosque, an interesting example of Pathan architecture which has even been claimed as a converted Hindu temple. It is said to have been built by Bābur but it is undoubtedly earlier. Amroha is the great Muḥammadan centre of the district, the majority of its population being Shaikhs and Saiyids. The chief saint of the Saiyids is Sharaf al-Din Shāh Wilāyat, a descendant of the tenth Imām, who came here about 1300. His tomb is still shown here. The Djāmi' Masdjid is a Hindu temple converted into a mosque in the reign of Kaikubād. It is much visited by pilgrims, mainly Hindus who seek relief from mental diseases through the power of Ṣadr al-Din, a former *mu'adhdhin* of the mosque, whose virtues are still believed to be efficacious. There are over a hundred other mosques in the town.

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(J. ALLAN)

MOREA is the usual name in mediaeval and modern times for the peninsula of the Peloponnesus which was regarded in ancient times as the citadel of Greece. The name Morea is first found in 1111 A.D. in the subscription to fol. 143^r of the Greek manuscript Brit. Mus. Add.

28816 (cf. M. Vogel—Y. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1909, p. 28, 466, and also *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, ix. 72). Originally the name Morea did not apply to the whole Peloponnesus but only to the outer mountains of Ichthya and the lands around them as well as the whole district of Elis. Reliable references show us that even in the xivth century the place-name Morea was equivalent to Elis; later the name became gradually extended to the whole Peloponnesus and with this meaning it is still used not only by the Greeks but also by other peoples of east and west.

Alongside of the original form Morea (ὁ Μορέας, with synesis Μορέας, Μοριάς) we find other divergent forms in Greek literature: ἡ Ἀμουρέα, ἡ Ἀμούρεα, ὁ Ἀμέρεας, ὁ Μοριάς, ὁ Μορία, ἡ Μόρα, ἡ Μορέα. In eastern sources of the mediaeval and modern period along with the predominant form *Amorea* (mainly in Latin-Italian documents of the xiiith—xivth century), *Amorée* (particularly in documents of the xvth—xviith century), *la Morea* (properly Italian), *la Morée* (French) we also find: *Amourée*, *la Mourée* (in French documents as early as the xiiith century). The origin of all these forms is to be traced to an inaccurate separation of the article from the noun: *la Morea*—*Amorea*.

In Muhammadan texts we find seven main forms of the name Morea = Peloponnesus: *Lamureia*, *Lamoreia*, *Almora*, *al-Mora*, *Moria*, *Mora* and *Morēh*. The first five are properly Arabic, the last Arabic-Turkish. There are however Arabic texts, which have the old classical name of the peninsula although with certain variants (cf. below).

As to the derivation of the name Morea, it has puzzled students greatly for centuries. Some scholars of the xvth century wanted to connect the name with Moors (Ital. *Mori*). These were said to have settled in the Peloponnesus at one time. This derivation of the place-name, which has even been adopted by modern scholars, agrees neither with historical tradition nor with philological laws. At one time the suggestion put forward by Emerson (*History of Modern Greece*, i. 60) and adopted by Fallmerayer found many supporters: it connected Morea with the Slav word *more* = sea. This view has been challenged by Kopitar (*Wiener Jahrbücher der Litteratur*, i. [1830], 111—120) and again by Zinkeisen and Hopf as decidedly "misleading and fanciful" and rejected by several later Greek and Slavonic scholars. At the present day it is generally thought that Morea is derived from the Greek word *μορέα* = "mulberry-tree", as Prof. G. N. Hatridakis (in the periodical *Ἀθηνά*, vol. v., 1894, p. 230, 401, 549, *Γλωσσολογικαὶ Μελέται*, Athens 1900, p. 29 *sqq.*) has brilliantly shown on the basis of philological arguments. In Elis where—as already mentioned—the name Morea, now applied to the whole of the Peloponnesus for some centuries, first appeared, the planting of the fields with mulberry-trees is said to have been very common in the middle ages. These trees were indispensable for the silk industry which was at one time very flourishing in the Peloponnesus and no less in Patras. Authors of the Empire (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xix. 4; Pausanias, vii. 5, 2; vi. 26, 4; vii. 21, 7) also tell us that Elis in those days produced *βύσσον*, i.e. a material related to silk. In any case, as early as the xvth century, the Greeks thought that the place-name Morea was connected

with the mulberry-tree. This is evident for example from Joh. Leunclavius (*Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, 1596, p. 63): "Nomen ipsum (= Moreas) derivant Graeci nunc ab arbore *moro* quod tota regione scilicet arbor haec frequens est".

In the mediaeval Muslim writers there is a confusion between *Amureia* = Amorion in Phrygia and *Lamureia* = Moreas, Peloponnesus. But *Amure(i)a* [or *Amure(i)a*, *Amuri(i)a*, *Amori(i)a* etc.] in Abu 'l-Kāsim Firdawsī can only be Amorion, which used to be described as the capital and "eye of the kingdom" of the Rūm. In the geographical tables of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (middle of the xiiith century) and of Ulugh Beg, *Amureia* should rather be identified with Amorion than with Morea = Peloponnesus (cf. P. Karolidis, in *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* [Ἐπετηρίς] der Universität Athen, iii. 1909, p. 288—297; A. Hantzis, in *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, ix., 1931, p. 65 *sqq.*). In the little map by the Arab Idrīsī, of the year 1192 A.D., *Belobūnes* = Peloponnesus is given (i.e. the old classical name of the peninsula). On the other hand, we find *Moria* = Morea = Peloponnesus (i.e. its mediaeval and modern name) in the Arabic geographical table of the Paris MS. 2214, which is supposed to contain the cosmography of Ibn Sa'īd of the year 1276 A.D. based for the most part on Idrīsī (1154 A.D.; cf. K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, i., Stuttgart 1926).

The Muhammadan peoples really only became acquainted with the Morea in the xiiith century A.D. Hellenistic culture was long extinct there and Christianity had become predominant. At the end of the fourth century (395 A.D.), Alaric had laid almost the whole of the Morea waste and destroyed many towns and sanctuaries famed in ancient times. About two centuries later, c. 589 A.D., the Avars (a Turkish nomadic people) allied with Slav tribes are said to have invaded the Morea and settled permanently. It should be expressly noted that it is only late and tendentious sources which tell us this. What scholars of the sixth century put forward as a historical fact, namely that an independent Avar or Avar-Slav Kingdom, intractable to Byzantine or Greek Christian influence, existed in the western half of the Morea for 218 years (589—807), must be relegated to the realms of fable (cf. E. Curtius, *Peloponnes*, i., Gotha 1851, p. 86). It is certain, however, that considerable ethnological changes took place in the middle ages in the Morea. In the viiith century in the reign of the Byzantine emperor Constantine V (741—775), if not earlier, numerous Slav tribes had pushed their way into the Morea, which had been much depopulated from 746 by a terrible pestilence. This epidemic had also made great gaps in the population of Constantinople, which Constantine V is said to have endeavoured to fill with people from the Morea; this imperial edict must have further contributed to reduce the Greek element in the peninsula. It may be assumed that the Slavs who at this time were settling mainly in Arcadia and Messenia, Elis and Laconia, sought and found new homes in the Morea, which had been favoured by nature with a milder climate, not only as hostile robber hordes but also as peaceful colonists from the north.

According to Schafarik (*Slavische Altertümer*, German transl. by Wuttke, vol. ii., p. 192), the spread of the Slavs over the Morea can be fixed

between 746 and 799. Nevertheless there can be no question of a complete slavisation of the country nor of a complete annihilation of the Greek element in it — as Fallmerayer and his followers hold. The immigrant Slavs in Greece proper cannot have been very numerous. They were really nomad herdsmen and peasants, who settled here and there in the open country. Their level of culture much have been very low. On the other hand, the Hellenic element in Greece proper and no less in the Morea had always had control of the coasts and of the towns and fortresses in the interior, and it was moreover strong enough as regards culture to assert itself through the centuries and even to leave its mark on the foreign Slavs. The Slav settlers often caused trouble to the Byzantine government, so that the latter found themselves forced to send expeditions against them. For example in 783 A.D. the Athenian empress Irene ordered the Patriarch Staurakios to punish the Slav tribes of the Morea and the rest of the mainland of Greece. He appears to have had numerous troops at his command and was able to carry out his task satisfactorily in a few months. He subdued the Slavs and forced them to pay an annual tribute to the imperial treasury. He returned to Constantinople with many prisoners and considerable booty and celebrated a triumph in the Hippodrome there.

After some time, the Slavs again rose in the Morea against Byzantine authority. They became a great danger and even threatened the towns on the coast. Supported by Saracens from Africa, the Slavs in 807 (805 by another reckoning) blockaded Patras from the land. The citizens of this important town defended themselves bravely in spite of a shortage of provisions, water and other supplies. When the help sought from the imperial strategos in Corinth did not come, the citizens of Patras made a vigorous sortie. They put the enemy to flight and drove them far from their town. Greek superstition seems to have ascribed the victory won at Patras over the Slav hordes to St. Andrew, the patron saint of the town. Nothing is recorded of the fate of the Saracen allies of the Slav besiegers of Patras. It is supposed that it was they who ravaged not only Patras but also Rhodes and other islands by the caliph's order in 807 A.D. With the defeat at Patras the strength of the Slavs of the Morea was broken. It is true that they again and again attempted to win their independence of the Byzantines by force of arms but without success. In 850 A.D., the doughty Byzantine general Theoktistos Bryennios subdued all the Slav districts of the Morea as far as the mountains on the Taggetos and Parnon, where two rebel Slav tribes, the Ezerites and Melinges, had settled. These two tribes survived longest, sometimes as vassals of the Byzantines and sometimes as their open enemies. As early as the ninth century A.D. began the conversions of the Slavs to Christianity to which is due also their gradual hellenisation. The intermixture of the Greek Moreotes (Turk. *Moralis*) with the Slavs undoubtedly contributed considerably to the former process.

The Normans in Sicily in the following period disturbed not only the coasts of the mainland of Greece but also the interior of various Balkan provinces of the Byzantine empire. The Norman king Roger II in his campaign in 1146 against Greece sailed round the Morea and occupied with-

out a blow — after successfully storming the strongly fortified Malvasia — Corinth, celebrated for and prosperous from its trade and industries. It was for this same king, that the Arab Idrisi composed his *Nushat al-Mushūk*, finished about 1153 A.D. According to this work, Morea (*Belbonesh*), a flourishing and prosperous island of the Mediterranean, had 13 large and important towns, many citadels or fortified places and villages. Of the towns of the Morea Idrisi mentions the following among others: Corinth, "a large and populous city"; Batra (= Patras), "situated on a promontory", has a "famous" church (of the apostle St. Andrew); Arcadia (= the ancient Kyparissia), "a large and thickly populated town", whose harbour is visited by many ships; Irouda (= Navarino) with "a very commodious harbour"; Motonia (= Modon; q. v.), "a fortified town"; it was protected by a fort which commanded the sea; Coronis (= Koron), "a little town" with a citadel commanding the sea; el-Kedemona (= Lacedaemonia, the mediaeval Sparta), "a flourishing and important town, six miles from the sea"; Maliassa (= Monembasia, Malvasia), "a town defended by a very high citadel commanding the sea, from which the island of Crete can be seen"; Argho (= Argos), "a famous place and beautiful country"; Anaboli (= Nauplia, Napoli de Romania). According to Idrisi, Morea (the extent of which he puts at 1,000 miles) is connected with the mainland "only by an isthmus, the length of which is six miles" (= Hexamilion, cf. below). Only small ships could be taken through the isthmus from the Gulf of Corinth into that of Saron; ships of larger size had to sail all round the peninsula of Morea. The confusion in Idrisi between the promontory of Malea and Tainaron is not peculiar in mediaeval works. Idrisi's statements are not based to any extent on his own observations (cf. *Géographie d'Edrisi*, transl. by A. Jaubert, ii., 1840, p. 122 and also Th. Luc. Fc. Tafel, *De provinciis regni byzantini liber secundus: Europa*, Tübingen 1845, p. 27 sqq.).

We get much and varied information supplementing the Arab geographer's account of the Morea from various xith century sources, e.g. the *Travels* of Benjamin of Tudela (d. 1173) who starting from Saragossa visited the Greek east and other lands in order to become acquainted with the Jewish diaspora.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 and the resulting division of the Byzantine empire, which had now collapsed, had a great influence on the future of the Morea. Boniface of Montferrat in 1204 founded the kingdom of Thessalonica in Macedonia which he took in exchange for Asia Minor allotted to him by treaty. By a comparatively slight effort he and his followers were able from Thessalonica to conquer within a year a great part of the mainland of Greece as well as the Morea. Two knights, William of Champlitte, Count of Champagne, and Godfrey of Villehardouin the younger, may be regarded as the men who brought the Morea under Frankish rule. When William of Champlitte had to leave the Morea in 1209, Godfrey of Villehardouin continued the work of conquest alone and organised the Frankish administration of the country which was henceforth known as the principality of Achaia to Europeans. Soon after the Frankish occupation of the country, it was reorganised on western lines. But the feudal system did not find

its way into the Morea only after 1204. It had already existed in the country in the time of the Comneni.

The Frankish rulers built new citadels and forts in the plains and on the mountains, most of which survived into the period of Turkish rule. A number of fiefs which were formed by the Franks in 1205 became after the middle of the xvth century hereditary possessions of the Ottomans.

It must also be pointed out that the Venetians after the Fourth Crusade had secured important trading centres and depots on the Morea. The Republic in this way acquired the province of Lacedaemonia, Kalabryta, Modon and Patras, and in the case of the last two seaports, some of the surrounding country including the possessions of a number of distinguished families of the Byzantine aristocracy. During this period, Venice succeeded in extending her territory and commercial influence and privileges further in the Morea and even in taking possession of the whole of it (cf. below). The fourth prince of Achaia (Morea), William of Villehardouin (1245—1278), the second son of the above-mentioned Godfrey, had vigorously completed the conquest of the country. In 1245 he forced Monembasia, which had so far remained independent in alliance with the Greek kings of Nicaea, to capitulate under certain conditions. The same ruler also conquered a number of Morean tribes who had shown themselves hostile to Frankish rule and who played a prominent part in later times when the Turks occupied the country. To keep in check the wild tribes of Zaconia and Laconia, William II of Villehardouin in 1249 built near the ancient Sparta, on a hill jutting out in front of the Taygetos, Mysithra (Mystra), the fortress of the same name. A Frankish-Byzantine town soon grew up around this fortress which became a centre of art and classical studies. The town of Mystra was destined to be the capital of the later despots of the Morea, and even in the period of Turkish rule it did not completely lose its old importance. Frankish rule in the Morea, which reached its zenith under William II, was destined to suffer a severe reverse within his reign. In October 1259 a fierce battle was fought between Castoria and Monastiri (Pelagonia) at Longos Vorilla. In this battle fought the armies of the Despot of Epirus Michael Angelos and of the king of Nicaea and later Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos. As a result of treachery on the part of an illegitimate son of the despot Michael Angelos, the Sebastokrator Johannes, the troops and allies of the former suffered a reverse. Even William II of Villehardouin sought safety in flight only to be shortly afterwards enticed from his hiding-place and captured. He was not released till 1262, after taking the oath of vassalage to the Byzantine emperor and ceding him four important fortresses of the Morea: Mystra, Maina, Geraki and Monembasia, as well as a considerable part of Laconia. The Byzantines thus gained important bases in S. E. Morea from which they were able to reconquer the whole peninsula, which was all the more necessary as William II of Villehardouin only kept his pledge of fealty for a short time.

Relations between the Muslim peoples and the Morea now became closer. At the end of 1262 the Sebastokrator Constantine, a step-brother of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos, landed in the Morea at

the head of a large army which consisted mainly of Macedonians and Turks. This step-brother of the Emperor came to the Morea as administrator of the Byzantine lands there and occupied all the citadels which William of Villehardouin had been forced to cede in order to secure his release. The Byzantine governor took up his residence in Mystra. Soon afterwards open war broke out between the Franks and Byzantines. To strengthen the latter there landed at Monembasia in the spring of 1263 a new Turkish army corps of 5,000 (according to others 3,000) mercenaries in the service of Michael VIII Palaeologos, led by two men named Malik and Shalik. We have no accurate record of the origin and descent of these Turkish chiefs who, so far as we know, were the first to appear in the Morea. They must have been either Saldjiks or Turks of other descent who had no shame about selling their services to Christian rulers. The Turkish mercenaries under Malik and Shalik contributed greatly to the successes which the Sebastokrator Constantine gained over the Franks at the beginning of 1263. Along with Greeks, mainly from Zaconia and other provinces of the east, Slavs from the Morea, Dasmuls (of Greek-Frankish descent), the Turkish mercenaries attacked from Laconia Elis, which was the capital of the Frankish principality. The bands of Malik and Shalik then pressed into the highlands of Skorta. Here they ravaged at their will. With the approval of the Sebastokrator Constantine, they plundered the country, carried off and slaughtered the cattle. In these circumstances the Skortinians were forced to pay homage to the Byzantine emperor and to operate with his army against the Franks. Constantine's army, composed of so many different racial stocks, occupied the market-town of Veligosti (near Megalopolis) and burned it, without however being able to take its citadel; they then conquered Kalabryta and burned the famous Latin monastery of Isova. But soon afterwards they suffered a terrible defeat not far from Olympia.

In the spring of the year following (1264), the Sebastokrator Constantine continued the war on the Franks. He had no success and also quarrelled with his Turkish allies, whose pay was six months in arrears. Malik and Shalik at once left him with their men for this reason and retreated undisturbed to the district of Karytaina. Constantine tried to win them over again but they went to William of Villehardouin who accepted their assistance. Thereupon Malik and Shalik with their followers went over to the camp of the, as they thought, generous Frankish leader in the conviction that the latter would keep his word. By the accession to the Franks of this Turkish force, the tide was turned in their favour. The Turkish chiefs who were inspired by an ardent desire to avenge themselves in battle on their false employers, now advised William II of Villehardouin's knights to meet the imperial Byzantine army on the frontiers of Messenia and Arcadia. While the Frankish-Turkish army was going through the pass of Makryplagi (between Megalopolis and Kalamata, i. e. the line of the modern railway), they were attacked by an ambush of the Byzantine army, whose leader was no longer the Sebastokrator Constantine but the strategoi Alexius Phylis, Makrenos and Alexius Kabellarius. Twice the vanguard of the Frankish-Turkish force led by Anselm de Toucy had to give way before the numerous Byzantines who occupied the heights on the pass of Makryplagi, but finally they won the

hotly contested summit of the pass, from which they ousted the enemy. The Turks under Malik and Shalik followed up and completed the victory. The leaders of the army so disastrously defeated sought refuge in the neighbouring caves of Gardiki where they were besieged by the Turks. The latter took the caves and led their occupants prisoners to William II of Villehardouin. The latter thereupon ordered the Turks to raid and plunder the districts of Morea previously occupied by the Byzantines, notably the districts of Zaconia, Helos, Vatika and Monembasia.

After the battle in the Makryplagi pass came the news that Skortinians had again taken up arms against the Franks and stormed the fortress of Buchelet (Araklovon) and Karytaina. As the valiant Godfrey Brunères, Baron of Karytaina, who had always been able to keep the turbulent Skortinians in check, was no longer in the Morea, William II of Villehardouin ordered the Turkish leader Malik and his men to go to Skorta to put down the rising. Terrified by the ravages and cruelties of the Turkish mercenaries, the surviving Skortinians submitted to the Prince of the Morea and begged for mercy which was granted them.

The *Chronicle of the Morea*, which has survived in four languages (Greek, French, Catalan and Italian), is the only source which tells us of the activities of the Turkish mercenaries in the Morea (1262—1265). The same *Chronicle* adds that the Turks in 1265 sought permission to leave the Morea and to be allowed to return to their Asiatic home. Malik took his leave in the friendliest fashion from the Prince of the Morea and began his journey home. The *Chronicle* however specially mentions that individual Turks preferred to settle in the Morea. They were baptised and married morean women. About the first half of the xivth century, there were still descendants of Malik's followers there, baptised Turks settled in Elis. It is natural to think that the modern villages in N.W. Morea of Maliki (Demos Vuprasion) and Turkochori (= "village of the Turks", Demos Tritaia) owe their names to the Turkish settlers in the time of William II of Villehardouin. This prince gave two of Malik's followers who remained in the Morea the rank of knighthood and even granted them fiefs. According to the Catalan version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Malik himself married a noble Frankish lady, a widow, through the intermediary of William II of Villehardouin. It is a historical fact that Turkish-Moreote relations date from the second half of the xiiith century. After the death of William II in 1278 we find a reference to estates which this prince had given to his Turkish allies and which were occupied about 1280 by the soldiers of Galerano d'Ivry, who acted for a time as governor of the Morea for Charles of Naples and Sicily. Charles I and his immediate successors in rule over the Morea had not infrequently Turkish warriors in their service. From the beginning of the xivth century it not infrequently happened that Muhammadan pirates from Asia Minor raided and plundered the coastlands of the Morea. Sometimes they had allies of the Christian faith, notably Catalans.

About the middle of the xivth century, an important change took place in the administration of the Byzantine possessions in the Morea. The Emperor Johannes Kantakuzenos in 1349 created

an appanage for his second son out of these lands which he called the despotate of Mystra and which lasted till the Ottoman conquest (1349—1380). In this period fell the rule of the first despot of Mystra, Manuel Kantakuzenos, the second son of the Emperor. He assisted the Franks of the Morea to ward off the Turkish attacks, which had reduced the once flourishing Corinth and the country round to such misery that the Corinthians in 1358 were forced to send an urgent appeal for assistance to their sovereign, the titular Emperor of Constantinople and prince of Achaia, Robert II. The latter gave a ready ear to their appeal. On April 23, 1358, he gave the Florentine Grand Seneschal Niccolo Acciajoli and his descendants the extensive district of Corinth as a hereditary barony. The princely family of the Acciajoli survived in the Morea and on the mainland of Greece for two centuries, during which they had much to do with Muslim peoples. A series of circumstances, including the irruptions of the Turks as early as the middle of the xivth century and the advance of the Ottomans, whose strength was steadily increasing, brought numerous Albanians to Greece. The first despot of Mystra, Manuel Kantakuzenos, had them settled in various deserted regions where they became distinguished as warriors, agriculturists and as huntsmen. Thus we find them in Arcadia and Laconia where they seem to have come in large numbers. Later another 10,000 Albanian families were peacefully settled by another despot of Mystra, namely Theodoros I Palaeologos (1384—1407), son of the Byzantine Emperor John V. According to reliable sources, these 10,000 families left Thessaly and Acarnania with their cattle and goods and chattels on account of the Turkish raids and for other reasons and reached the isthmus. There they pitched their camp and sent messengers to Theodore I with the request that they might be allowed to settle in his Morean territory. Theodore I acceded to their request and allowed them to spread over a considerable portion of the Morea. The story of G. Bosio (*Dell' istoria della Sacra Religione et illustrissima Militia di S. Gio. Gerosolimitano*, vol. ii., Rome 1594, p. 126—129) to the effect that the Turks had occupied Patras by 1378 and conquered the Morea shortly before must be relegated to the realm of fable. About this time, there were again great changes in the Morea. The Company of Navarre, which in 1380 had entered the service of the titular Emperor Jacob de Baux of Constantinople and prince of Achaia and were seeking their fortune on Greek soil, became after the death of the Emperor in Tarso in 1383 absolute masters of a great part of the Morea. In 1386 the Company made Captain Pierre de St. Exupery (Bordo of S. Superan) their leader. The latter was able to extend his power and influence in the Morea by inciting the Turks and also the Greek archons against Theodore I. During the period 1396—1402 he even bore the title of hereditary prince of Achaia (which was given him instead of money by king Ladislaus of Naples). Sometime before, a vigorous and enterprising Florentine, Nerio I Acciajoli (Sept. 29, 1394), had been playing an important part on the mainland of Greece. This man, a nephew of the Niccolo I Acciajoli, already mentioned, had acquired considerable territory in the Morea, partly by inheritance and partly by purchase.

Shortly before his death he attained the height of his glory when he was appointed by king

Ladislaus of Naples as hereditary Duke of Athens and the lands belonging to it. In 1389 the Venetians occupied the important fortress of Nauplion and set about the conquest of Argos. The despot of Mystra, Theodoros I Palaeologos, the son-in-law of Nerio I Acciajoli, at his father-in-law's instigation anticipated the Venetians and occupied Argos. As a result, hostilities broke out among the Christian states, which could end only to the advantage of the Turks. The despot of Mystra replied to the demands of Venice to give up Argos by saying he could only do so with the Sultān's approval. Later the Venetians joined up with the Navarrese. Through treachery Bordo of S. Superan succeeded in taking Nerio I Acciajoli prisoner on Sept. 10, 1389. The latter remained for nearly a year in the hands of the leader of the Navarrese but in the end obtained his freedom.

An epoch-making event was the great battle on the field of the blackbird (June 15, 1389) at Pristina, which decided Turkish rule for centuries in the Balkans. A Turkish army appeared in the Morea at the end of 1392 under Ewrenos Beg in order to aid, at their request, the Navarrese against the despot of Mystra. The Turks thereupon occupied a number of strongholds in the peninsula. Nerio I Acciajoli, who had been appointed governor of the Morea, now pledged himself to pay tribute to Sultān Bāyazīd and to be his vassal. After the death of Nerio I Acciajoli, a fatal quarrel broke out between his sons-in-law Theodore I of Mystra and Charles Tocco, during which the Turks won important successes on the mainland of Greece. The fear of the danger from the Turks probably induced Charles Tocco and Theodore I to make up their quarrel. After long negotiations with the Greek national party in Athens, who hated the Latins, Turkish forces under the Pasha Timurtash entered Attica from Thessaly. At the end of 1394 or in the first seven weeks of 1395, the Venetians occupied Athens including the Acropolis, after driving back the Turkish besiegers. Theodoros prepared to advance against the Turks on the isthmus. The latter, however, defeated on Sept. 28, 1396 at Nicopolis the flower of the chivalry of Hungary, Germany, and France and thus laid the foundations for their dominion over the lands below the Danube. Bāyazīd thereupon decided to attack the remnants of the Byzantine empire as well as the little principalities of the mainland of Greece. He therefore sent his generals Ya'qūb, Pasha of Rumelia, and the already mentioned Ewrenos Beg with an army of 50,000 men to cross the isthmus again. Ya'qūb occupied Argos; Ewrenos Beg at the same time fell upon the Venetian possessions in Messenia. The prince of Achaia, Bordo of S. Superan, and Theodoros I of Mystra found themselves forced as a result of the Turkish successes to pay tribute to the Porte. Laden with incalculable booty the armies of Ya'qūb Pasha and Ewrenos Beg returned across the isthmus and in 1397 even occupied Athens for a brief period. In addition to Greek sources, Turkish writers record that the "city of the wise", as Athens is frequently called in Muslim works, was taken by Sultān Bāyazīd's men (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in *Byzant.-Neugriech. Jahrb.*, iv. [1923], 346 sqq.). As a result of his troubles, especially the Turkish raids, Theodoros I of Mystra became utterly tired of his position. He therefore resolved to sell his towns and citadels to the knights of St. John of Rhodes, who after negotiations readily

purchased Corinth, Kalabryta and Mystra in the years 1400—1402. But they could not establish themselves permanently in the Morea, for the Greek national party in the country, especially in Mystra, rebelled against the sale, which the Sultān, the suzerain of Theodoros of Mystra, also declined to recognise. Theodoros therefore cancelled the sale and compensated the knights partly in money and partly by ceding the county of Salona and the barony of Zituni. Theodoros I had been able to take these lands from the Ottomans after their defeat at Angora in 1402.

Sultān Sulaimān I (1403—1411) abandoned any claim to suzerainty over the Morea. At this time the influence and power of the Venetian colonies in the Morea were increasing. In 1407 the Venetians occupied Lepanto. In the following year, they seized Patras and the country round it and from these two strongholds which lay opposite one another, the so-called little Dardanelles, they were able to keep in check the Turkish pirates who made the Gulf of Corinth unsafe. At an earlier date, the Albanian family of Spata had settled in Lepanto and had occasionally made common cause with the Turks. Patras at this time was ruled by the archbishop Stephan Zaccaria in name of the Pope. As he suffered a great deal from the Turks, he pledged the town and the country round it with the Venetians. The latter also occupied the seaport of Astros in Zaconia. They restored the fortifications of Nauplia and other strongholds in their possession. The Republic of St. Mark in 1406 and 1411 concluded treaties with Sultān Sulaimān I, by virtue of which they secured their colonies in the Morea and the East generally. But in the reign of Murād II (1421—1451) danger again threatened from the Turks. The Venetians were however able to take the necessary measures for the defence of their possessions in the Morea. In the districts of Nauplia and Argos as well as in their flourishing Messenian colonies they settled numerous Albanians who loved fighting. In Corinth and Attica also the Albanians were welcomed by the Acciajoli. The Albanian element was therefore very strongly represented in the Morea in the first half of the xvth century; later they spread to the islands around the Morea. In the wars of the Greeks and Venetians against the Ottomans, the Albanians frequently distinguished themselves; on the other hand, their morals left much to be desired. To this day we still can find descendants of these Albanian colonists in the Morea and in the adjoining territories.

After the battle of Angora, at the time when Frankish power in the Morea was declining, the Byzantines vigorously resumed their efforts to reconquer the whole peninsula. Theodoros I of Mystra had previously wanted, with Venetian support, to erect on the isthmus a great bulwark against the Turks which would make access to the Morea impossible for them. Manuel II Palaeologos again took up Theodoros's plan and began to put it into execution with vigour. Not far from Corinth on the isthmus, which was usually called "Hexamilion" in the middle ages, he built a wall 24 stadia long from sea to sea with castles at each end and in the middle and no less than 153 strong towers besides deep ditches. The building material was taken from older walls and defences. In the course of 25 days (April 8—May 3, 1415), i. e. at a most rapid rate, the great wall was completed which, like the

isthmus itself, was called "Hexamilion"; the greatest hopes were built upon it, but they soon proved deceitful. The Turks usually called the wall *Gemehissar*. In 1416, Manuel II left the Morea after reimposing his suzerainty upon the prince of Achaia Centurione II Zaccaria and humbling several Greek and Albanian archons, some of whom he carried off with him to Constantinople.

The peaceful relations which had existed between the Byzantines and the Ottomans under Sulaimān I and Bāyazīd suddenly ceased when Murād II ascended the throne. In 1423 he ordered the celebrated Pasha Turakhān to clear up the small states. With an army of 25,000 men, which was joined by the Duke of Attica Antonio I as the Sultān's vassal, Turakhān set out from Thessaly to obey his master's orders. The celebrated Hexamilion wall proved an insufficient bulwark against the onslaught of the Janissaries. Turakhān had the most of it destroyed and advanced into the Morea. The despot Theodoros II of Mystra could scarcely have checked the Ottoman flood which swept into his land, plundering and murdering. Mystra, Lontari, Gardiki (on the Makryplagi pass) and other Byzantine and Latin towns fell into Turakhān's hands. But he suffered one serious reverse. The Moreotes caught a portion of his army in the pass of Lonsari, where they were victorious and took much booty or, to be more accurate, recaptured their own property. In the Arcadian town of Tavia (the modern Dawia, on the road from Tribolitza to Wytina), the Albanians assembled and chose one of themselves as their leader and decided to attack Turakhān on his way back from the south. In the battle that followed, the Albanians did not stand their ground but fled. Turakhān pursued them and slew many besides taking some 800 prisoners. These he put to death and, according to the Turkish practice, built towers of their skulls. Heavily laden with plunder, Turakhān returned soon afterwards across the isthmus to Thessaly. He had however in 1423 not yet completed Murād's order to subdue the Christian states of the Morea.

Soon after the withdrawal of the Ottomans, Manuel II Palaeologos besought Murād II for peace and concluded a treaty with him, by which the despot of Mystra was to pay an annual tribute of 100,000 hyperpyra to the Sultān and further to declare his readiness to give up the Hexamilion wall. Venice, whose colonies in the Morea had suffered much from Turakhān's raid in 1423 and were continually troubled by Muslim pirates, recommended all the Christian powers interested to form a united front. This appeal for unity, however, fell on deaf ears. The various Christian rulers of the Morea quarrelled among themselves in spite of the critical times and even took up arms against one another. The Albanian inhabitants followed their own inclinations entirely and even began separatist movements of a political nature.

It is remarkable that the Greek political consciousness was strengthened in the Morea in this period of political confusion. Mystra became the centre of a kind of renaissance and a centre of learning and study of classical antiquity. In this period there appeared in the Morea a great scholar who was a philosopher of the Platonic school and also a fervent patriot of radical tendencies in social and political reforms. He was Georgios Gemistos or as he called himself "Plethon". His teaching was of a mystical nature. It was directed against Christi-

anity, indeed against every positive religion. His followers who are said to have been numerous, formed a secret society. Plethon (d. between Feb. 1449 and July 1450) had also lived in Brussa where he had as a teacher a Jew named Elissaios, who rejected Christianity, Judaism and Islām as the positive religions. In the reign of Sultān Bāyazīd, he was burned at the stake as a heretic about 1390. It is supposed that the teaching of Plethon and the secret society thus formed was suggested by a similar school of thought in old Turkey, that of the "akhis" (cf. Fr. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xviii. [1929], 236—243; *Islamica*, iv. [1929], 1 sqq.; *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, viii. [1929—1930], 100—113 and Nikos A. Bees, *ibid.*, vii. [1928—1929], 237). Plethon's works were disseminated not only in the Christian west and Greek east but also among the Turks. The MS. Enderm 1896 in the library of the Top Kapu Serai contains an Arabic translation of a fragment of Plethon's chief work *Nomo*. This translation is said to have been made by order of Sultān Mehmed II and is anonymous (cf. Aḥmad Zeki Pasha, *Sur une Traduction de Yemistos [Plethon], in Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte*).

The son and successor of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II, Johannes Palaeologos (1425—1448), concluded a treaty with Murād II. The Turkish danger now threatened the Morea more seriously than ever. Since Nov. 1427 the despot Constantine Palaeologos had been ruling there. Alongside of this vigorous, enterprising and self-sacrificing ruler (afterwards Byzantine emperor), we find at this time also his brothers Thomas and Demetrius as princes in the Morea. They had less ability and strength of character and facilitated the conquest of the peninsula by the Turks. The three brothers, especially Constantine, succeeded in bringing the whole Morea except the Venetian colonies under Greek rule; but there was no unity among them. In 1429—1430 Constantine took Patras, which at this time was held by the archbishop and clerical prince Pandolf Malatesta as a vassal of Murād II. The Sultān protested but Constantine was able to dispose of the claims of the Sultān and his advisers by a skilful ambassador. This envoy was Georgios Phrantzes, whose chronicle is an exceedingly important source for Greek and Turkish history in the xvth century. In 1431 Turakhān again reached the northern frontier of the Morea to destroy the Hexamilion wall a second time, for it had been restored by the Palaeologos. The first care of Constantine who now ruled over the greater part of the Morea and cherished ambitious plans, had been to restore the defences of the isthmus. His aim was to unite the Morea with the mainland of Greece and if possible to found a Greek national state. In the west a new league had been formed against the Turks by Pope Eugenius IV, Venice and Hungary. At the same time the rising of the Albanians under Skandarbeg roused a strong feeling against the Turks and encouraged the Christians. Constantine Palaeologos who at the request of the Pope, Venice and Hungary had joined their league against the Ottomans in 1444, crossed the isthmus with a well equipped army to invade the mainland of Greece. He had considerable success. He forced the Duke of Athens Nerio II Acciajoli, who was a vassal of the Sultān, to recognise his suzerainty and to pay an annual tribute. He occupied many towns (including Thebes, Livadia, Zituni and Lidoriki) and encouraged the Christians of the Pindus to take up arms against

the Turks of the Thessalian plain. An Albanian clan settled in Phthiotis, whose autonomy had been recognised by the Sultān, joined the victorious Palaeologos. The latter also occupied the little town of Witrinitza (on the Gulf of Corinth) which the Turks had ceded to the Venetians. He installed a chief of the Pindus Wallachians who lived in Fanar (at the foot of the Ithome mountains).

The battle of Barna (Nov. 10, 1444) brought a change in the Balkans which was fateful also for the Morea. The Turks reinforced once again turned their attention to the south. Nerio II Acciajoli of Athens found favour with Murād II after most humbly promising to be his vassal and to pay the usual tribute. In order to save their colonies in the Morea, the Venetians also made a treaty of peace with the Turks soon after the battle of Barna. It thus came about that the Palaeologoi were left to face the Turkish onslaught quite isolated, a danger which they apparently did not clearly realise. After Nerio II Acciajoli had again recognised Turkish suzerainty, Constantine Palaeologos with a large force invaded Attica and besieged Athens. The consequence was that Nerio II Acciajoli turned for assistance to Murād II. The latter demanded that Constantine should evacuate not only Attica but also all the Turkish territory which Constantine had seized in the course of 1444 on the mainland of Greece and in southern Thessaly. Constantine replied to Murād II through his ambassadors that he would keep the lands he had won. Murād II was furious at this manly attitude of Constantine II. Incited by Nerio II and Turakhān, the Sultān resolved on a campaign into the Morea. By his command powerful Turkish forces were assembled in 1446 at Serres in Macedonia from Europe and Asia. Constantine Palaeologos and his brother Thomas also raised a very large army for that time which was assembled on the isthmus. In the winter of 1446, Sultān Murād II led his army from Macedonia to the isthmus, without meeting opposition. He encamped at Mingiae (the modern Μυγίες) and began to get his artillery and other arms ready. On his able picked staff was the experienced old Turakhān who, as already mentioned, had been twice in the Morea and therefore knew the country and the people. According to the historian Chalcocondyles (ed. Darké, ii. 114), Sultān Murād's camp on the isthmus was the best organised that had ever been known. A bloody battle developed for the gateway to the Morea. The Turks with their artillery bombarded the Hexamilion wall for days. A Serbian Janissary succeeded in leaping over the wall under the eyes of the Sultān and others followed him. The defenders so far as they were not killed by the Janissaries took to flight in a panic. The wall was thus in the hands of the Turks, who entered the Morea either through the gates or through the breaches their guns had made. In the *Chronicle* of Georgios Phrantzes the date of the capture of the Hexamilion wall, the "last bulwark of liberty in Greece", is given as Dec. 10, 1446. The *Chronicum breve* of Joannicus Cartanus gives Dec. 14, 1446, a date which has been accepted as correct by most modern historians.

The brothers Constantine and Thomas endeavoured to collect the scattered and flying troops, but in vain. The brothers therefore fled into the interior of the Morea. Sultān Murād II ordered Turakhān

to pursue the Palaeologoi with 1,000 men and he himself with his army marched along the south coast of the Gulf of Corinth towards Patras. He burned the lower town, laid waste the country as far as Clarentza and then turned eastwards to Corinth. In the meanwhile Turakhān had returned from his pursuit of the Palaeologoi with much booty and many prisoners. The Palaeologoi now began to negotiate for peace with the Sultān. They declared themselves ready to cede the lands in Greece proper and in Thessaly which they had acquired in 1444 and to pay an annual tribute. On these conditions the Sultān left them in possession of their lands in the Morea. The Emperor John VIII Palaeologos died on Oct. 3, 1448, and on Jan. 6, 1449 his brother Constantine, the despot of the Morea, was solemnly hailed as Byzantine Emperor in the Metropolitan church in Mystra. Of course he ascended the throne with the permission of Murād II, whose tributary he was. An event of importance in the history of the world soon afterwards took place on the Bosphorus. On May 29, 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks; the valiant Constantine died defending the city and thus the line of Byzantine emperors came to an end. When his brothers Thomas and Demetrius heard of the fall of Constantinople they sent envoys to Muḥammad II asking to be allowed to retain their lands in the Morea, on payment of the usual tribute. After many humiliations, their request was granted them. The remainder of the period of Palaeologoi rule was a brief one and their authority only nominal. In 1453 30,000 Albanians in the Morea rebelled against the Palaeologoi. In July 1454 Venice sent Vettore Capello to the Morea, to settle certain business of the republic and at the same time to make peace between the Palaeologoi and the Albanians. But their effort failed. In the meantime Muḥammad II had ordered Turakhān's second son 'Omar to intervene in the Morea on behalf of the Palaeologoi (end of 1453). He succeeded in putting down the Albanians. The Palaeologoi were now able to enjoy their lands as vassals of the Sultān. For a few years they paid their tribute regularly, then they refused it with various excuses. At the same time they endeavoured to form alliances with western rulers against the Turks, a thing to which the Sultān could not remain indifferent.

The rule of the Palaeologoi was gradually approaching its end. The west scarcely troubled itself about the brothers of the last Byzantine emperor, who were not united and yet had to gather their last forces against the Turks. When a fleet belonging to the Pope Callixtus III appeared in the Aegean, Thomas Palaeologos took courage and announced his refusal of tribute to Muḥammad II. Already the latter had received no tribute from the Palaeologoi for the past three years in spite of repeated warnings. He therefore thought it was time to settle matters himself in the Morea and to teach his rebellious vassals a lesson. In the middle of May 1458, Muḥammad II came to the Morea with a large army, laid siege to Tarsus, a village in two parts N. W. of Nemea and N. E. of the Lake of Pheneos, and forced it to capitulate. The citadel of Rupeli in Arcadia, to which many Greeks had fled with their women and children, surrendered after two days' stubborn defence. Muḥammad II turned from Arcadia to N. W. Morea. Patras, the headquarters of Thomas Palaeologos, was abandoned

by its citizens. The garrison left in its citadel did not dare to offer resistance. The Sultān treated the town of Patras very generously. By July 1458 Muḥammad II had reached Corinth after taking Bostitza (Aegion) on the way. On Aug. 6, 1458, its commanders left the citadel to negotiate its surrender with the Sultān. The loss of Corinth to the Turks seriously alarmed the Palaeologoi. The negotiations for peace, which were now begun, were conducted by Mathaios Asanis. The Sultān then made peace with the despots of Morea but the price was a high one. In the beginning of the autumn of 1458, Muḥammad II left the Morea to return to the north via Athens, which shortly before had passed into his hands. The sources do not agree regarding his activity in the Morea in this year. As a rule, Muḥammad's campaign in the Morea in 1458 is regarded, by modern historians also, as one of destruction. It is true, he was generous to the people of Patras and left the Corinthians unharmed after taking their city. He carried off however a large number of Christians to Constantinople and its neighbourhood. These settled there as artisans and peasants and formed the productive element in the capital of the Ottoman empire.

In the year 1458 Muḥammad II for administrative purposes combined his possessions in the Morea with Thessaly and placed the newly constituted province under the governorship of Turakhān's son 'Omar. The Sultān had hardly left the country when the Palaeologoi again began to stir up trouble. Muḥammad therefore deprived 'Omar of his office in Thessaly and the Morea and decided to go in person to the Morea again in order to be done with the Palaeologoi once and for all and make the whole peninsula a Turkish province. Demetrius Palaeologos was not the man who could defend and save Mystra. He did shut himself up in the citadel with the intention of defending it, but very soon surrendered it to the Turks. Demetrius after many adventures died as the monk Dorotheos in Adrianople in 1470 (cf. Th. Spandugino, *I Commentari di... de l'Origine de' principi Turchi*, Florence 1551, p. 43 sq.). After disposing of Demetrius, the Sultān turned his attention to his brother Thomas. After the Turks had occupied Mystra he had not dared to do anything to defend his lands. He was rather seeking to leave a way open to escape from the Morea, if necessary. One town after the other fell almost without resistance into the hands of the Ottomans. Thomas Palaeologos embarked with his family at Porto Longo (at Navarino) for Corfu, which he reached on July 28, 1460 but went on 3 months later to Rome where he died on May 12, 1465. After the disappearance of his chief opponents, Muḥammad II continued his victorious march from Messenia to Northern Morea. He left the Morea towards the end of summer 1460. The plan which he had decided on when he entered the Morea, was practically carried through. Except for a few places, the peninsula was now Turkish territory. Zaganos Pasha was installed as governor of the Morea by the Sultān and entrusted with the reorganisation of the peninsula, which had become much depopulated and was a great deal poorer economically. In 1458 and again in 1460 Muḥammad II combined the Morea with Thessaly for administrative purposes. This union was later dissolved. As early as the xvth century we already find the Morea a sandjak by

itself with 109 ziamets and 342 timar. Down to about 1570, the residence of the governor was by turns in Corinth, Londari or Mystra, then in Nauplion and in 1786—1821 in Tropolitza (cf. below). The division of the country under Turkish rule, usual from the middle of the xvith century, into 22 or 25 provinces or beyliks is partly suggested by nature and partly a survival of the older Byzantine organisation.

There is no doubt that the Turks introduced their own feudal system after their occupation of the Morea. The Turkish-Muslim element in the country was thus able to expand. Even during the first period of Turkish rule (1458—1687), other factors contributed to this, like the immigration into the Morea of Muslims from other parts of the Ottoman empire, the conversion of Christian Moreotes to Islām, the carrying off of Christian women into Turkish harems, etc. While in the north of the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia Minor, countless Christians had adopted Islām either voluntarily or under compulsion, the Christian element in the Morea at the time of the Turkish conquest was morally strong enough to remain in the mass faithful to the Christian religion. Comparatively few Moreotes became Muslims, and these were principally Albanians, who always adopted Islām more readily (cf. thereon: C. Jirelek, *Studien zur Geschichte und Geographie Albaniens im Mittelalter*, Budapest 1916). As in Asia Minor, Bosnia, Crete etc., so in the Morea also members of the nobility and middle classes, especially those of Frankish origin, had adopted Islām in order to retain possession of their estates. There were also in the Morea crypto-Christians, as well as people whose Islām was very superficial. These were usually called *murdat* (impure) in the Morea. These superficial Muslims, who continued to retain much that related to Christian worship, lived mainly in what is now the province of Olympia and were almost all exterminated during the Greek War of Liberation (cf. the articles by Photios Chrysanthopoulos-Photakos in the Athens periodical *Ἐβδομῆς*, vol. ii., 1886, p. 1). The Barduniots were also for the most part superficially Muslims. As to the survival of the Greek Moreote element, there are theories current in modern literature which can hardly be right. It is said for example that Sultān Muḥammad II's ordinance regulating the relations of the Christian subjects to the Ottoman empire benefitted also the Christian Moreotes. But it is wrong to credit Muḥammad II with any such ordinance (cf. Fr. Giese, in *Isl.*, xix., 1931, p. 264 sqq.). It is however a historical fact that the Greek Orthodox Church contributed a great deal to maintain the Christian element in the Morea as in the East generally. The Christian clergy of the Morea were frequently able to maintain a privileged attitude towards the Turkish officials and thus to further the interests of their co-religionists. The Christian Moreotes were also often cleverly able to avoid having their children taken by the Turks for the Janissaries. The Christians of the Morea held this, the "blood tax", to be the greatest degradation they suffered under the Turkish yoke and a dreadful disgrace to their race. After the death of Sultān Sulaimān the Magnificent (1566), the lot of the Christian Moreotes gradually became worse. Ownerless lands were confiscated by the Sultān and given to his soldiers or allotted to the mosques as *wakfs* or given to private individuals as gifts. During the

long period of Turkish rule in the Morea, the largest and best part of the land was in Turkish hands. As a rule, Christians were not allowed to own large estates. The peasants had to pay over annually the fifth of the produce of the land and pay all kinds of annual taxes, were never sure of their property, not even of their wives and children, and suffered unspeakably in every way from arbitrary Turkish rule.

In view of the abuses of the Turkish authorities, the Christian Moreote preferred to abandon the fertile regions and retire to barren lands and into the mountains, where he could breathe more freely and more easily escape the despotism of his rulers and shape his course of life a little more pleasantly. We thus find that within the period 1460—1821 the mountains of the Morea were predominantly inhabited by Christians. Of the factors which contributed to the survival of Greek culture in the Morea during Turkish rule special stress must be laid on the political concessions which were made to them by the Ottomans. These lay mainly in the freedom to govern their own communities. Greek local government, as we find it during Turkish rule, is said to have been a continuation of old Greek institutions. In the period from 1715 to 1821, if not earlier, the freedom of the Greek community was not infrequently limited by the Turkish authorities. They interfered indirectly in the appointment of local officials and made propaganda for their favourites. It even happened that the *Kodjabashis*, through the influence of the Turks, were not only appointed for a number of years, but were also able to hand down their offices to children and grandchildren. Undoubtedly, those Moreotes were better off who lived in towns or villages which were allotted to the sacred places of Islām or to members of the Ottoman imperial family. The town of Dimitzana in Gortynia for example was originally a *wakf* of Mecca under the protection of the Sultān's mother.

The peace between their Turkish rulers and Christians could only be external. In the Morea also there were the so-called "Klefts" who would not submit to the existing government and took up arms against it. Against them the Turks used the Armatoli force, a gendarmerie of Christians organised on military lines. In the period from 1715—1821 the Turks for the security of the country built watchhouses (*derbent*) in which a garrison was stationed to watch those who passed, especially at the passes. The Derbenekia (*küçük derbent*) between Corinth and Argos and the Derbenia of Lontari, the passes between Arcadia and Messenia (Makriplagi; cf. above) were all very important. The Mainotes in their wild mountains felt little of the Turkish yoke which weighed heavily on the rest of the Morea. The Mainote tribes who were distinguished for their valour, were from 1460 to 1821 in constant rebellion against every foreign power. The Porte found itself forced to recognise officially the independence of Maina, in return for which the Mainotes were to pay tribute, but did not always do so. Although the Christians in the Morea were exempt from military service, the warlike spirit which they had so often displayed in the Frankish period continued to survive. An eloquent testimony to their love of freedom was the fact that they continually took up arms against their Turkish oppressors, sometimes alone, sometimes with allies.

For a long period after the year 1460, when

Sultān Muḥammad II had made the greater part of the Morea a province of his empire, this land became the scene of desperate fighting between Turks and Venetians, in which the latter had the majority of the Christian population on their side. The great champion of the Christians, Skanderbeg [q. v.], the leader of the Venetian mercenaries, died in 1468. Two years later, Turkish rule over Euboea was firmly established and they could record further successes in the Morea.

In the spring of 1499 a new war between Venice and Turkey broke out. On Aug. 29—30, 1499, Lepanto had to surrender to the Turks. In 1500 Sultān Bāyazid II ordered Ya'qūb Pashā to blockade Modon with his fleet, while he himself set out by land from Constantinople with a well-equipped army for the Morea. On Aug. 9, 1500 (according to Hādjdji Khalifa: on 14th Muḥarram 916), Modon [q. v.] fell after a long siege in the presence of the Sultān. Bāyazid II turned the cathedrals at Modon and Koron into mosques and offered up thanks in them and gave these towns to Mecca as *wakfs*. He then paid attention to the defences of the newly acquired towns and to the repopulation of Modon. In 1502—1503 Venice concluded a treaty of peace with Turkey in which she surrendered her Messenian colonies and also Maina, which had in the meanwhile been taken by a son of Krokondilos Kladas in name of the Republic. In 1532 the Morea became the scene of notable battles. The emperor Charles V had decided to intervene in the Morea. A considerable fleet assembled in Messina in June 1532. The Pope and the Knights of St. John, the Genoese and the Sicilians also showed a readiness to join in the expedition, the leader of which was the Genoese Andreas Doria (Turkish: Andrevirius). After repeated and costly attacks, the allies succeeded in taking a considerable part of the lower town of Koron. The Turks who had retired into the citadel of Koron were forced to capitulate. From Koron Andreas Doria turned his attention to Patras, which also capitulated. He then returned with rich booty. Sulaimān I, who was now on the throne, gave the sandjak of the Morea to Muḥammad Beg, a son of Yaḥyā Pashā and commissioned him to reconquer the fortresses taken by Andreas Doria. Sulaimān I declared war on Venice in 1537. Kāsim Pashā, the sandjak-beg of the Morea, was commissioned to conquer the Venetian colonies in the Morea. Nūr al-Dīn Barbarossa had inflicted several defeats on Venice in her colonies, and she had besides every reason to complain of her allies, the Pope Paul III and the Emperor Charles V. In the summer of 1540 Venice made peace with Sulaimān I in order to save what was left of her possessions. The majority of the Venetian colonies in the East, including Nauplion and Monembasia, was the price paid. The Turks endeavoured to populate once more their new possessions in the Morea. About 1550, there were about 42,000 Christian families in the whole Morea. We know nothing definite of the Muslim population at this time. It may be assumed however that, then as later, Muslims were in a minority. Even when Ottoman power was at its height, the oppressed Moreotes, always desirous of liberty, rose against their oppressors. In the xviiith century the lot of the Christians in the Morea is said to have been unbearable. Two Turkish sources of the xviiith century are of considerable importance for the history of the Morea. These are the "Survey of

the World" (*Djihān-numā*) of Hājjī Khalifa (d. Oct. 1657) and the Travels (*Siyāhet-nāme*) of Ewliyā Çelebî, who visited the Morea in 1668 and 1670. There is no fuller work on the Morea than the latter among Muslim sources. Ewliyā Çelebî's narrative was based on personal observation and enquiry and is distinguished by a vividness of description and to some extent by a tendency to exaggerate. In the treatment of the Morea, given in his vol. viii., it is hardly possible to trace his literary sources. What he tells us about Muslim buildings and religious orders is of importance, and his account of the Christians is also of value. He naturally takes the Ottoman point of view (cf. Ewliyā Çelebî, *Siyāhet-nāmesi*, vol. viii., Stambul 1928; Fr. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 219 sqq.; Fr. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, vol. xviii., 1928, p. 299 sqq.). When Ewliyā Çelebî visited the Morea, various Muslim orders and corporations had settled there. They included *futuwwa* brotherhoods, dervish orders, some of which were anti-Islāmic, and *Shī'ī* Bektāshīye. The existence of such brotherhoods, which were widely disseminated in the Greek east from the xvth century, can be proved for the Morea as late as 1828 (cf. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, vols. i.—ii., Oxford 1929).

At the end of 1683 another coalition against the Porte was formed by Venice, Poland, Germany, Russia and the Pope. Francesco Morosini was appointed by his government to begin operations against the Turks as speedily as possible. He was given command of the allied naval forces. After 42 days of fighting by land and sea, Koron was stormed by Morosini. In the period from the late summer of 1685 to July 1686 Morosini, Count Otto Wilhelm von Königsmark and Hannibal von Degenfeld took from the Turks Old and New Navarino, Kalamata, Modon, Zarnata, Passava, Celefa and Vitilo as well as other fortified places in southern Morea. The Ser'asker Ismā'il Pasha was defeated in several battles and had to retire to the interior of the Morea. Hasan Pāshā, who was in Maina, negotiated with Morosini and surrendered voluntarily. The Turkish garrisons of many towns, on the other hand, offered a desperate resistance. It cost the Venetians and their allies much time and heavy sacrifices to take Nauplion. The capture of the latter contributed a great deal to increase their confidence. By the end of 1687 Morea up to Monembasia was Venetian. Continual Turkish raids, however, continued to disturb the security of the peninsula. By the peace of Carlowitz (Jan. 26, 1699), the Porte had to cede the Morea to Venice. The seas of the Morea and of the mainland of Greece were now open to Turkey as well as to Venice. For the last period of Venetian rule in the Morea (1669—1715 or 1718), the reader may be referred to L. Ranke, *Zur venetianischen Geschichte*, Leipzig 1878, p. 277—361. The services of Venice to the peninsula in the period 1688—1714 must not be underestimated, especially as she had found it at a very low level.

The occupation of the Morea by the Venetians now attracted the attention of western scholars to the celebrated peninsula. The Turkish empire, which had been able to profit a good deal by the troubles in Europe at the beginning of the xviiith century, resolved at the end of 1714 to reconquer the Morea. Many Greeks felt that the Venetians had not respected their rights in religious and family

matters, were hostile to their own government and even wanted the Turks back again (cf. De la Montray, *Voyage*, vol. i., p. 462). Except for a few larger towns which offered a resistance, the land was easily taken by the Turks and so the Morea once again became Turkish. The history of this conquest was written by several contemporary writers.

The peace of Passarowitz (June 10, 1718) ceded Morea finally to the Turks. We are most fully informed about their rule from 1718 to 1821. The extant sources, especially in Greek, enable us to study the period to the smallest detail. After 1715 many Christians again adopted Islām. A census taken in 1720 gave 60,000 male Christians of 11 years of age and over. The Muḥammadan inhabitants are said to have been in the minority at this time. On the other hand, the Turkish element increased in the period 1769—1780 while the number of Christians diminished considerably, as did the total number of the population. From 1715 to ca. 1780 the Morea was governed by a Pasha, the Morowalesi, who had three *tugh*s and the title of *wazir*; his period of office was indefinite. He was usually assisted by two other Pashas, who were under him and were granted two *tugh*s. A change was made in 1780. From this date to 1821 the government of the Morea was no longer given to a particular Pasha but to a simple *muhassıl* of the Porte, who was however given the title of Pāshā. The higher offices were held by a *mukabeleidi*, a *defterkehaya* and a Christian dragoman. Under the official system of administrative divisions, the Morea was divided into 22 districts. In this period Christian local autonomy gained more strength. After the many disappointments they had suffered from the western powers, the Moreotes now looked to Russia to liberate them from the Turkish yoke. From the time of Peter the Great the bonds between Greeks and Russians had been growing stronger. In the middle of the xviiith century, Russian propaganda increased very much among the Orthodox of the Balkans. Under Catherine II, the Russians easily succeeded, with the help of Greek agents, in stirring up Greek notables and clergy in the Morea to rebel against the Turks. Among these the most distinguished was the influential and wealthy Panayotis Mpenakis of Kalamata. This secret propaganda did not escape the Turks. By 1767—1768 the Christians were preparing for rebellion. On Oct. 15, 1768, Turkey declared war on Russia. Russian fleets, whose equipment left much to be desired, appeared in the Mediterranean. On Feb. 17, 1770, Theodoros Orloff landed at Vitylo and received a warm welcome from the Mainotes; but as the ships had neither sufficient men, guns or munitions, the first enthusiasm of the Greeks soon died down. On July 21, 1774, a treaty of peace was concluded at Küçük Kainardji between Russia and Turkey. Full religious liberty and other concessions were granted to the Christian subjects of the Turks. About three months later, the Porte granted a general amnesty to the Christians of the Morea and resolved to clear the land of Albanian bandits. After 1770 the Porte had confiscated a number of Christian estates in the Morea and granted them to mosques and imārets. By the treaties of Küçük Kainardji and Kainali Kanak (10th March 1779), the Turks now promised to return these or to compensate their owners, but the promises were not kept. Nevertheless, the Moreote

Christians benefited considerably by the treaties between Russia and Turkey; this was not however the case with the treaties later concluded (June 10, 1783 and Dec. 29, 1791). The right given the Christians of the Morea to trade under the Russian flag contributed to their economic expansion in the period 1775—1821. Intellectual relations between western Europe and the Greeks of the Morea became closer and closer after 1790. A new generation grew up among the Greeks of the Morea and other provinces. Since the peace of Paris of 1815, the Moreotes and other Greeks had become convinced that only their own efforts could relieve them of the Turkish yoke. Careful preparations were made in anticipation of the right moment. In the spring of 1821 open rebellion broke out among the Greeks of the Morea, when the Turkish governor *Khurshīd Pāshā* was besieging the rebel 'Alī Pāshā at Yanina. Soon after the beginning of the rising, in which a prominent part was played by Theodoros Kolokotronis of a famous Kleft family, the Moreotes were masters of the lowlands and even occupied several strongholds. At the end of 1824 however, the Porte commissioned Ibrāhīm Pāshā, the adopted son of Mehmed 'Alī of Egypt, to put down the Greek rising. Ibrāhīm Pāshā landed his forces in Messenia. He was able to restore Turkish rule over most of the Morea, but he failed to put down the Greek rebellion. In the meanwhile, philhellenism had made progress in Europe and America, and it thus came about that the cabinets of Europe began to take an interest in the question of Greek freedom. On July 6, 1827, England, France and Russia concluded a treaty in London, by which the Morea and other parts of the Greek mainland were to form an independent principality but to pay tribute to the Porte. The Turks insisted on their point of view and declined the intercession of the great powers as regards the rebel Greeks. On Oct. 20, 1827, the combined fleets of the above mentioned powers destroyed the Turko-Egyptian fleet at Navarin. On Jan. 18, 1828, Johannes Kapodistrias came to Nauplion, having been elected President of the Greek Free State by the National Assembly at Troezen. On Aug. 6, 1828, England concluded a treaty with Mehmed 'Alī of Egypt for the evacuation of the Morea by the Egyptian troops. French troops, led by General N. J. Maison, soon afterwards landed in Messenia by order of Charles X to drive the Turko-Egyptian troops out of the Morea. In the autumn of 1828 Ibrāhīm Pāshā withdrew to Egypt after turning the Morea into a heap of ruins during his 3½ years in the Peninsula. After long diplomatic negotiations, much quarrelling among the great powers and disagreement between the Moreotes and the other Greeks, Prince Otto, the second son of the philhellene Ludwig of Bavaria, landed at Nauplion on Feb. 6, 1833 as the first king of Greece. Henceforth the Morea formed a part of the kingdom of Greece. During the rising of 1821—1827 and later, many Moreote Muslims adopted Christianity. To this day, many buildings and inscriptions and especially place-names recall the days when the Morea was under the Crescent.

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(NIKOS A. BEES) [Βέης]

MORISCOS, (MORESCOES), the name given in Spain to the Muslims who remained in the country after the capture of Granada by the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, on Jan. 2, 1492 and the dethronement of the last ruler of the Naṣrid dynasty.

It is mainly from Spanish sources that we learn the history of the Morescoes down to their final expulsion from Spain. Arabic texts relating to them are very rare: the only record at all detailed is that of the Maghribī al-Maḳḳarī, a contemporary of the exodus of the Morescoes, in his *Nafḥ al-Ṭib*.

In proportion as the Spanish "reconquest" proceeded, groups of Muslims gradually increasing in

number found themselves under Christian rule. These Muslims for the most part remained attached to their religion and the largest bodies of them were in Aragon and the district of Valencia; they kept up relations with their co-religionists of the kingdom of Granada. But the latter were suddenly placed in the same position with the fall of the capital of the Naşrid kingdom. The treaty for the capitulation of Granada contained, it is true, a large number of clauses safeguarding the liberty and property of Muslims, granting freedom for their beliefs and for the practice of the Muslim religion. But these clauses were not long respected and very soon attempts were made to convert the people of Granada under the stimulus of the Cardinal de Cisneros and the Archbishop Hernando of Talavera. Cisneros in particular began his work in 1499: he tried persuasion at first, then he tried to withdraw from circulation by burning them as many Arabic books as possible dealing with different branches of Muslim learning. His efforts did produce a few voluntary converts, but also caused a rising which began in Granada itself in the Albaicin quarter (*al-Baiyāzin*) and soon spread throughout the hilly country of Alpujarras (*al-Buṣḥārāt*, q. v.) between the southern slopes of the Sierra Nevada and the Mediterranean, and spread to the towns of Almería, Baza and Guadix and the Serranía of Ronda. The result was in 1501 the promulgation of a law which gave Muslims a choice between leaving Spain and adopting Christianity. It does not seem however to have been strictly applied and the Morescoes of the kingdom of Granada, retiring to the mountains, enjoyed practical independence for over half a century.

But this first edict brought about the conversion of the majority of the Muslims of Castille. As to the Morescoes of Aragon, in spite of a few restrictions on their status they were not much disturbed and orders were given to this effect to the Inquisition. Nevertheless in the early years of the xvth century we find the Muslims of Albarracín, Teruel and Manises being converted en masse. The reaction became stronger, encouraged by Joan the Foolish, then by Charles I. In 1526 the Morescoes of Valencia received their order of expulsion. The situation remained somewhat confused down to 1556, a date at which a series of vexatious measures were decided upon in Madrid and began to be applied against the Morescoes who still remained in Spain: the use of the Arabic language was forbidden them; it was in any case losing ground daily, even among the communities which remained Muslim; they were also ordered to abandon their worship, their costume and to modify their manner of life. This time the Morescoes of Granada and Alpujarras did not hesitate to rebel openly. The rising once again started in the Albaicin of Granada in 1568 and spread to the mountains; it was at first led by an individual named Ibn Umayya, the Abenhumaiya of the Spanish chroniclers and afterwards by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbō (Abenaboo). It took costly expeditions to put down this movement, and the war lasted for several years, conducted successively by the Marquis of Mondéjar and Don John of Austria.

The final decree of expulsion was not issued by Philip II although he had the intention of doing so in 1582. It was Philip III who signed it in 1609 and in this and the following years, a large number of Morescoes — estimated at half a million — had to cross the sea without hope of returning.

Islām was definitely uprooted from Iberian soil.

According to the Arab authors, the great exodus at the beginning of the xviith century was a most cruel hardship for the Morescoes. A large number died on their enforced journey. Many went to France, from which they tried to reach Muslim lands. A few colonies of Muslims from Spain settled in Egypt and Constantinople. But the majority went direct from Spanish ports to North Africa, their nearest refuge, where they were known as *Andalus* and where they were not always welcomed, at least in Morocco, with open arms. The principal settlements were those at Salé and Rabāt on the one hand and Tetwān on the other, where their descendants still form the most prosperous and most industrious section of the population. The *Andalus* of the seaports of the Atlantic coast of Morocco soon began to devote themselves to piracy: the celebrated Moroccan corsairs were almost all Morescoes, who had retained the use of the Spanish language. On the other hand, the Moroccan Sultāns organised corps of picked troops from the *Andalus* and they played a prominent part under the Sa'dians, especially in the conquest of the Sūdān. There was also very soon a large colony of Morescoes in Fās. In Algeria, a number settled in the towns of Tlemcen, Oran and Algiers. At Tunis they were well received by the Dey 'Uthmān: they settled together in two quarters which took their name (cf. TUNIS, iv., p. 886). Those who had not been town-dwellers settled in little villages which soon became prosperous and still have a characteristic Spanish look. Such are the villages of Solimān, Grombālia, Djedeida, Zagh-wān, Tēburba, Testur and Gal'et el-Andles (*Kal'at al-Andalus*).

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)



Fig. 1 Mihrāb of a Mosque in Bahrain.



Fig. 2. Mihrāb of the Sidi-ʿUḳba Mosque in Ẕairawān.

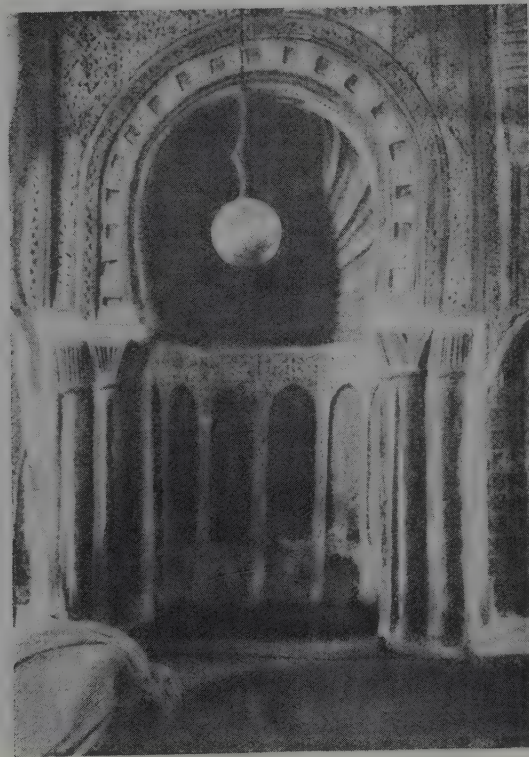


Fig. 3. Mihrāb of the Mosque in Sidi ʿUḳba
(Ziban oasis, Algeria).



Fig. 4. Mihrab of the Ahmed b. Tulun Mosque in Cairo.

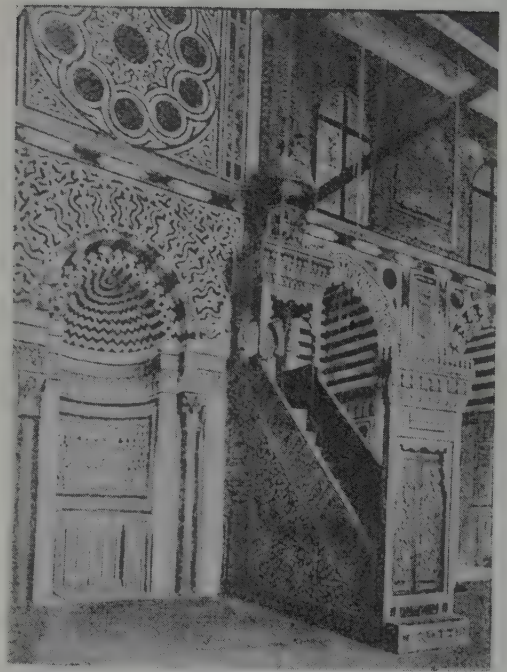


Fig. 5. Mihrab of the Mu'ayyad Mosque in Cairo.



Fig. 6. Wooden mihrab from the Saiyida Nafisa Mosque in Cairo (Arab Museum).



Fig. 7. Mihrab from Bidjapūr (1636 A. D.).

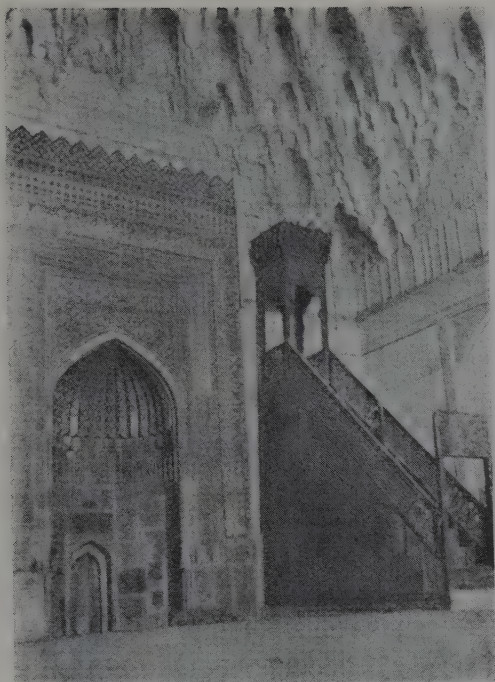


Fig. 8. Mihrāb of the Djawhār Shād Mosque in Meshhed.



Fig. 9. Mihrāb of the Uldjaitu Khudābanda Mosque in Isfahān (1310 A. D.).

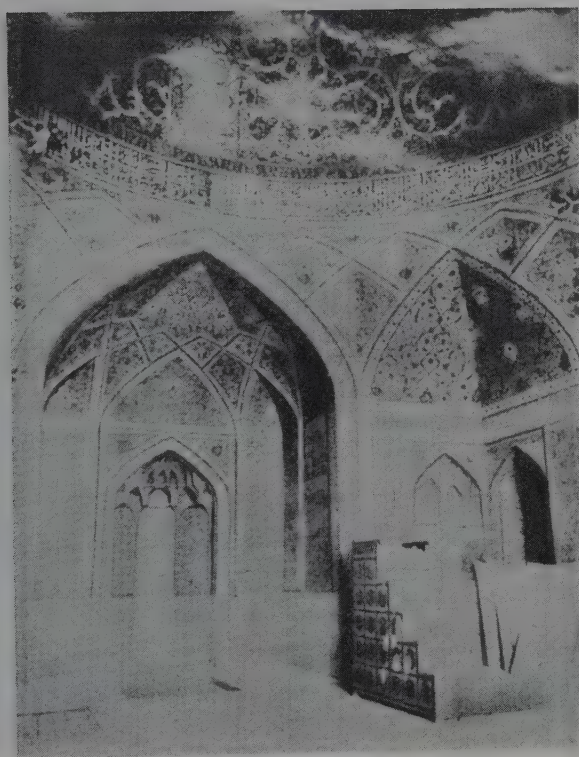
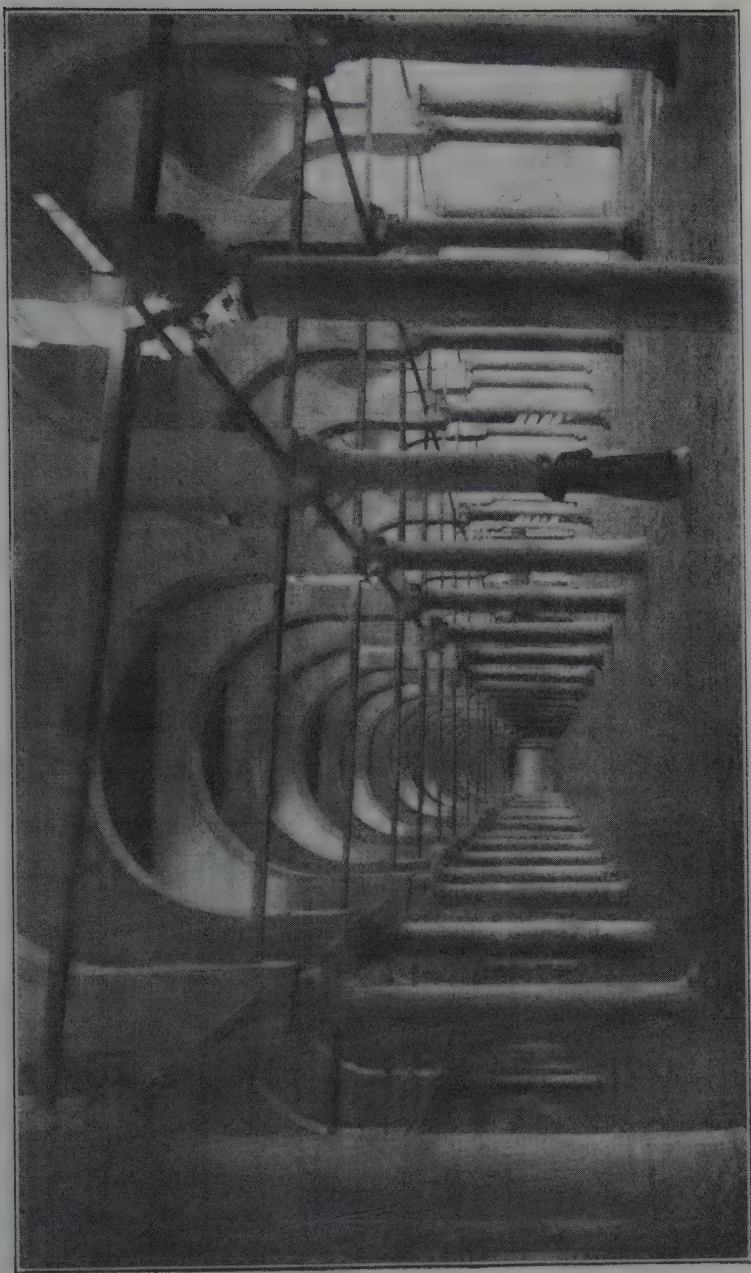


Fig. 11. Mihrāb of a Mosque in Isfahān (xviith century A. D.).



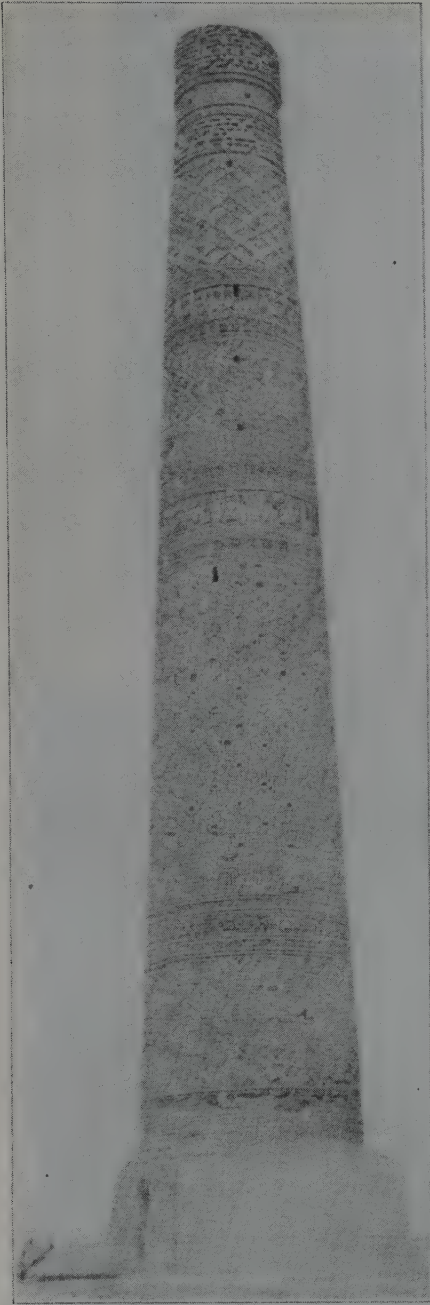
Fig. 10. Persian frieze with lustre decoration.



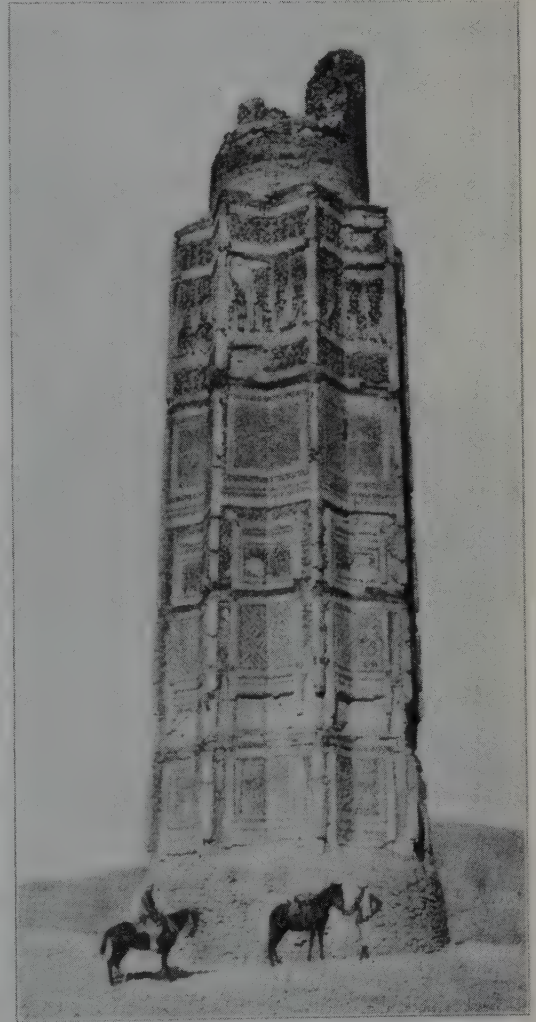
I. Fostat. Mosque of 'Amr.



2. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn.



Khusrawgird near Sabzawar in Khorāsān:
Manāra of 505 (1111)



Ghazna: Manāra of Mas'ūd of 495 (1101—1102)



Cairo: Manāras of the Mamlūk period



Fig. 1. Minbar in the Sidi 'Ukba Mosque in Kairawān.

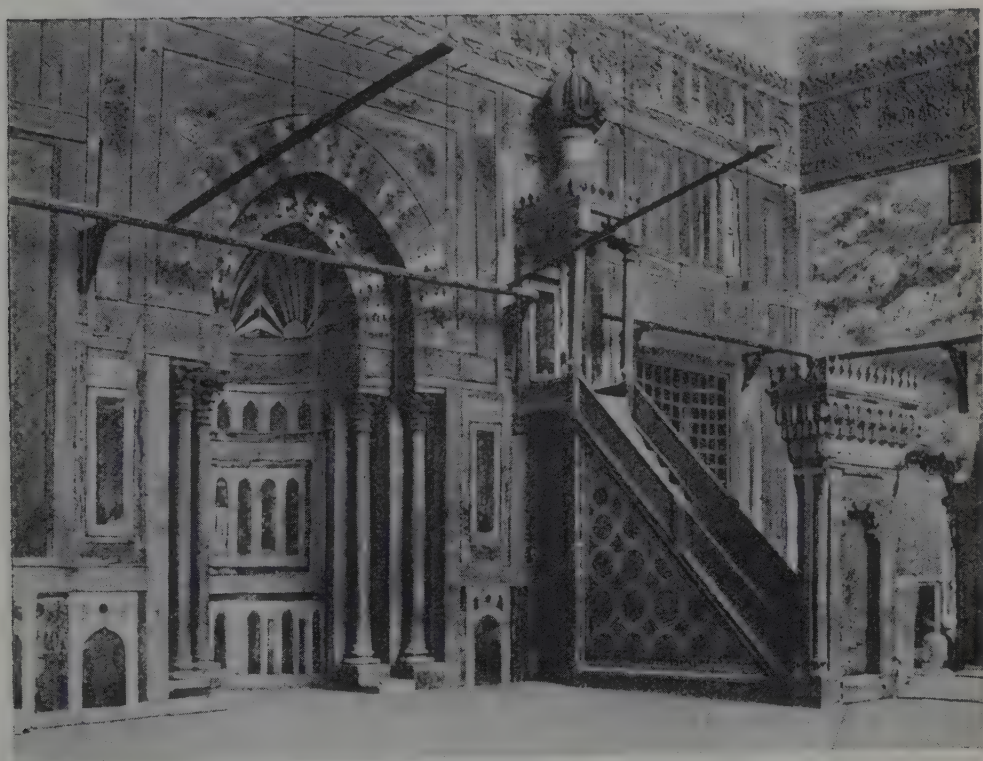


Fig. 3. Minbar in the Sultān Ḥasan Mosque in Cairo.

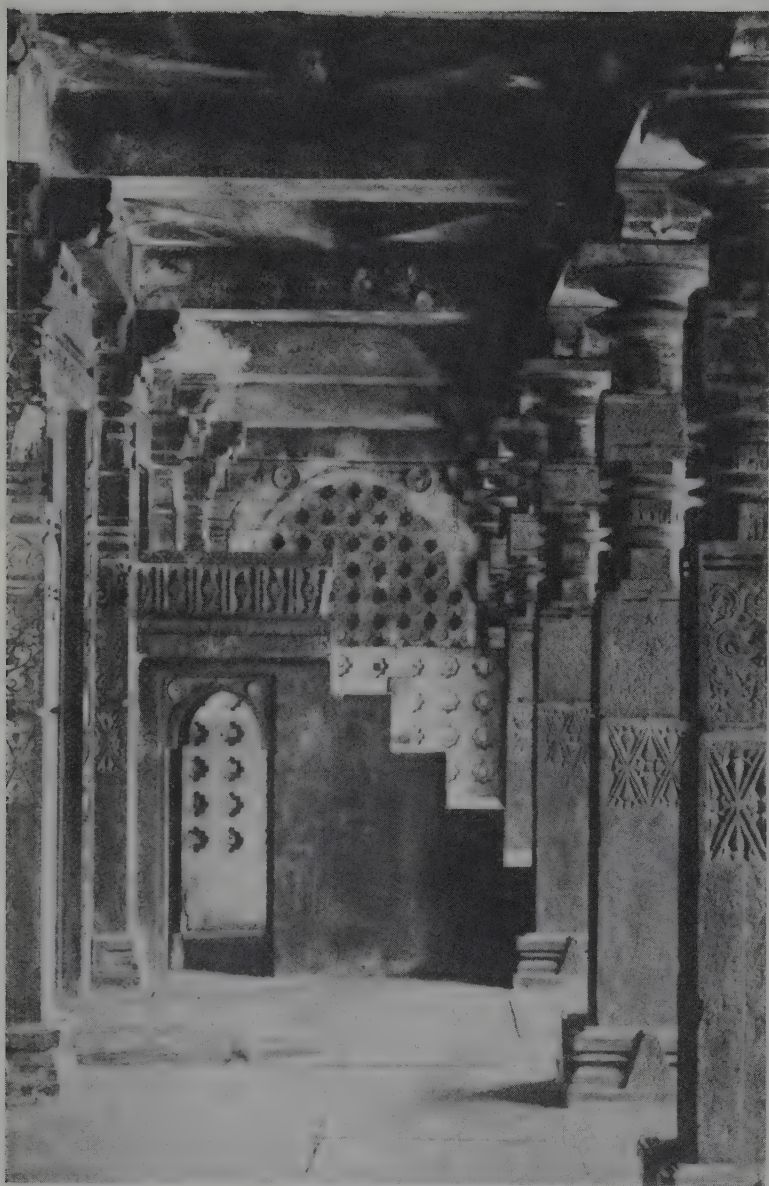
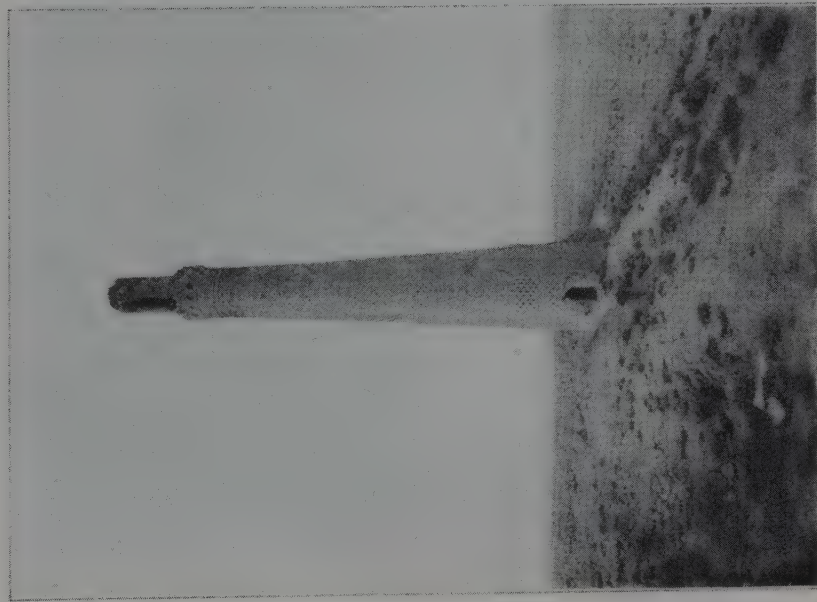
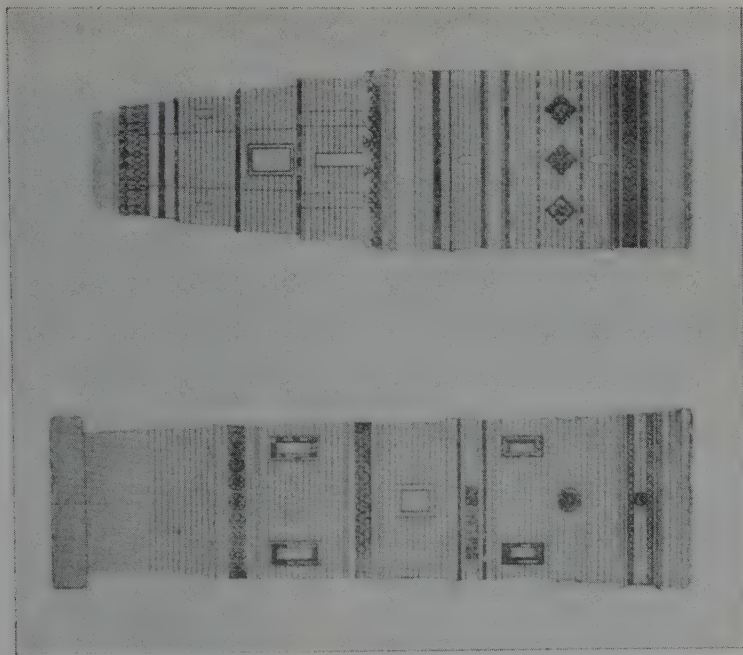


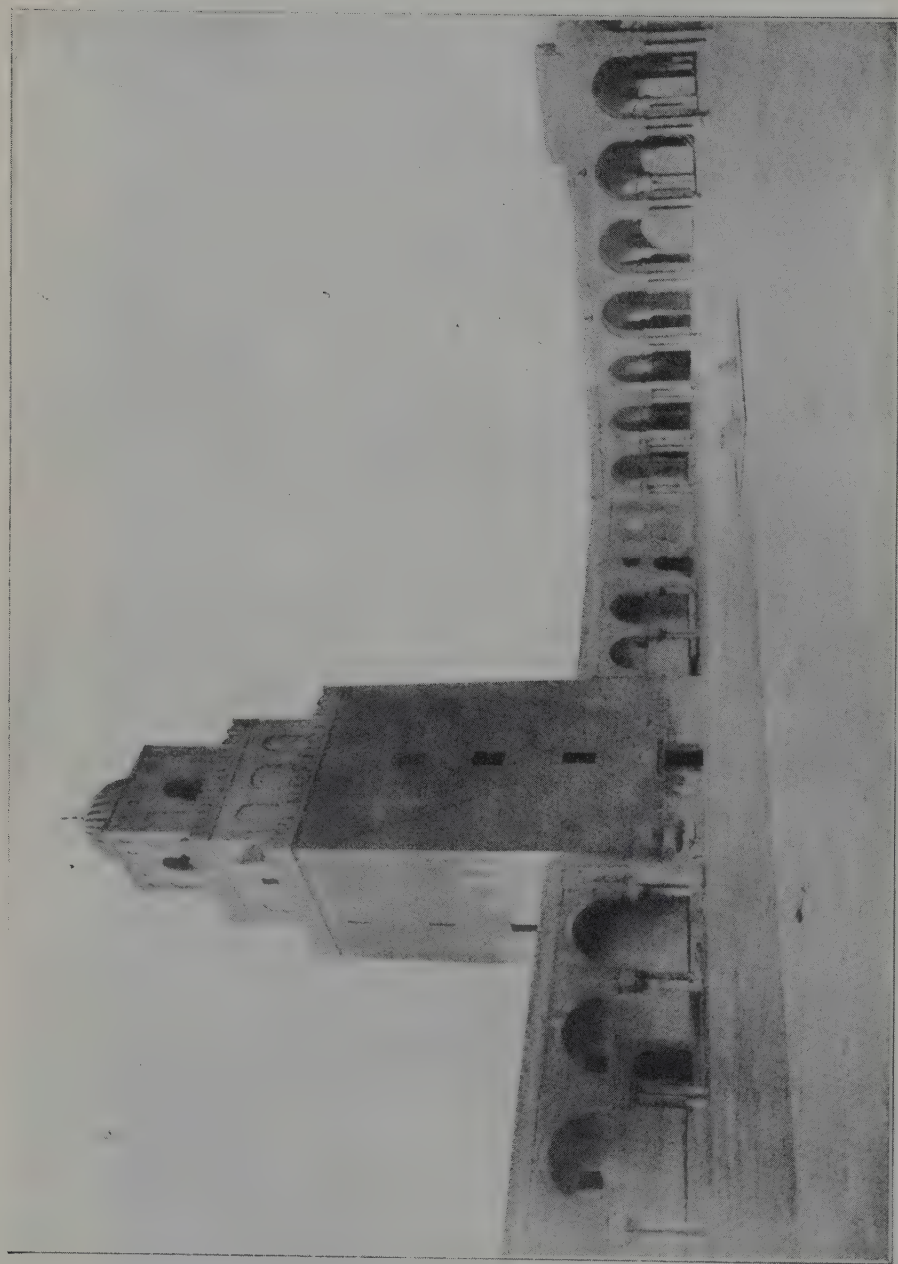
Fig. 2. Minbar in the Parenda Mosque in 'Uthmānābād.



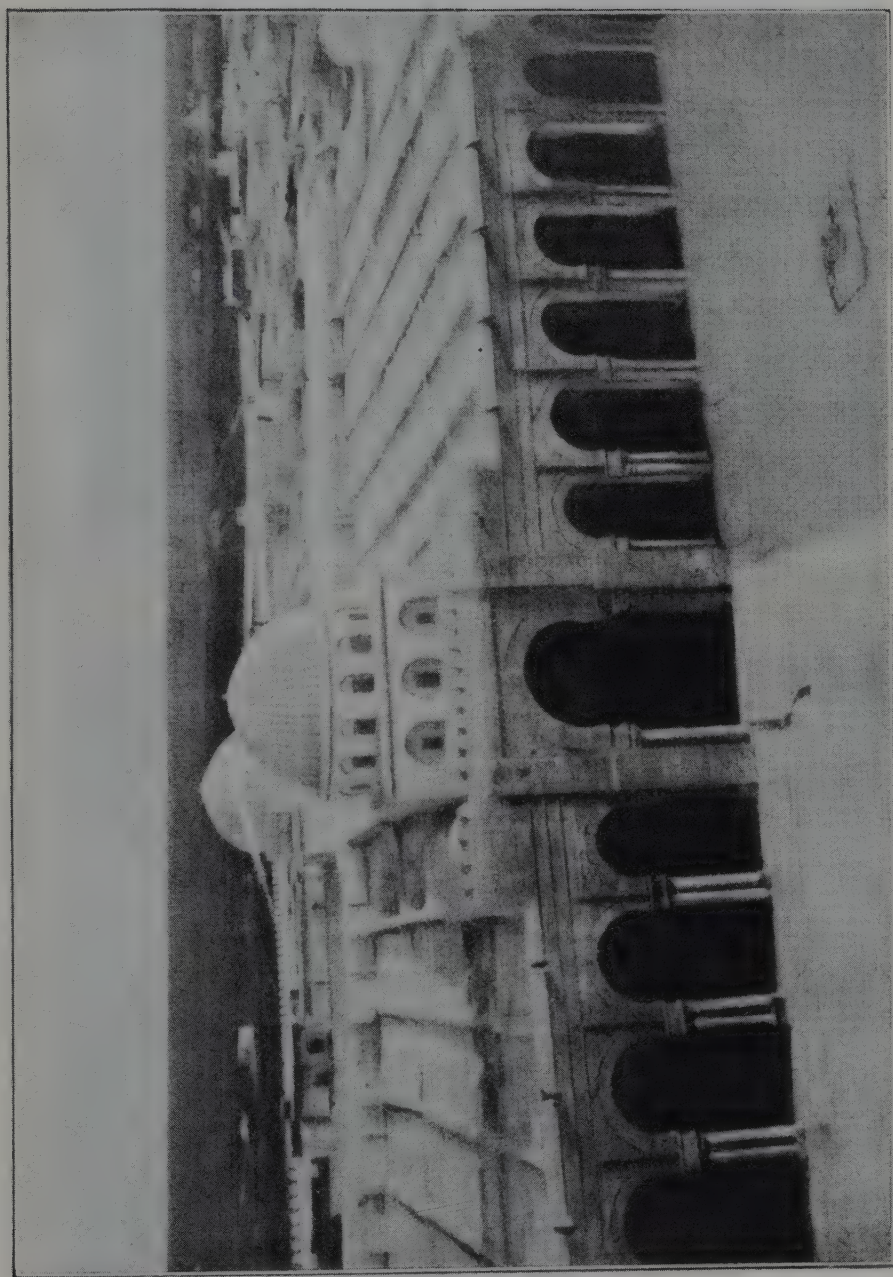
Sangbast near Mashhad in Khorāsān: Manāra
of a *Ribāṭ*, viith (xiith) cent.



Cairo: sketches of the two Manāras with outer
covering of the Mosque of Ḥakīm



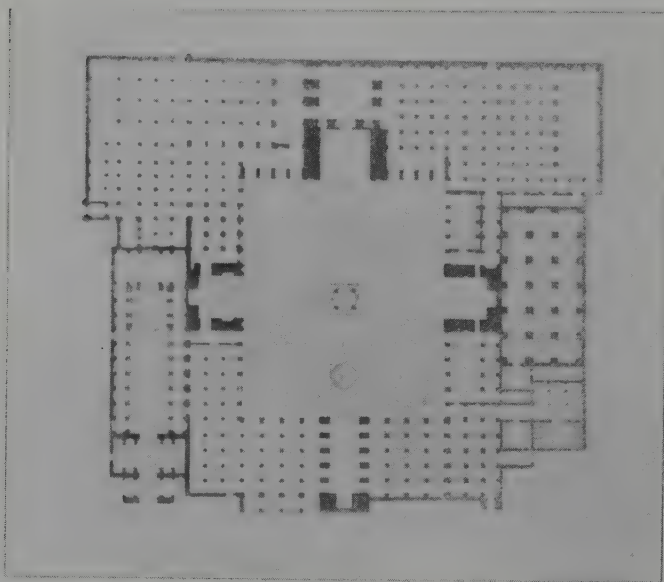
6. Kairawān. Mosque of Sidi 'Ukba.



7. Kairawān. Mosque of Sidi 'Uḡba.



8. Iсфаhān. D̲jāmi'.



9. Iсфаhān. D̲jāmi'. Plan.



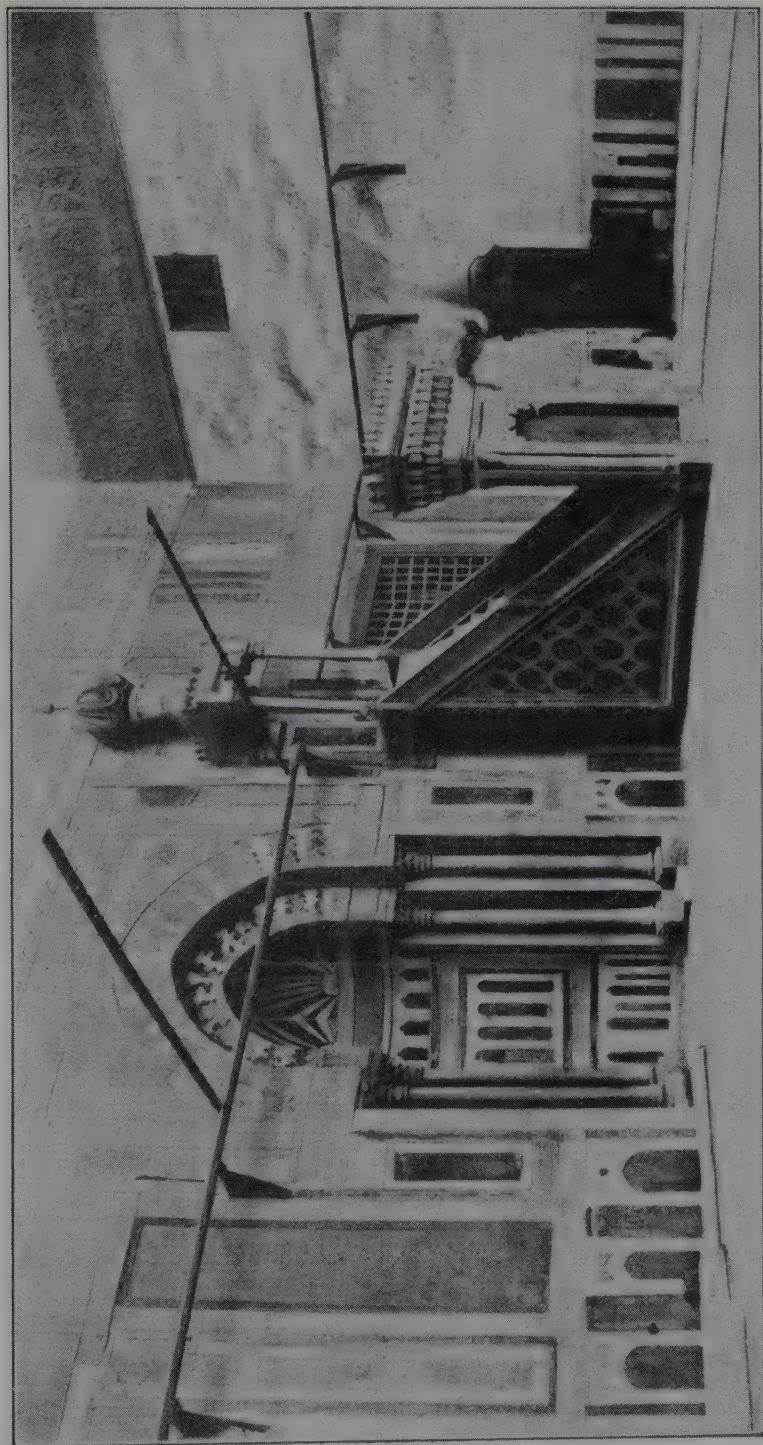
10. Isfahān. Djāmi'. Detail.



11. Isfahān. Shāh Husain Madrasa.



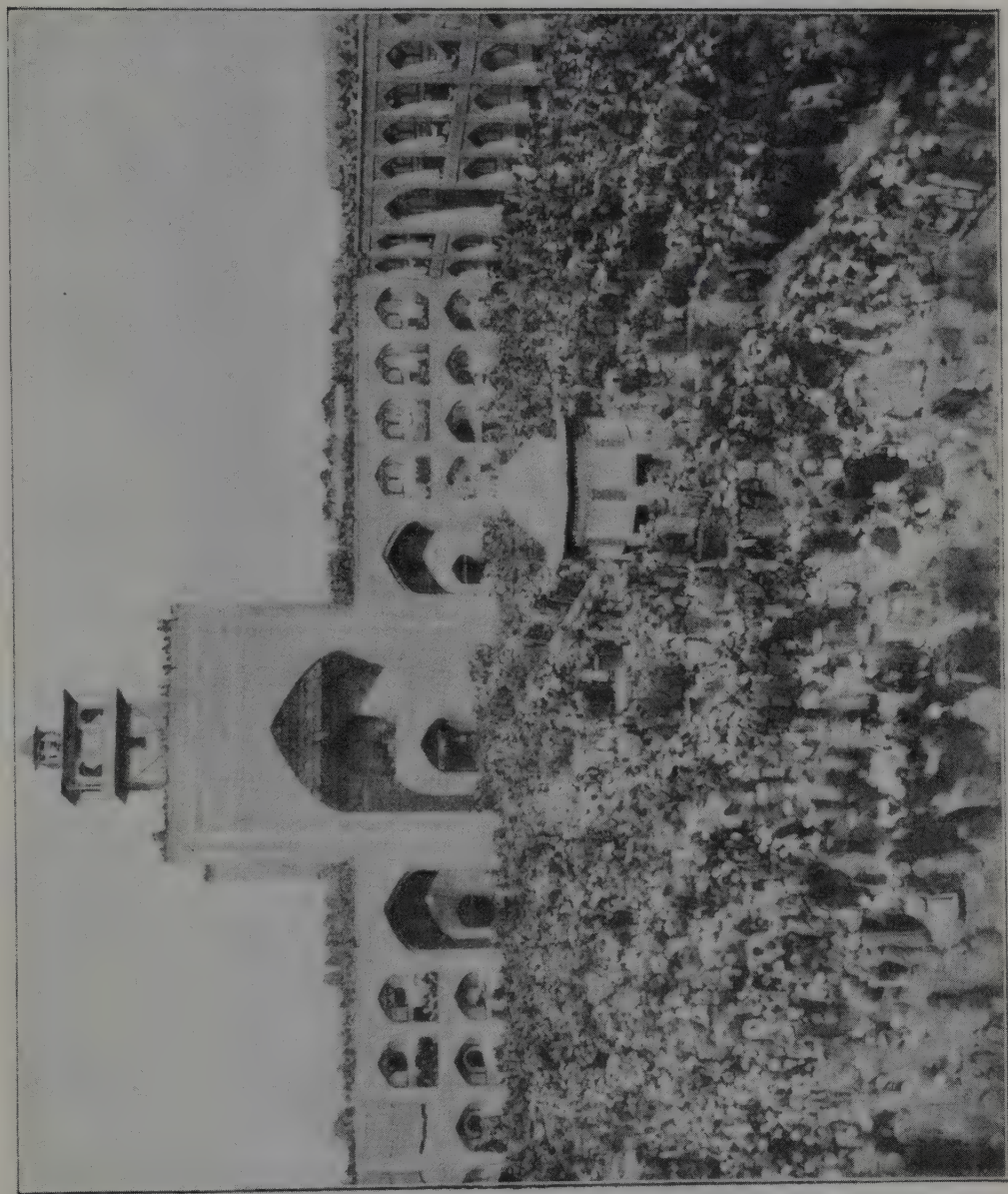
12. Khargird. Madrasa.



13. Cairo. Mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan.



14. Cairo. Mausoleum of Qāʾit Bey.



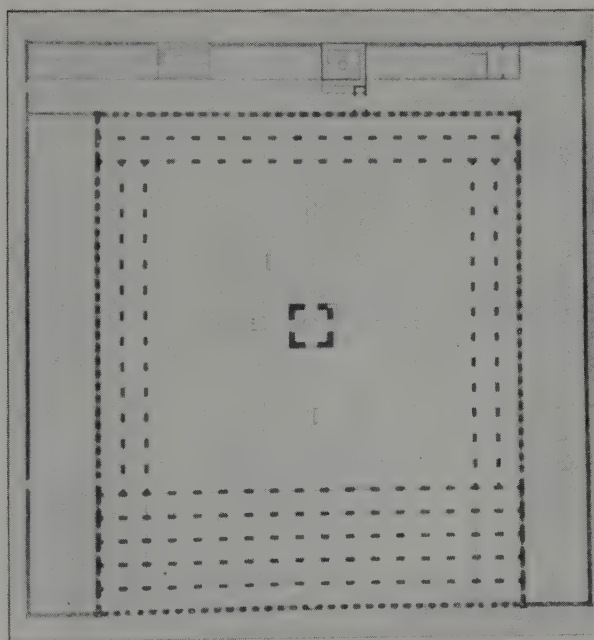
15. Mashhad (Khurāsān). Mosque in the sanctuary of imām Ridā.



3. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn. Detail.



4. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn. Reconstruction.



5. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn. Plan.

